SELECT WORKS

OF

WILLIAM PENN.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A

JOURNAL OF HIS LIFE.

LONDON.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR

MDCCLXXI.

[illegible] of another [illegible].

Many excellent Treatises of general and lasting Use, many Essays of great Importance to the Cause of Piety and Virtue, as well as to Civil and Religious Liberty, Vindications of the Principles of the Christian Society, of which he was an honourable Member, against the Attacks of [illegible] and designing Men, together with an Account of his Life and [illegible] in the Cause of Religion, form the principal Part of [illegible] Works at large, first collected and published in Two Volumes [illegible]

That Edition being [illegible] expedient, previously to another [illegible] and to select for Publication [illegible] have an immediate Tendency [illegible] in general, explaining Doctrines [illegible] Ranks and Conditions are [illegible]

BRITISH MUSEUM

[illegible]

A few of his Controversial Pieces are retained; many are omitted, such, especially, the Subjects of which being temporary, are [illegible] The Date inserted in the Margin shews the Year when each Treatise was first published.

Much might be said of the Author, so extensive in the Life and Writings of our Author; but we refrain; lest in offering our own Sentiments concerning them, we might seem to be endeavouring to prepossess [illegible] these Papers. We therefore leave them to his own Recommendation, accompanied with a short [illegible], taken from the [illegible]

“ The Whole is submitted to the Consideration [illegible] Permit [illegible]
“ judge impartially; [illegible] charity [illegible]
“ [illegible] evident [illegible]
“ wise minded, [illegible]”

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Works of this eminent Perſon having long been out of Print, and much inquired after, it became neceſſary to conſider of another Impreſſion.

Many excellent Treatiſes of general and laſting Uſe; many Eſſays of great Importance to the Cauſe of Piety and Virtue, as well as to Civil and Religious Liberty; Vindications of the Principles of the Chriſtian Society of which he was an honourable Member, againſt the Attacks of ignorant and deſigning Men; together with an Account of his Life and Labours in the Service of Religion; form the principal Part of our Author's Works at large, firſt collected and publiſhed in Two Volumes Folio, anno 1726.

That Edition being now diſperſed, it was judged expedient, previouſly to another Impreſſion to review the Whole, and to ſelect for Publication all ſuch Parts of our Author's Writings, as have an immediate Tendency to promote the Cauſe of Religion in general, containing Doctrines in which People of all Nations, Ranks and Conditions are intereſted without diſpute; and ſuch likewiſe, as, at the ſame time that they contribute to the ſame great End, the Increaſe of primitive Chriſtianity in Life and Doctrines, include an Apology for the religious Principles and Practices of the People to whom he was united in Profeſſion.

A few of his Controverſial Pieces are retained; many are omitted; ſuch, eſpecially, the Cauſes of which being temporary, are thereby rendered leſs intereſting to the preſent Age. The Date inſerted on the Margin ſhews the Year when each Treatiſe was firſt publiſhed.

Much might here be ſaid on Subjects ſo extenſive as the Life and Writings of our Author; but we refrain; leſt in offering our own Sentiments concerning them, we might ſeem to be endeavouring to prepoſſeſs the Reader in their Favour. We therefore leave them to his own Reflections, and conclude with a ſhort Premonition, taken from the General Collection already mentioned:

" Reader,

" The Whole is ſubmitted to thy Conſideration: Peruſe patiently;
" judge impartially; cenſure charitably; embrace chearfully what thou
" findeſt to be evidently true; and if in any thing thou art yet other-
" wiſe minded, wait without Prejudice for farther Illumination."

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AUTHOR's LIFE.

The introduction.

WHEN the BLESSED MESSIAH firſt called forth the immediate Followers of his Perſon, he declared Self-denial eſſential to Diſcipleſhip, ſaying, "Whoſoever doth not bear his Croſs, and come after me, cannot be my diſciple," Luke xiv. 27. This path himſelf trod before them, ſetting all that ſhould come after, an Example of the moſt perfect patience and reſignation. The Faithful, in every age, have met with variety of Exerciſes; and many of them, by their more than Human Conſtancy, neither terrified by the rougheſt efforts of Cruelty and Malice on the one hand, nor enticed by the ſmootheſt Allurements of Pleaſure and Vanity on the other, have given convincing proofs to the world, that the GRACE which ſupported them, was DIVINE.

It was this which gave our Author, in his early years, a ſolid Senſe of Religion, and a Taſte of that Subſtantial Peace, which the world can neither give nor take away: This inſtructed him to ſee the emptineſs and vanity of earthly enjoyments, and to turn his back upon the honour, profits, and pleaſures of the world, at an age moſt inclinable to embrace them: This enabled him to ſurmount all oppoſition in the ſearch of TRUTH; which having found, he valued as a "Pearl of Price," and laboured in the propagation and defence of it, both by preaching and writing, almoſt inceſſantly for many years.

It being now thought meet to publiſh a Selection of his Works for a General Service, we judge it not improper to retain the following Journal of his Life, chiefly extracted out of his own Private Memoirs; in which, we doubt not, the judicious reader will find many paſſages both exemplary and inſtructive.

1644.
His birth, &c.

WILLIAM PENN was born in the pariſh called St. Katharine's, near the Tower of London, on the 14th day of October, 1644. His father, of the ſame name, was a man of good eſtate and reputation, and, in the time of the Commonwealth, ſerved in ſome of the higheſt maritime offices, as thoſe of Rear-admiral, Vice-admiral, Admiral of Ireland, Vice-admiral of England, &c. in all which he acquitted himſelf with honour and fidelity. After the Reſtoration, he was knighted by King Charles the Second, and became a peculiar favourite of the then Duke of York: His Father's care, and a promiſing proſpect of his ſon's advancement, induced him to give him a liberal education; and the youth, of an excellent genius, made ſuch early improvements in literature, that about the 15th year of his age, he was entered a Student at Chriſt's Church College in Oxford.

1659.
His early enquiry after religion.

Now began his ardent deſire after pure and ſpiritual religion to ſhew itſelf; of which he had before received ſome taſte or reliſh, through the miniſtry of Thomas Loe, one of the People called Quakers; for he, with certain other Students of that Univerſity, withdrawing from the National Way of Worſhip, held private meetings for the Exerciſe of Religion, where they both preached and prayed among themſelves: This gave great offence to the heads of the College, and he, being but ſixteen years of age, was fined for Nonconformity. Which ſmall ſtroke of perſecution not at all abating the fervour of his zeal, he was at length, for perſevering in the like religious practices, expelled the College.

1660.

1661.
Returns home from the Univerſity.

From thence he returned home, but ſtill took great delight in the company of ſober and religious people; which his father knowing to be a block in the way to preferment, endeavoured both by words and blows to deter him from; but finding thoſe methods ineffectual, he was at length ſo incenſed, that he turned him out of doors.

1662.
Goes to France.

Patience ſurmounted this difficulty, till his father's affection had ſubdued his anger, who then ſent him to France, in company with ſome perſons of quality, that were making a tour thither. He continued there a conſiderable time, till a quite different converſation had diverted his mind from the ſerious thoughts of religion: And upon

1662. his return, his father finding him not only a good proficient in the French tongue, but alſo perfectly accompliſhed with a polite and courtly behaviour, joyfully received him, hoping his point was gained; and indeed for ſome time after his return from France, his carriage was ſuch as juſtly intitled him to the character of a Complete Young Gentleman.

1664. His ſpiritual conflict and exerciſes.

Great, about this time, was his ſpiritual conflict: His natural inclination, his lively and active diſpoſition, his acquired accompliſhments, his father's favour, the reſpect of his friends and acquaintance, did ſtrongly preſs him to embrace the glory and pleaſures of this world, then, as it were, courting and careſſing him, in the bloom of youth, to accept them. Such a combined force might ſeem almoſt invincible; but the earneſt ſupplication of his ſoul being to the Lord for preſervation, he was pleaſed to grant him ſuch a portion of his holy Power and Spirit, as enabled him in due time to overcome all oppoſition, and with an holy reſolution to follow Chriſt, whatſoever reproaches or perſecutions might attend him.

1666. Goes to Ireland, and is convinced there.

About the year 1666, and the 22d of his age, his father committed to his care and management a conſiderable eſtate in Ireland, which occaſioned his reſidence in that country. Being at Cork, he was informed by one of the People called Quakers, that Thomas Loe, whom we mentioned before, was to be ſhortly at a Meeting in that city; he went to hear him, who began his declaration with theſe words, "There is a Faith "that overcomes the World, and there is a Faith that is overcome by the World;" upon which ſubject he enlarged with much clearneſs and energy. By the living and powerful teſtimony of this man, which had made ſome impreſſion upon his ſpirit ten years before, he was now thoroughly and effectually convinced, and afterward conſtantly attended the meetings of that people, even through the heat of perſecution.

1667. His firſt impriſonment at Cork.

On the third of the 9th month, 1667, being again at a meeting in Cork, he, with many others, were apprehended and carried before the mayor, who obſerving that his dreſs diſcovered not the Quaker, would have ſet him at liberty, upon bond for his good behaviour; which he refuſing, was, with about eighteen others, committed to priſon. He had, during his abode in Ireland, contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry, and, being now a priſoner, wrote the following letter

To the Earl of ORRERY, Lord Preſident of Munſter.

'THE Occaſion may ſeem as ſtrange, as my Cauſe is juſt; but your Lordſhip will no leſs expreſs your Charity in the one, than your Juſtice in the other.

'Religion, which is at once my Crime and mine Innocence, makes me a priſoner to a Mayor's Malice, but mine own Free-man; for being in the Aſſembly of the People called Quakers, there came ſeveral Conſtables, backed with Soldiers, rudely and arbitrarily requiring every man's appearance before the Mayor, and amongſt others, violently haled me with them: Upon my coming before him, he charged me for being preſent at a Tumultuous and Riotous Aſſembly; and unleſs I would give Bond for my good Behaviour, who challenge the world to accuſe me juſtly with the contrary, he would commit me: I aſked for his Authority; for I humbly conceive without an Act of Parliament, or an Act of State, it might be juſtly termed too much officiouſneſs: His anſwer was, "A Proclamation in the year 1660, and new Inſtructions to "revive that dead and antiquated Order." I leave your Lordſhip to be Judge, if that proclamation relates to this concernment; that only was deſigned to ſuppreſs Fifth-Monarchy Killing Spirits; and ſince the King's Lord-Lieutenant and yourſelf, being fully perſuaded the intention of theſe called Quakers, by their meetings, was really the Service of God, have therefore manifeſted a repeal, by a long continuance of freedom, I hope your Lordſhip will not now begin an unuſual Severity, by indulging ſo much malice in one, whoſe actions ſavour ill with his neareſt neighbours, but that there may be a ſpeedy releaſement to all, for attending their honeſt callings, with the enjoyment of their families, and not to be longer ſeparated from both.

'And though to diſſent from a national ſyſtem, impoſed by authority, renders men Hereticks, yet I dare believe your Lordſhip is better read in Reaſon and Theology, than to ſubſcribe a maxim ſo vulgar and untrue; for imagining moſt Viſible Conſtitutions of religious government ſuited to the nature and genius of a Civil Empire, it cannot be eſteemed Hereſy, but to ſcare a multitude from ſuch enquiries as may create Diviſions, fatal to a Civil Policy, and therefore at worſt deſerves only the name of Diſturbers.

'But I preſume, my Lord, the acquaintance you have had with other Countries, muſt needs have furniſhed you with this infallible obſervation, That Diverſities of Faith and Worſhip contribute not to the diſturbance of any place, where Moral Uniformity is barely requiſite to preſerve the Peace. It is not long ſince you were a good Sollicitor for the Liberty I now crave, and concluded no way ſo effectual to im-

1667.

‘ prove or advantage this Country, as to diſpenſe with Freedom in things relating to Conſcience; and, I ſuppoſe, were it riotous or tumultuary, as by ſome vainly imagined, your Lordſhip's Inclination, as well as Duty, would entertain a very remote opinion. My humble ſupplication therefore to you is, that ſo malicious and injurious a practice to innocent Engliſhmen, may not receive any countenance or encouragement from your Lordſhip; for as it is contrary to the practice elſewhere, and a bad argument to invite Engliſh hither, ſo, with ſubmiſſion, will it not reſemble that Clemency and Engliſh Spirit, that hath hitherto made you honourable.

‘ If in this caſe I may have uſed too great a Liberty, it is my Subject; nor ſhall I doubt your pardon, ſince by your authority I expect a favour, which never will be uſed unworthy an honeſt man, and

‘ Your Lordſhip's faithful, &c.

‘ W. P.’

Is diſcharged.

His requeſt in the letter, ſo far as related to himſelf, was quickly granted, for the Earl forthwith ordered his diſcharge.

His conſtancy renewed by ſuffering.

His late impriſonment was ſo far from terrifying, that it ſtrengthened him in his reſolution of a cloſer union with that People, whoſe religious innocence was the only crime they ſuffered for.

Publickly joins the Quakers.

And now his more open joining with the Quakers, brought himſelf under that reproachful name: His companions wonted compliments and careſſes, were changed into ſcoffs and deriſion: He was made a by-word, ſcorn and contempt, both to profeſſors and profane; to the latter, for being religious, and to the former, for having a better than theirs.

Returns to England.

His exerciſe with his father.

His father being informed by letter from a Nobleman of his acquaintance, what danger his ſon was in of being proſelyted to Quakeriſm, remanded him home, and he readily obeyed. Upon his return, although there was no great alteration in his Dreſs, yet his manner of Deportment, and the ſolid Concern of Mind he appeared to be under, were manifeſt indications of the truth of the information his father had received; who thereupon attacked him afreſh: And here my pen is diffident of her abilities to deſcribe that moſt pathetick and moving conteſt which was betwixt his father and him. His Father, actuated by Natural Love, principally aiming at his Son's Temporal Honour; He, guided by a Divine Impulſe, having chiefly in view his own Eternal Welfare: His Father, grieved to ſee the well-accompliſhed ſon of his hopes, now ripe for Worldly Promotion, voluntarily turn his back on it; He, no leſs afflicted, to think that a compliance with his Earthly Father's Pleaſure, was inconſiſtent with an Obedience to his Heavenly One: His Father, preſſing his Conformity to the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of the times; He, modeſtly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his Conſcience: His Father earneſtly intreating him, and almoſt on his knees beſeeching him, to yield to his Deſire; He, of a loving and tender diſpoſition, in an extreme Agony of ſpirit, to behold his father's concern and trouble: His Father threatening to diſinherit him; He, humbly ſubmitting to his Father's Will therein: His Father turning his back on him in Anger; He, lifting up his Heart to God, for ſtrength to ſupport him in that time of trial.

A remarkable inſtance of his ſincerity.

And here we may not omit to give our reader a particular and obſervable inſtance of his Sincerity. His father finding him too fixt to be brought to a general compliance with the cuſtomary Compliments of the times, ſeemed inclinable to have borne with him in other reſpects, provided he would be uncovered in the preſence of the King, the Duke, and Himſelf: This being propoſed, he deſired time to conſider of, which his father ſuppoſing to be with an intention of conſulting his friends, the Quakers, about it; he aſſured him that he would ſee the face of none of them, but retire to his chamber till he ſhould return him an anſwer. Accordingly he withdrew, and having humbled himſelf before God, with faſting and ſupplication, to know his heavenly mind and will, he became ſo ſtrengthened in his reſolution, that returning to his father, he humbly ſignified, that he could not comply with his deſire therein.

Is turned out of his father's houſe.

When all endeavours proved ineffectual to ſhake his Conſtancy, and his father ſaw himſelf utterly diſappointed of his hopes, he could no longer endure him in his ſight, but turned him out of doors the ſecond time. Thus expoſed to the charity of his friends, having no other ſubſiſtence, (except what his mother privately ſent him) he endured the Croſs with a chriſtian Patience and Magnanimity, comforting himſelf with the promiſe of Chriſt, “ Verily, I ſay unto you, there is no man that hath left houſe, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's ſake, who ſhall not receive manifold more in this preſent time, and in the world to come life everlaſting.” Luke xviii. 29, 30.

His father's anger mollified.

After a conſiderable time, his ſteady perſeverance evincing his integrity, his father's wrath became ſomewhat mollified, ſo that he winked at his return to, and continuance in, his family; and though he did not publickly ſeem to countenance him, yet when impriſoned for being at meetings, he would privately uſe his intereſt to get him releaſed.

1668. Comes forth in the Miniſtry.

About the year 1668, being the 24th of his age, he firſt came forth in the work of the miniſtry, rightly called to, and qualified for, that office; being ſent of God to teach others what himſelf had learned of him: Commiſſioned from on high, to preach to others that holy Self-denial himſelf had practiſed: To recommend to all that ſerenity and peace of conſcience himſelf had felt: Walking in the LIGHT, to call others out of Darkneſs: Having drank of the Water of Life, to direct others to the ſame Fountain: Having taſted of the Heavenly Bread, to invite all men to partake of the ſame Banquet: Being redeemed by the Power of CHRIST, he was ſent to call others from under the Dominion of Satan, into the glorious liberty of the ſons of God, that they might receive remiſſion of ſins, and an inheritance among them that are ſanctified, through faith in Jeſus Chriſt.

About this time he writ to a young perſon of his acquaintance, by way of caution, againſt the follies and vanities of the world, the following letter, viz.

'FRIEND, Navy-Office, 10th of the 5th Month, 1668.

'IT was a true word ſpoke by Jeſus Chriſt, to undeceive all thoſe careleſs wanton Jews, among whom he manifeſted his glorious Truth, through that Body prepared of God for that very end, That the Way which leads to everlaſting life and reſt, was very ſtrait and narrow. My friend, How much may it import the welfare of thy immortal ſoul, to reflect upon that courſe of life and way thou now art walking in, before an evident ſtroke from heaven call thee hence, and ſend thy ſo much indulged fleſh and blood into the grave; an entertainment for no better than noiſome worms! I beg thee, as ever thou wouldſt be ſaved from that unſpeakable anguiſh, which is reſerved for Worldlings, and from whence there is no redemption, to keep thyſelf from thoſe vanities, follies, and pollutions, which unavoidably bring that miſerable ſtate. Alas! How incongruous, or unſuitable, is thy life and practice, with thoſe holy women of old, whoſe time was moſtly ſpent in heavenly Retirements, out of that rattle, noiſe, and converſation thou art in! And canſt thou imagine that thoſe holy men, recorded in ſcripture, ſpent their days as do the gallants of theſe times? Where is the Self-denying Life of Jeſus, the Croſs, the Reproach, the Perſecution, and Loſs of All, which he and his ſuffered, and moſt willingly ſupported, having their eyes all fixed upon a more enduring Subſtance? Well, my friend, this know, and by theſe ſhalt thou be judged, and in it I am clear, That as without Holineſs none can ſee God, ſo without Subjection to that Spirit, Light, or Grace in the heart, which God in love hath made to appear to all, "That teacheth to deny all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world;" I ſay, without ſubjection hereunto, there is no attaining to that holineſs which will give thee an entrance into his preſence, in which is joy and pleaſure for ever. And examine with thyſelf, how remote thou art from the guidings and inſtructions of this Spirit of Grace, who canſt countenance this age in frequenting their wicked and vain ſports, plays and entertainments, conforming thyſelf to ridiculous cuſtoms, and making one at idle talking and vain jeſting, whereſoever thou comeſt, not conſidering thou ſhalt account with the dreadful God for every idle word. And let all thy frolick aſſociates know, their day is haſtening, in which they ſhall not abide the preſence of him that ſits upon the throne. It ſhall be a time of horror, amazement and diſtreſs: Then ſhall they know there is a Righteous Holy Judge of All. As for thee, with pity is thy condition often in my thoughts; and often is it my deſire that thou mayſt do well: But whilſt I ſee thee in that ſpirit which ſavours of this world's delights, eaſe, plenty and eſteem, neglecting that One Thing neceſſary, I have but little hopes. However, I could not let this plain admonition paſs me; and what place ſoever it may have in thy thoughts, I am ſure it is in true love to that which ſhall be happy or miſerable to all eternity. I have not ſought fine words, or chiming expreſſions; the gravity, the concernment and nature of my ſubject, admits no ſuch butter-flies. In ſhort, be adviſed, my friend, to be ſerious, and to ponder that which belongs to thy eternal peace. Retire from the noiſe and clatter of tempting Viſibles, to the beholding HIM who is Inviſible, that he may reign in thy ſoul, GOD over All, exalted and bleſſed for ever: Farewel.

'I am thy well-wiſhing, real friend,

'W. P.'

His firſt appearing in print.

This year was publiſhed the firſt of his printed works, under the title of "Truth Exalted;" which is retained in this Collection.

1668.

The occaſion of publiſhing his "Sandy "Foundation "ſhaken."

Is impriſoned in the Tower.

His anſwer to the Biſhop of London's threats.

About this time, two of the hearers of one Thomas Vincent, a Preſbyter in the Spittle-Yard, came over to the Quakers: Their paſtor hereat tranſported with fiery zeal, (a thing fertile of ill language) railing to his auditory, accuſed the Quakers of holding moſt erroneous and damnable doctrines. This coming to our author's ears, he, together with George Whitehead, demanded of Vincent an opportunity to defend themſelves and Friends: A conference was agreed to be held at his own meeting-houſe, at which ſeveral points of doctrine were ſtarted and debated, but nothing fairly determined: From hence our author took occaſion to write a little book, intituled, "The Sandy Foundation ſhaken," which gave great offence to ſome then at the helm of the church, who preſently took the old method of reforming what they call Error, by advancing at once their ſtrongeſt argument, viz. 'An Order for impriſoning him in the Tower of London.' There was he under cloſe confinement, and even denied the viſits of his Friends: But yet his enemies attained not their purpoſe; for when, after ſome time, his ſervant brought him word, that the Biſhop of London was reſolved he ſhould either publickly recant, or die a priſoner, he made this reply: 'All is well: I wiſh they had told me ſo before, ſince the expecting of a Releaſe put a ſtop to ſome Buſineſs: Thou mayſt tell my father, who I know will aſk thee, theſe words: That my Priſon ſhall be my Grave, before I will budge a jot; for I owe my Conſcience to no mortal Man: I have no need to fear, God will make amends for all: They are miſtaken in me; I value not their threats and reſolutions; for they ſhall know I can weary out their malice and peeviſhneſs; and in me ſhall they all behold a Reſolution above Fear; Conſcience above Cruelty; and a Baffle put to all their Deſigns, by the Spirit of Patience, the Companion of all the tribulated Flock of the Bleſſed Jesus, who is the Author and Finiſher of the Faith that overcomes the World, yea, Death and Hell too: Neither great nor good things were ever attained without loſs and hardſhips. He that would reap and not labour, muſt faint with the Wind, and periſh in Diſappointments; but an hair of my head ſhall not fall, without the Providence of my Father that is over all.'

His works written in the Tower.

A ſpirit warmed with the love of God, and devoted to his ſervice, ever purſues its main purpoſe: Our author, reſtrained from Preaching, applied himſelf to Writing: Several treatiſes were the fruits of his ſolitude, particularly that excellent one, intituled, "No Croſs, No Crown:" A book which tending to promote the General Deſign of Religion, was well accepted, and hath paſſed ſundry impreſſions.

He alſo writ from the Tower the following Letter to Lord Arlington:

To the Lord Arlington.

'I Know none to whom this paper may ſo properly be directed as thyſelf: For as thou art principal Secretary of State, the perſon to whom I ſurrendered myſelf, by whoſe Warrant I was committed, and who was pleaſed to come to this place to take my examination about a note that was by ſome ſuſpected to have dropt from me the day of my ſurrender; ſo the great civility I found, and candid promiſes thou waſt pleaſed to give me of thy aſſiſtance, as well there as here, are great encouragements not only to preſent thee with this brief remonſtrance, which by the mouth of one of thy attendants may eaſily be run over, but to expect an anſwer altogether ſuitable.

'Truly were I as criminal as my adverſaries have been pleaſed to repreſent me, it might become me to bear my preſent ſufferings, without the leaſt reſentment of Injuſtice done; and to eſteem a Vindication of my Cauſe, an Aggravation of my Guilt: But ſince it is ſo notorious that common fame hath maliciouſly belied me, and that, from invincible teſtimonies, I ſtand not guilty of what my adverſaries would have ſo peremptorily faſtened on me; confeſſing that Eternal Deity of Christ; what better interpretation can be given of their Zeal, than meer Peeviſhneſs, and their great Learning, than foul Ignorance? Strange, that men eſteemed Chriſtians, ſhould ſeem ſo indefatigable in writing, preaching, and diſcourſing down the reputation of an innocent man, by the moſt foul aſperſions, black characters, and exaſperating imputations, that ſpirits moſt incendiary could invent or collect; in a word, to baniſh me the World, forbid me Heaven, and furiouſly denounce me ſequeſtred of All, with the reſerve of Hell only, and there itſelf have intitled me to the laſt and moſt diſmal ſtation! But what is more admirable, thoſe very perſons have all this while miſtaken the very queſtion, and in reality have been accuſing their own Shadows, making me ſuffer their puniſhment, who leaſt of all, ſincerely, am concerned in their heat. Others there be, I know, who

——————— *Crimina Raſis*
Librant in Antithetis ————

can inſinuate their diſpleaſure under more plauſible expreſſions,

——— *doctas poſuiſſe figuras*
Laudantur ———————

1669. ‘and conſequently more ſecurely to themſelves, though leſs to me, may obtain their ends: But to indulge thoſe poor pretences, and give reception to thoſe threedbare and hackney phraſes of Seditious Fellow, Erroneous Perſon, Factious, and Troubleſome to the State, under the counterfeit of Illumination, &c. methinks needs not a Jury of Twelve to convict them of very great Indiſcretion; as well as I am perſuaded they have no room with thee. However, mine adverſaries ammunition hath been worſe beſtowed than upon wool-ſacks, who have, alas, got to their old whimſies of fanſying enemies in the air, wherein they have been ſo hotly ſkirmiſhing, that hard it is to perſuade them they only dream, and make reality of fictions: My common reſidence is on a more ſolid bottom: But, as I am willing to believe, had my innocency been well obſerved, my confinement ſhould not have given ſo great an approbation of their impoſtures; ſo, on the other hand, ſince they are unqueſtionably manifeſted to be ſuch, and that the more moderate of the authors have given their retractations in publick converſation, expreſſing their great trouble to have ſo readily entertained and promoted ſuch foul aſperſions, to the incenſing of the civil magiſtrate againſt me; the cauſe, I ſay, being thus removed, it is time the undeſerved effect ſhould ceaſe, otherwiſe my Liberty ſeems to be ſacrificed to the inordinate paſſions of the moſt inveterate part of a faction, or ſtrongly to confirm thoſe in their conjectures and reports, who confidently have told it up and down, that my reſtraint is not continued on any Religious Matter, but for ſome points deeply concerning the Safety of the King, both moſt unworthy the equity, greatneſs, and honour of authority: But, alas! ſhall theſe impudent forgeries, and malicious aggravations, longer prevail againſt a man that hath broke no Law, deſpiſed no Government, dethroned no Deity, ſubverted no Faith, Obedience, or good Life; but, in words and actions, hath inceſſantly endeavoured the effectual promotion of all.

‘What if I differ from ſome Religious Apprehenſions? Am I therefore incompatible with the being of Human Societies? Shall it not be remembered with what ſucceſs kingdoms and common-wealths have lived under the ballance of diverſe parties? And if the politicks of the moſt judicious and acute inquiſitors after theſe affairs are of any worth, they are not at a ſtand in delivering their ſenſe with great ſharpneſs, “That it is the ſecureſt prop of all Monarchical Governments.” Let it not be forgotten, that under the Jewiſh Conſtitution, the utmoſt they required from Strangers, to entitle them to Freedom, was an Acknowledgment to the Noachical Precepts, (never denied by me); nor was it better with them in latter days, than whilſt the Phariſees, Scribes, Eſſeans, Sadducees, &c. had the free exerciſe of their conſciences, all differing among themſelves. Neither was it otherwiſe amongſt the Infidels: Who knows not that almoſt every Family and Tribe in Rome had its particular *Sacra*? Nay, the Egyptian Iſis and Serapis obtained a place for publick Temples, and divine Honours, among thoſe wiſe people. Nor can I omit the great candor of (that otherwiſe moſt inhuman) Tiberius to the Chriſtians, who, if Euſebius Pamphilus be to be credited, not only made it Death for any to perſecute the Chriſtians, but had a rare good opinion of CHRIST, and the Chriſtian Faith, though both were ſo immediately deſtructive of his Religion and the whole World's. Nay, ſince the Chriſtian Times, who is not a ſtranger to Eccleſiaſtical Story, and doth not know the Great Variety of Opinions that reigned in Egypt, Conſtantinople, Antioch and Alexandria; indeed, where not? Nor do I read it ever entered into the hearts of any to moleſt them. And had not Secular Power been the Diana and Great Goddeſs courted by the Arrians and Anti-Arrians, they might have lived with great ſecurity in their ſentiments, and not have troubled the whole world, and perplexed themſelves for ſo many ages. And they who will reflect upon the carriage of both thoſe parties, may find reaſons enough to dread the apprehenſions of a faction, and palpably diſcover and read the natural, but fatal conſequences that unavoidably follow the exaltation of a ſingle Party, to the detriment of others, rather than to keep a moderate and well-adviſed Ballance upon all. This maxim Socrates Scholaſticus reports to have been not unſeen, nor wholly unpractiſed by the great wiſdom of the Emperor Jovianus, firſt ſuggeſted by his beloved friend and philoſopher Themiſtius, whoſe time, though ſhort, had a moſt differing ſucceſs from all that went before, or followed after him, and more than a little confirms my preſent conſideration. I ſhall omit the recital of later and preſent teſtimonies: In Europe they are freſh, and in our ſight: It is not the property of Religion to PERSECUTE Religion; that ſcorns to employ thoſe weapons to her defence, that others have uſed to her depreſſion. It is her privilege alone to conquer naked of force or artifice: And that perſon who hath not the Election of his Religion, hath none.

‘For my own part, I know not any unfit for Political Societies, but thoſe who maintain principles deſtructive of Induſtry, Fidelity, Juſtice and Obedience, in all matters relative of them, (wherefore the Romans exiled their *Mathematicos*) which neither myſelf, nor any Quaker living, can with any ſhew of reaſon be charged

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‘ withal. But to conceit that men muſt form their Faith of things proper to ANOTHER World, by the Preſcriptions of mortal Men, or elſe they can have no right to eat, drink, ſleep, walk, trade, be at liberty, or live in THIS, to me ſeems both ridiculous and dangerous. Since it is moſt certain, the Underſtanding can never be convinced by other arguments than what are adequate to its own nature; which Force is ſo remote from, that as it abundantly expreſſeth paſſion or ignorance in thoſe who uſe it, ſo experimentally do we find, that it is not only unſucceſsful, by confirming perſons that really have reaſons on their ſide, but greatly obdurates alſo the unreaſonable, who forget their own weakneſs, by gazing on their Perſecutors, being well aſſured, that whoſoever is in the Right, HE always is in the wrong, that by Club-Law and Corporal Extremities thinks to illuminate and convince the Underſtanding: It may make Hypocrites, not Converts; and if I am at any time convinced, I will pay the honour of it to TRUTH, and not to baſe and timorous Hypocriſy. Nor, indeed, are ſuch inquiries material, as well as that it is unlawful to make ſo diligent ſearch for Conſcience, and that in caſe they find her without the mark of publick Allowance, and that ſhe pays no Cuſtom, ſhe muſt be there forfeited. For who loves to aſk at any Shop, of what *Religion* the Maſter is, and not rather what is his Price for this or that Commodity? It therefore greatly were the King's intereſt to clear the priſons of all conſcientious perſons, eſpecially ſince Uniformity of Mind is not leſs impoſſible in all punctilios, than is exact Reſemblance in Viſage, and men muſt be new-made in both reſpects, before they can be changed to gratify ſuch deſires.

‘ However my caſe is ſingular, ſince wholly guiltleſs of what was charged againſt me; and if the obſervation of Tacitus on Lingonius's various caſe be of any force, who, though he did deſerve puniſhment inflicted, yet becauſe it was done without examination, and due conviction, ſaith Tacitus, “ He ſuffered unlawfully.” Then for a greater reaſon muſt my confinement ſeem injurious, who have been ſhut up above theſe ſix months, under a ſtrict and cloſe impriſonment, from many common comforts, and neceſſary concerns of life, without the leaſt formal cauſe or reaſon why exhibited againſt me, contrary, I conceive, to the Natural Privilege of an Engliſhman.

‘ My hopes are, I ſhall not longer continue a priſoner, merely to aſſure the world I am not innocent of what in very truth I am not guilty, nor yet that matters of lighter moment be ſought to prolong my reſtraint, becauſe as yet there is no Law to deprive an inoffenſive Engliſhman of ſo great and eminent a right as Liberty: Since this were too nearly to reſemble the lamentable caſe of the Innocent Daughter of Guilty Sejanus, who, becauſe the Roman Laws allowed not Virgins to be ſtrangled, was firſt deflowered, that ſhe might be. My Life ſhall go before my Chaſtity, let men contrive what they will. But, above all, methinks the name Chriſtian imports ſo holy, ſo juſt, and ſo condeſcending a diſpoſition, that theſe ſeverities can have no plea from ſuch as have truly entitled themſelves unto it. For my own ſhare, as it is my principle (as I have declared) to live myſelf, and encourage others, in the purſuit of juſt, ſober, and induſtrious courſes (which are the true grounds of all civil ſocieties, and only ways to their proſperity) ſo in whatever I differ from the Publick Eſtabliſhment, it ſhall never find me remiſs therein.

‘ But I beſeech thee to intreat the King, on my account, not to believe every man to be his enemy, that cannot ſhape his conſcience by the narrow forms and preſcripts of mens inventions; and the perſonal obligations, beſides the publick reſpect that I owe him, but above all, the Holy Forgiving TRUTH I profeſs, will never admit of ſuch a thing; nor do we own one principle that will not, inſtead of acting us to his prejudice, at all times in our ſtations fit us to diſpute with any (in civil matters) the firſt place of Obedience to his Commands, our Conſciences being left unpreſcribed.

‘ To conclude: Since my adverſaries have overſhot the mark, that the accuſation is fictitious, and many of them have publickly retracted their firſt opinions of the matter, after ſo ſtrict an impriſonment, without any legal cauſe, or juſt procedure, contrary to the privileges of every Engliſhman, as well as the meekneſs, forbearance, and compaſſion inſeparable from true Chriſtianity; I think it is time, and I deſire I may be ordered a releaſe, to follow my ordinary employments: But if it ſhould yet be ſcrupled, or denied, upon the leaſt diſſatisfaction unremoved, I intreat the favour of acceſs to the King, where I ſhall freely and juſtly anſwer to all ſuch interrogatories as may concern my preſent caſe: Or if that will not be allowed, that it would pleaſe thee to give me a full hearing to all ſuch objections as may be thought to carry any weight; that ſo if I muſt remain a priſoner, it may be known for what; and in the mean time that ſuch liberty may be granted me, as is cuſtomary for other priſoners to enjoy, after the firſt or ſecond month of their impriſonment, the ſeaſon eſpecially conſidered.

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‘ I make no apology for my letter as a trouble, the uſual ſtile of ſuppliants; becauſe I think the honour that will accrue to thee, by being juſt, and releaſing the oppreſſed, exceeds the advantage that can ſucceed to me: Worthy and generous minds gladly embrace occaſions to aſſiſt the Helpleſs, and then are moſt ready to afford them their aſſiſtance, when nothing is to be got beſides the hazard of expreſſing it. And I am well aſſured the kindneſs and juſtice I ſhall pleaſe thee to employ on that account, can never miſs of a plentiful reward from God, and praiſe of all virtuous men.

‘ Thy true friend, who ſuffers wrongfully, which the
‘ Lord God forgive, if he ſo pleaſe,

‘ W. P.’

‘ 1ſt of the 5th Month,
‘ 1669.

And in order to clear himſelf from the aſperſions caſt upon him, in relation to the “ Doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation and Satisfaction of CHRIST,” he publiſhed a little book called, “ Innocency with her Open Face,” by way of apology for the aforeſaid “ Sandy Foundation ſhaken.” In this apology he ſo ſucceſsfully vindicated himſelf, that ſoon after the publication of it, he was diſcharged from his impriſonment, which had been of about ſeven months continuance.

Goes a ſecond time to Ireland.

On the 15th of the 7th month this year, he ſet out again from London for Ireland, took ſhipping at Briſtol on the 24th of the 8th month, and on the 26th arrived at Cork. In his paſſage thither, we think the following occurrence worth relating:

A remarkable occurrence in his paſſage.

‘ At his former coming from Ireland, the converſation and ſociety of a perſon called a Quaker, who came over in the ſame veſſel, was a ſtrengthening and encouragement to him then newly convinced. This man now happened to return thither again in his company, and obſerving how effectually the Power of Truth had wrought upon our author, and the great progreſs he through a ſincere obedience had made in his journey heavenward, and ſeeing himſelf not only overtaken, but left far behind, by one that had ſet out after him, was led to a ſolid reflection upon his own Negligence and Unfaithfulneſs, and expreſſed, with many tears, a renewed viſitation and deep concern upon his ſpirit.’ So forcible is the example of the faithful, to the ſtirring up an holy zeal and emulation in others.

Being arrived at Cork, he immediately viſited his Friends impriſoned there, and the next day had a Meeting with them, in which they were ſpiritually refreſhed and comforted together: Having tarried there ſome days, he went from thence to Dublin, and on the 5th of the 9th month, was at the National Meeting of Friends there, which was held at his lodgings. At this meeting, an account of his friends ſufferings being drawn up, by way of addreſs, he preſented the ſame a few days after to the Lord-Lieutenant.

His ſervices in Ireland.

During his ſtay in Ireland, though his buſineſs in the care of his father's eſtate took up a conſiderable part of his time, yet was he frequently preſent at, and preached in friends meetings, eſpecially at Dublin and Cork, in one of which places he uſually reſided. He alſo wrote during his reſidence there, ſeveral treatiſes, particularly, “ A Letter to the Young Convinced.” He very frequently viſited his Friends in priſon, and had meetings with them; nor did he let ſlip any opportunity he had with thoſe in Authority, to ſollicit on their behalf: And in the beginning of the 4th Month,

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1670, through his repeated applications to the Chancellor, the Lord Arran, and the Lord-Lieutenant, an Order of Council was obtained for their Releaſe. Having ſettled his father's concerns to ſatisfaction, and done his own friends many ſignal ſervices, he ſhortly after returned into England.

Returns to England.

In this year 1670, came forth the Conventicle-Act, prohibiting Diſſenters Meetings, under ſevere penalties: The edge of this new weapon was preſently turned upon the Quakers, who, not accuſtomed to flinch in the cauſe of Religion, ſtood moſt expoſed. Being forcibly kept out of their Meeting-Houſe in Grace-Church-Street, they met as near it in the Street as they could, and William Penn there preaching, was apprehended, and by warrant from Sir Samuel Starling, then Lord-Mayor of London, dated Auguſt 14th, 1670, committed to Newgate, and at the next ſeſſions at the Old-Baily, was, (together with William Mead) indicted for being preſent at, and preaching to, an unlawful, ſeditious, and riotous Aſſembly. At his trial he made a brave defence, diſcovering at once both the Free-Spirit of an Engliſhman, and the undaunted Magnanimity of a Chriſtian, inſomuch that notwithſtanding the moſt partial frowns and menaces of the Bench, the Jury acquitted him. The Trial itſelf, with a Preface and Appendix thereunto, as it was ſoon after publiſhed, are inſerted in this collection.

His Trial at the Old-Bailey.

His Father's death.

Not long after this trial, and his diſcharge from Newgate, his father died, perfectly reconciled to his ſon, and left him both his paternal bleſſing and a plentiful eſtate. His death-bed expreſſions, being very inſtructing and pathetic, deſerve a double reading.* He was buried in Redcliff ſteeple-houſe in the city of Briſtol; and over,

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* See them in a Treatiſe intituled, “ No Croſs, No Crown,” inſerted in this Collection.

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over, or near, his ſepulchre, is erected a fair monument, with the following inſcription:

Inſcription on his Tomb.

"To the juſt memory of Sir William Penn, Knight, and ſometimes General; "born at Briſtol, anno 1621. ſon of Captain Giles Penn, ſeveral years Conſul "for the Engliſh in the Mediterranean, of the Penns of Penſlodge in the "county of Wilts, and thoſe Penns of Penn in the county of Bucks; and, "by his mother, from the Gilberts in the county of Somerſet, originally from "Yorkſhire; addicted from his youth to maritime affairs: He was made "Captain at the years of twenty-one, Rear-admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, "Vice-admiral of Ireland at twenty-five, Admiral to the Streights at twenty-"nine, Vice-admiral of England at thirty-one, and General in the firſt Dutch "war at thirty-two: Whence returning, anno 1655. he was Parliament-Man "for the town of Weymouth; 1660, made Commiſſioner of the Admiralty "and Navy, Governor of the town and fort of Kingſail, Vice-admiral of "Munſter, and a Member of that Provincial Council; and anno 1664, was "choſen Great Captain Commander under His Royal Highneſs, in that ſig-"nal and moſt evidently ſucceſsful fight againſt the Dutch fleet. Thus he "took leave of the Sea, his old element, but continued ſtill his other em-"ploys till 1669; at what time, through bodily infirmities, contracted by "the care and fatigue of publick affairs, he withdrew, prepared, and made "for his end; and, with a gentle and even gale, in much peace arrived and "anchored in his laſt and beſt port, at Wanſtead in the county of Eſſex, the "16th of September, 1670, being then but forty-nine and four months old.

"To his Name and Memory his ſurviving Lady
"hath erected this Remembrance."

Diſpute between W. P. and J. Ives.

About this time a publick diſpute was held at Weſt Wiccomb in Buckinghamſhire, between him and one Jeremy Ives, a celebrated Baptiſt. The ſubject was, "The "Univerſality of the Divine Light," which Ives had undertaken to diſprove, and came furniſhed with a ſtock of ſyllogiſms ready framed for his purpoſe. It was his place, as Opponent, to ſpeak firſt; which as ſoon as he had done (being ſenſible that his Arguments ſtood in their greateſt force while unanſwered) he ſtepped down from his ſeat, and, with an intention of breaking up the aſſembly, departed. Some of his own party followed him; but the generality of the people tarrying, W. Penn had an opportunity of anſwering, which he did to the great ſatisfaction of the auditory.

In the ninth month of this year being at Oxford, and obſerving the cruel uſage and perſecution his innocent Friends underwent there from the hands of the junior ſcholars, too much by the connivance of their ſuperiors, he wrote a letter to the Vice-chancellor on that ſubject.

This winter having his reſidence at Penn in Buckinghamſhire, he publiſhed a book intituled, "A ſeaſonable Caveat againſt Popery," wherein he both expoſes and confutes many erroneous doctrines of the Church of Rome, and eſtabliſhes the oppoſite truths by ſound arguments: A work alone ſufficient, on the one hand, to wipe off the calumny caſt upon him of being a Favourer of the Romiſh Religion; and, on the other, to ſhew, that his principle being for an Univerſal Liberty of Conſcience, he would have had it extended even to the Papiſts themſelves, under a Security of their not perſecuting others. The book itſelf being a better vindication of its author in theſe points than any thing we can here ſay, is recommended to our reader's ſerious peruſal.

Is apprehended at a meeting in Wheeler-ſtreet.

On the 5th of the 12th month this year, being at a meeting in Wheeler-ſtreet, a ſerjeant with ſoldiers came and planted themſelves at the door, where they waited till he ſtood up and preached, and then the ſerjeant pulled him down, and led him into the ſtreet, where a conſtable and his aſſiſtants ſtanding ready to join them, they carried him away to the Tower, by order from the lieutenant. A guard was there clapt upon him, and a meſſenger diſpatched to the lieutenant, then at White-Hall, to inform him of the ſucceſs. After about three hours time, it being evening, he came home, and W. Penn was ſent for from the guard, by an officer with a file of muſqueteers. There were ſeveral in company with Sir John Robinſon, the lieutenant of the Tower; namely, Sir Samuel Starling, Sir John Shelden, Lieutenant-colonel Rycraft, and others. Orders being given that no perſon ſhould be admitted up unconcerned in the buſineſs, they proceeded to his examination, of which we find the following account given by an eye and ear witneſs; viz.

His examination before the Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir John Robinſon. What is this perſon's name?

[Note, *The Mittimus was already made, and his name put in.*]

Conſt. Mr. Penn, Sir.

J. R. Is your name Penn?

W. P. Doſt thou not know me? Haſt thou forgot me?

J. R. I do not know you: I do not deſire to know ſuch as you are.

1670. *W. P.* If not, why didſt thou ſend for me hither?

J. R. Is that your name, Sir?

W. P. Yes, yes, my name is Penn; thou knoweſt it is; I am not aſhamed of my name.

J. R. Conſtable, where did you find him?

Conſt. At Wheeler-ſtreet, at a meeting, ſpeaking to the people.

J. R. You mean he was ſpeaking to an Unlawful Aſſembly?

Conſt. I do not know indeed, Sir; he was there, and he was ſpeaking.

J. R. Give them their oaths.

W. P. Hold, do not ſwear the men; there is no need of it: I freely acknowledge I was at Wheeler-ſtreet, and that I ſpake to an aſſembly of people there.

J. R. *and ſeveral others.* He confeſſes it.

W. P. I do ſo; I am not aſhamed of my teſtimony.

J. R. No matter; give them their oaths.

[Note, *They were ſworn to anſwer ſuch queſtions as ſhould be aſked, upon which they gave the evidence before given by the Conſtable.*]

J. R. Mr. Penn, you know the law better than I can tell you; and you know theſe things are contrary to the law.

W. P. If thou believeſt me to be better known in the law than thyſelf, hear me; for I know no law I have tranſgreſſed. All laws are to be conſidered Strictly and Literally, or more Explanatorily and Lenitively. In the firſt ſenſe, the execution of many laws may be *Extrema Injuria*, the Greateſt Wrong: In the latter, Wiſdom and Moderation: I would have thee make that part thy choice.

Now whereas I am probably to be tried by the late Act againſt Conventicles, I conceive it doth not reach me.

J. R. No, Sir, I ſhall not proceed upon that law:

W. P. What law then? I am ſure that was intended for the ſtandard on theſe occaſions.

J. R. The Oxford-Act of Six Months.

W. P. That, of all laws, cannot concern me; for firſt I was never in *Orders*, neither Epiſcopally nor Claſſically, and one of them is intended by the Preamble of the Act.

J. R. No, No; any that ſpeak in Unlawful Aſſemblies, and you ſpoke in an Unlawful Aſſembly.

W. P. Two things are to be conſidered. Firſt, That the words, "Such as ſpeak "in any Unlawful Aſſemblies," alter the caſe much; for ſuch is relative of the Preamble, and cannot concern perſons in any other qualification, than under ſome Ordination or mark of Prieſthood. I am perſuaded thou knoweſt I am no ſuch perſon; I was never ordained, nor have I any particular Charge or Stipend, that may intitle me to ſuch a Function; and therefore I am wholly unconcerned in the word "ſuch".

Secondly, An Unlawful Aſſembly is too general a word; the Act doth not define to us what is meant by an Unlawful Aſſembly.

J. R. But other Acts do.

W. P. That is not to the purpoſe; for that may be an Unlawful Aſſembly in one Act, that may, by circumſtances, not be ſo adjudged in another; and it is hard that you will not ſtick to ſome One Act or Law, but, to accompliſh your ends, borrow a piece out of One Act, to ſupply the defects of another, and of a different nature from it.

J. R. Will you ſwear? Will you take the Oath that the Act requires of you?

W. P. This is not to the purpoſe.

J. R. Read him the Oath.

The OATH.

'I W. P. do ſwear that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take 'Arms againſt the King, and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking 'Arms, by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſionated 'by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſions, and that I will not at any time endea'vour any Alteration of Government, either in Church or State.'

J. R. Will you take it, or no?

W. P. What need I take an oath not to do that, it is my faith not to do, ſo far as concerns the KING.

Lieut. Price. Then ſwear it.

W. P. The oath in that reſpect is already anſwered to all intents and purpoſes; for if I cannot fight againſt any man, (much leſs againſt the King) what need I take an oath not to do it? Should I ſwear not to do what is already againſt my conſcience to do?

J. R. You will not take the oath then.

1670.

W. P. What if I refuſe the oath, not becauſe of the matter contained in it (which only can criminate in the ſenſe of the Act) but of ſcrupling any oath? Shall I therefore be committed to priſon? This is moſt unequal. It was about FIGHTING the Oath and Act were deſigned, and not taking of Oaths: Therefore the denying to ſwear, when there is a denial to fight or plot, is no equitable ground for commitment.

J. R. Do you refuſe to ſwear?

W. P. Yes, and that upon better grounds than thoſe for which thou wouldſt have me ſwear, if thou wilt pleaſe to hear me.

J. R. I am ſorry you ſhould put me upon this ſeverity; it is no pleaſant work to me.

W. P. Theſe are but words; it is maniſeſt that this is a prepenſe malice: Thou haſt ſeveral times laid the meetings for me, and this day particularly.

J. R. No, I profeſs I could not tell you would be there.

W. P. Thine own Corporal told me, that you had intelligence at the Tower that I would be at Wheeler-Street to-day, almoſt as ſoon as I knew it myſelf: It is diſingenuous and partial; I never gave thee occaſion for ſuch unkindneſs.

J. R. I knew no ſuch thing; but if I had, I confeſs I ſhould have ſent for you.

W. P. That might have been ſpared, I do heartily believe it.

J. R. I vow, Mr. Penn, I am ſorry for you; you are an ingenious gentleman, all the world muſt allow you, and do allow you that; and you have a plentiful eſtate: Why ſhould you render yourſelf unhappy, by aſſociating with ſuch a ſimple people?

W. P. I confeſs I have made it my choice to relinquiſh the company of thoſe that are ingeniouſly wicked, to converſe with thoſe that are more honeſtly ſimple.

J. R. I wiſh you wiſer.

W. P. And I wiſh thee better.

J. R. You have been as bad as other folks.

W. P. When, and where? I charge thee to tell the company to my face.

J. R. Abroad, and at home too.

Sir John Shelden, [*as is ſuppoſed*]. No, no, Sir John, that is too much: [*Or Words to that purpoſe.*]

W. P. I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, juſtly to accuſe me with ever having ſeen me drunk, heard me ſwear, utter a curſe, or ſpeak one obſcene word, (much leſs that I ever made it my practice.) I ſpeak this to God's Glory, that has ever preſerved me from the power of thoſe pollutions, and that from a child begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, than when men are of a more ſevere life than ordinary, for looſe perſons to comfort themſelves with the conceit, 'That they were once as THEY are;' as if there were no collateral, or oblique line of the compaſs, or globe, men may be ſaid to come from to the ARCTICK Pole, but directly and immediately from the ANTARCTICK. Thy words ſhall be thy burden, and I trample thy ſlander as dirt under my feet.

J. R. Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill will towards you; your father was my friend, and I have a great deal of kindneſs for you.

W. P. But thou haſt an ill way of expreſſing it. You are grown too high to conſider the plea of thoſe you call your Forefathers, for Liberty of Conſcience againſt the Papiſts, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Bradford, &c. It was then plea good enough; "My Conſcience won't let me go to Maſs," and "My Conſcience wills that I ſhould "have an Engliſh Teſtament."

But that ſingle plea for Separation, then Reaſonable, is now by you, that pretend to ſucceed them, adjudged Unreaſonable and Factious.

I ſay, ſince the only juſt cauſe of the firſt revolt from Rome, was a Diſſatisfaction in point of Conſcience, you cannot reaſonably perſecute others who have right to the ſame Plea, and allow that to be warrantable.

J. R. But you do nothing but ſtir up the people to Sedition; and there was one of your friends that told me, you preached Sedition, and meddled with the Government.

W. P. We have the unhappineſs to be miſrepreſented, and I am not the leaſt concerned therein: Bring me the man that will dare to juſtify this accuſation to my face; and if I am not able to make it appear that it is both my practice, and all my Friends, to inſtill principles of Peace and Moderation, (and only to war againſt Spiritual Wickedneſs, that all men may be brought to fear God and work righteouſneſs) I ſhall contentedly undergo the ſevereſt puniſhment all your laws can expoſe me to.

And as for the King, I make this offer, That if any living can make appear, directly or indirectly, from the time I have been called a Quaker, (ſince from thence you date me ſeditious) I have contrived or acted any thing injurious to his Perſon, or the Engliſh Government, I ſhall ſubmit my perſon to your utmoſt cruelties, and eſteem them all but a due recompence. It is hard, that I being innocent, ſhould be reputed guilty! But the Will of God be done! I accept of Bad Report as well as Good.

J. R. Well, I muſt ſend you to Newgate for ſix months; and when they are expired, you will come out.

1670. *W. P.* Is that all? Thou well knoweſt a larger impriſonment has not daunted me: I accept it at the Hand of the Lord, and am contented to ſuffer His Will. Alas! you miſtake your intereſt; you will miſs your aim; this is not the way to compaſs your ends.

J. R. You bring yourſelf into trouble: You will be the heading of Parties, and drawing people after you.

W. P. Thou miſtakeſt, there is no ſuch way as this to render men remarkable: You are angry that I am Conſiderable, and yet you take the very way to make me ſo, by making this buſtle and ſtir about one peaceable perſon.

J. R. I wiſh your adhering to theſe things do not convert you to ſomething at laſt.

W. P. I would have thee and all men to know, that I ſcorn that Religion which is not worth ſuffering for, and able to ſuſtain thoſe that are afflicted for it: Mine is; and whatever may be my lot for my conſtant profeſſion of it, I am no-ways careful, but reſigned to anſwer the Will of God, by the Loſs of Goods, Liberty, and Life itſelf. When you have all, you can have no more, and then perhaps you will be contented, and by that you will be better informed of our Innocency. THY Religion PERSECUTES, and mine FORGIVES: And I deſire my GOD to forgive you all, that are concerned in my Commitment, and I leave you all in perfect Charity, wiſhing your everlaſting Salvation.

J. R. Send a Corporal, with a File of Muſqueteers along with him.

W. P. No, no, ſend thy Lacquey; I know the Way to Newgate.

Being committed to this priſon for ſix months, he filled up the time of his confinement by continual employ; and here he wrote "The Great Caſe of Liberty of Con-"ſcience, once more briefly debated and defended," together with ſeveral other pieces of occaſional controverſy.

In the time of his impriſonment, the Parliament being about to take meaſures for enforcing with greater ſeverity the aforeſaid Conventicle Act, he whoſe freedom of ſpirit a priſon could not confine from advocating the Cauſe of Liberty, wrote the following paper, directed

'To the High Court of Parliament.'

'FOraſmuch as it hath pleaſed you to make an Act, intituled, "An Act for
"ſuppreſſing Seditious Conventicles, the Dangerous Practices of Seditious Secta-
"ries," &c. And that, under pretence of authority from it, many have taken the
'ungodly liberty of plundering, pillaging, and breaking into houſes, to the ruin and
'detriment of whole families, not regarding the poor, the widow and the fatherleſs,
'beyond all precedent or excuſe; and that we are informed it is your purpoſe, inſtead of
'relaxing your hand, to ſupply the defects of that Act by ſuch explanatory Clauſes as
'will inevitably expoſe us to the fury and intereſt of our ſeveral adverſaries, that under
'pretence of anſwering the intents of the ſaid Act, will only gratify their private hu-
'mours, and doubtleſs extend it beyond its original purpoſe, to the utter deſtruction of
'us and our ſuffering friends;

'We therefore eſteem ourſelves obliged in Chriſtian duty, once more to remonſtrate,

'Firſt, That we own Civil Government, or Magiſtracy, as God's Ordinance for the
'puniſhment of Evil-doers, and the praiſe of them that do well; and though we can-
'not comply with thoſe laws, that prohibit us to worſhip God according to our Con-
'ſciences, as believing it to be His alone Prerogative to preſide in matters of Faith and
'Worſhip, yet we both own, and are ready to yield Obedience to, every Ordinance of
'Man relating to Human Affairs, and that for Conſcience-ſake.

'Secondly, That we deny and renounce, as an horrible impiety, all Plots and Con-
'ſpiracies, or to promote our Intereſt, or Religion, by the blood and deſtruction of
'ſuch as diſſent from us, or yet thoſe that perſecute us.

'Thirdly, That in all Revolutions we have demeaned ourſelves with much Peace and
'Patience, (diſowning all contrary actings) notwithſtanding the numerous provocations
'of cruel and ungodly men; which is a demonſtration of our Harmleſs Behaviour, that
'ought not to be of little moment with you.

'Fourthly, That as we have ever lived moſt peaceably under all the various Govern-
'ments that have been ſince our firſt appearance (notwithſtanding we have been as their
'anvil to ſmite upon) ſo we do hereby ſignify that it is our Fixed Reſolution to conti-
'nue the ſame, that where we cannot ACTUALLY OBEY, WE PATIENTLY SHALL
'SUFFER, (leaving our innocent cauſe with God, not daring to love our lives unto the
'death, for our bleſſed teſtimony's ſake,) thereby manifeſting to the whole world, that
'we love GOD above all, and our Neighbours as ourſelves.

'If this prevails not with you to ſuſpend your thoughts of reinforcing your former
'Act, we do deſire that we, or ſome of our Friends, may receive a free hearing from
'you, (as ſeveral of us had upon the firſt Act for Uniformity) having many great and
'weighty reaſons to offer againſt all ſuch ſevere proceedings, to the end all wrong mea-
'ſures of us and of our Principles may be rectified, and that you, being better informed

'of both, may remove our heavy burdens, and let the oppreſſed go free, for ſuch 'Moderation will be well-pleaſing both to GOD and Good Men. 1671.

'From us who are now priſoners at Newgate (for Conſcience-ſake) on the 'behalf of ourſelves, and all our ſuffering Friends in England, &c.'

'Newgate, Second
'Month, 1671.

'W. PENN, and ſeveral others.'

The keepers of Newgate being at this time very abuſive to the Quakers there impriſoned (for honeſt men bringing leſs griſt to the Jailor's mill than riotous debauchees, are hardly welcome gueſts) he wrote a letter, by way of complaint to the Sheriffs, who, that year, were men of good temper and moderation, being as follows.

'To the SHERIFFS of LONDON.'

'FRIENDS,

'THOUGH we are a People the plainneſs of whoſe principles will not admit 'of Vain Compliments, yet are we by them required to expreſs our Gratitude; and we muſt confeſs, that ſince your being in Office, we have received many 'inſtances of your Kindneſs, for which you never will be condemned of God or virtuous men, as well as that we ſend you by the bearer our Acknowledgments.

'This done, we think fit to let you know, that though we are in a diſtinct Houſe, 'yet not in a diſtinct Capacity, with mere Felons; unleſs it be, that they have a Free 'Priſon, and we have none: For the Keeper is ſo far from ſhewing us that Common 'Reſpect, or we enjoy that which differenced us from Malefactors, that we are 'not leſs reſtrained, if not ſo much abuſed; for one of us deſiring liberty to fetch 'ſome beer, the Turnkey thruſt him back, calling him Loggerhead, Puppy, Rogue, '&c. and that to ſeveral others.

'In ſhort, we are not willing to be Bondſmen at our own Coſt; not for the Value 'of our Houſe-Rent, with other additional expences, but for our Teſtimony againſt 'the inſulting Menaces and Extortions of ſome of the Jailors, who would caſt us 'into the Common Stinking Jail! and therefore are reſolved to undergo that Severity: 'Which is all at preſent from thoſe that have wronged no man, but fear God, and 'have peace with him.'

'Newgate, Third
'Month, 1671.'

'Your true Friends, W. P. &c.'

His ſix months impriſonment in Newgate being expired, he was ſet at liberty, and ſhortly after went over into Holland and Germany: Of his miniſtry and ſervices at this time in thoſe countries, ſome account is given by himſelf in the beginning of his ſubſequent Travels into thoſe parts, herein-after inſerted. Is diſcharged from Newgate.

In the beginning of the year 1672, and the 28th of his age, our author took to wife Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, formerly of Darling in Suſſex, who was killed in the time of the civil wars at the ſiege of Bamber: His widow was afterward married to Iſaac Pennington, of Peters-Chalfont in Buckinghamſhire, in whoſe family her ſaid daughter was brought up; a young woman whom a virtuous diſpoſition, joined to a comely perſonage, rendered well accompliſhed. 1672. His firſt marriage.

Soon after his marriage, pitching upon a convenient habitation at Rickmerſworth in Hertfordſhire, he reſided there with his family, often viſiting the Meetings of Friends, and returning home again.

In the ſeventh month this year, he took a journey to viſit his Friends in Kent, Suſſex and Surrey; of which his own Memorandums furniſh us with an obſervation of that ſingular induſtry which the free miniſters of the Goſpel exerciſe in the diſcharge of their office; for in the ſpace of Twenty-one days, he, with his companion under the like concern, were preſent at, and preached to as many Aſſemblies of People at diſtant Places, viz. Rocheſter, Canterbury, Dover, Deal, Folkſtone, Aſhford, and other places in Kent; at Lewes, Horſham, Stenning, &c. in Suſſex; and at Charlewood and Rygate in Surrey. Great was their ſervice in theſe counties; Their teſtimonies effectual to the ſtrengthening of their Friends, ſilencing of Gainſayers, and to a General Edification, were received by the people with joy and openneſs of heart; and themſelves, in the performance of their duty, filled with ſpiritual conſolation. Our author gives this account of their laſt meeting in that journey, being at Rygate: 'The Lord ſealed up our labours and travels, according to the deſire 'of my ſoul and ſpirit, with his heavenly Refreſhments and ſweet living Power and 'Word of Life, unto the reaching of all, and conſolating our own hearts abundantly.' And concludes his narrative with theſe words: 'And thus hath the Lord been with 'us in all our travels for his Truth, and with his bleſſings of peace are we returned, 'which is a reward beyond all worldly treaſure.' Travels into Kent and Suſſex.

1672. In the ninth month this year, being at home again, he wrote the following letter to one Dr. Haſbert, a phyſician at Embden in Germany.

'To Dr. HASBERT, Phyſician at the City of EMBDEN.'

'DEAR FRIEND,

'I Have very often remembered thee in the deep ſenſe of that weighty love of God, which his heavenly Truth raiſed in my heart to viſit thee in; earneſtly praying in ſpirit, that thou mighteſt receive a clear underſtanding of that bleſſed way of life and ſalvation, which he hath counted a remnant worthy both to know and to ſuffer for in this day: Glory and everlaſting honour to his moſt holy name! O my friend, it is my heart's deſire to the Lord, that he would preſerve thee ſimple, upright and conſtant in the obedience to that meaſure of the heavenly Light, wherewith the God and Father of Light hath illuminated thee, and unto which thou art now turned; in which as thou abideſt, with thy mind rightly exerciſed in the fear and dread of the Lord God, thou wilt be preſerved out of the vain janglings of the angry, peeviſh, and perverſe profeſſor, and kept clean from the ſins and pollutions that are in the prophane world. O how many profeſs God and Chriſt, according to the Hiſtorical Knowledge of both, but never come to the Myſtical and Experimental Knowledge of them! No, it is utterly impoſſible, that any thing ſhould bring to the Internal Knowledge and Experience of the work and will of God, but the Light and Spirit only, by an Inward Revelation and Operation: And ſuch as intitle themſelves to Chriſtianity, whilſt ſtrangers to the Terrors of the Lord for Sin, and to a Purgation from it, by the Fiery trials of his inward judgments, as well as outward tribulations (who is as Refiner's Fire, and as Everlaſting Burnings to all the workers of iniquity) they are of the Synagogue of Satan, and ſubjects of the god of this World, whoſe throne is in the hearts of the children of diſobedience unto the heavenly Light within: And therefore, in the name and authority of the Lord God of heaven and earth, I teſtify, that the way for every man and woman to come to God (whom darkneſs can have no acceſs to, for to it is he inacceſſible) is to bring his or her deeds to the Light in him or herſelf, and ſee if they be wrought in God, or by him: If they be, the Fire cannot conſume the pure gold; if they be not, Judgment with the Light will paſs, on God's behalf, upon the Creature, from whence there is no Appeal, without due Repentance, and turning to the Light, in it to walk in thought, word, and deed, in which the nations of them that be ſaved muſt walk and live for ever.

'And becauſe of the righteous judgment this heavenly Light brings (for, for Judgment is it come into the World) upon the Profeſſor, that is at eaſe in the Outward Courts of Profeſſion (that were given to the Gentiles to tread down, and which were left out in the meaſuring the Evangelical Temple of God) therefore is he ſo nettled, vexed, and in enmity, ſaying, "You deny the Scriptures; you renounce Chriſt; "you ſet up your own Works, and your Light is inſufficient," with ſuch-like. O but the Wiſe Man loves Reproof, and the Way thereof is Life to his upright ſoul: But this thou muſt expect from the Carnal, Fleſhly, and Hiſtorical Chriſtian of the Outward Courts and Suburbs of Religion, who is an Enemy to the Spiritual Seed, that ſees to the end of all Meats, Drinks, Waſhings, Figures, and Bodily Exerciſes: But as thy mind is kept ſtayed upon the Light, thou wilt have a good Underſtanding given to thee, and a right Diſcerning, whereby to comprehend and confound all that which may let or ſtop, whether it be within, or whether it be without: For this know, that the very ſame PRINCIPLE that gives LIGHT, adminiſters Strength, Knowledge, Life, Raiment, and all that ſhall or can be needed in the Spiritual Journey to the Eternal Reſt: So, dear Friend, unto that I recommend thee, beſeeching thee to dwell in it, for by it are all things, that are either reproveable or juſtifiable, made manifeſt, and whatſoever can be known of God (whom to know effectually is life eternal) is manifeſted within. And, O the peace! O the joy! O the heavenly refreſhment that they witneſs, that know a paſſing, (not from one Form to another) but from Death and Darkneſs, unto Life and Light, and are in the ſpiritual travel from Egypt's Land, through the State of Condemnation for Sin (which is MOSES in Spirit) unto Juſtification, through Life Eternal, which is the gift of God by JESUS CHRIST. The Lord God eternal preſerve thee, and keep thee ſtayed in thy mind, out of all wanderings, doubtings or murmurings, in holy faith, reſignation and patience, till thou witneſſeſt his kingdom to be come, and his will to be done on earth as it is in heaven; that ſo thou mayſt be a ſpiritual Candle in thy place, giving Light in the Life of Righteouſneſs, to the eclipſing of all the dim appearances of the Formal Righteouſneſs, that is among the Carnal and Hiſtorical Chriſtians there-away (who talk of Chriſt in ſwelling words of vanity, but leave the Croſs behind) which they are to be convinced of, and condemned for,

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by the Holy Paraclete, as well as for the groſſeſt of their iniquity, both being an abomination to the Lord. And if thou doſt freely give up, counting nothing dear, to anſwer the Lord's heavenly viſitation of Love and Light into thee, by living in the Croſs to the Sin, Righteouſneſs and Judgment that are of this World, and teſtifying to the ſpiritual inviſible way of Salvation, as in the Light thou haſt received, and yet mayeſt receive, Experimental Knowledge, glory, immortality, and eternal life will be thy inheritance, when time ſhall be no more: Only this I would leave in caution with thee, Think not that thou haſt attained All that in the Holy Viſion of Light may be preſented to thee, but rather in the Light wait to feel the Heavenly Power to ariſe, that is able to bring into the actual Enjoyment of thoſe States; and when thou comeſt thus experimentally to know the work of God wrought in thyſelf, thou canſt with boldneſs ſpeak, as one knowing whereof thou affirmeſt, having taſted and handled of the Word of Life, whether as an Hammer, Fire, Sword, a Waſher and Reconciler.

'So the Lord God of his remnant and children of Light, yet more and more enlighten, confirm and preſerve thee, in and by his eternal Power, to the end; for they, and they only, come to be ſaved. I am, in the fellowſhip of the Light, and Way of the Croſs of Chriſt,

'Thy endeared Friend,
'W. P.'

'My love is to thy Wife; and ſalute me kindly to thoſe that were at meeting when I was at Embden.

POSTSCRIPT.

'Such as can be baptized with that Baptiſm, and drink of that Cup which JESUS was baptized with, and drank deeply of, ſuch, and ſuch alone, ſhall ſit at his Right-hand in the high and heavenly place: Which is a hard ſaying to all the National and Carnal Profeſſors, but the Children of Light receive it with thankfulneſs, and ſanctify God in their hearts.'

At this time ſundry oppoſers, ſome of whom being Diſſenters themſelves, had enough to do in time of perſecution, by a Cautious Privacy, which they called 'Chriſtian Prudence,' to ſecure their own heads from the ſtorm the Quakers weathered, began, under the ſunſhine of the King's Indulgence, to peep out, and, by gainſaying the Truth, to make its defence neceſſary: So that our Author, who never turned his back in the day of battle, had plenty of Controverſial Exerciſe for his pen, the remainder of this year, and the two next enſuing; about which time likewiſe he wrote ſeveral remarkable letters, ſome of which are here inſerted; viz.

'To Juſtice FLEMING, a Juſtice of Quorum, and Deputy Lieutenant in Weſtmorland.'

'THE obligation thy civility laid upon the perſon that is now my wife, when in the North, anno 1664, is, with her being ſo, become mine. Not to acknowledge, though I could never retaliate it, were a rudeneſs I have not uſually been guilty of; for however differing I am from other men *Circa Sacra*, and that World, which, reſpecting Men, may be ſaid to *begin* when this *ends*, I know no Religion that deſtroys Courteſy, Civility, and Kindneſs; which, rightly underſtood, are great indications of True Men, if not of Good Chriſtians. Certainly there is ſuch a thing as Civil Uniformity, where a Religious one may be unobtainable; and methinks there can be nothing more irrational, than to ſacrifice the ſerenity of the one, to an adventurous (if not impoſſible) procurement of the other. Let Men be MEN before CHRISTIANS, and not repute that the beſt way of making them the laſt, which inevitably deſtroys the very conſtitution of the firſt. Natural Affection, Quiet Living, Honeſt Commerce, and an Exemplary Life, ſo ſtrongly plead for Toleration of Opinion, that where Opinion aims not at the Deſtruction of Government, it is high pity, and not a little injuſtice, to moleſt thoſe that are ſo qualified. It is not my purpoſe to diſpute for Liberty of Conſcience, but recommend it. Several diſcourſes are extant, which, with me, ſeem irrefutable. I hope the unſucceſsfulneſs of ſuch ſeverity as hath been acted, will be an unanſwerable argument with them to leave it, with whom other reaſons would not prevail; though I cannot think, but a perſon of thoſe parts ſeveral have repreſented thee to have, would have been ſatisfied with leſs Coſt of Controverſy: For, indeed, there can be nothing more irrational, than to fanſy that eternal Penalties ſhould work right Conviction, or Information upon the Conſcience in the Underſtanding of any. Sure I am, it is beneath the True Religion to do ſo, as well as unbecoming one that has been obſerved to uſe that ill argument againſt others.

1673. ‘But the ſcene is changed, and from the ſeverity of Magiſtrates, we are fallen under the implacable hate and perſecution of ſome Co-Diſſenters. It is for our credit they quarrel with us, eſpecially that they begin: Truth then beſt advocates her innocence unto mens conſciences, when it is moſt queſtioned: She loſes nothing by being tried, but the Wolfs-Skin, which the Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing is wont to caſt upon her; and I no-ways doubt of that ſucceſs in our undertakings for her defence. An Independent and an Anabaptiſt, both preachers, have lately bedirted us in Three Diſcourſes they have publiſhed againſt us, it is ſaid, with no ſmall applauſe; but then it is to be underſtood, with our Enemies, or ſuch as know us not: For them we have Charity; therefore have we writ; for truly neither is the Truth hurt in herſelf, nor are we brought into the leaſt Doubt of our Holy Faith by them. Our unhappineſs is, we are not *underſtood*, and Envy takes great care we ſhould not: I have ſent with this our Anſwers: Be pleaſed to accept and peruſe them; I hope I need not ſay, impartially, to a man of ſo much wiſdom and prudence. I leave the conſequence with Almighty God, to whom we muſt all render our account for the deeds done in this mortal body, whether they be good or evil. Excuſe my freedom, and accept my acknowledgment of former favour, and be aſſured it ſhall ever meet with a grateful return from

‘Rickmerſworth,
‘1673.

‘Thy ſincere Friend, however unknown,
‘W. P.’

‘To all Suffering FRIENDS in Holland, or Germany, particularly in ‘Frederickſtadt, and in or near Dantzick.

‘My dear FRIENDS, ‘Rickmerſworth 1ſt of the 7th Month, 1673.

‘IN God's everlaſting Truth, and that heavenly Power, Srength and Dominion that ſtands therein, doth my ſoul very dearly ſalute you all, who have taſted of the inviſible and heavenly Life, that is made known unto that reſidue of the Woman's Seed, who have been begotten into the living way of Light and Righteouſneſs: Oh! pleaſant are the outgoings of the Lord to and in his children, whoſe minds are truly ſtaid upon him, and are freely reſigned up into his all-wiſe diſpoſal; ſuch ſhall abound in the joy of God's ſalvation, even in ſufferings, perſecutions, tribulations, yea deaths, and every peril that may attend your moſt holy faith. Therefore, hold up your heads, and be ye comforted, O little Flock, your Shepherd will not fly, though the Wolf come: Know your Shepherd, and dwell with him; and he will bring you into ſweet and green paſtures, in the midſt of your enemies. Conſult not with fleſh and blood, to know what may be the cauſe of your trials, how you may ſhun them, or which way you may keep Mammon and a Good Conſcience too; but eye the Lord, without whoſe Providence a ſparrow falls not to the ground. No new or ſtrange thing can happen unto you: Dwell in the Faith that works by Love, and that will caſt out all Fear, that begets any ſtaggering from your holy teſtimony: Remember that many eyes are upon you, and as you acquit yourſelves in this exerciſe that may quickly be ſuffered to come upon you, ſo will God's Truth be well or ill ſpoken of; for people will meaſure your moſt holy Way by YOU. The Way they ſee not, YOU they will behold: What know ye, but the Lord is now preparing and brightening of you for farther ſervice, both where you live, and in other places? Oh! in the Light of JESUS, “the Juſt Man's Path,” live and walk, that to the end you may endure; ſo ſhall you glorify God, anſwer their labours who have travailed among you, and obtain unto yourſelves eternal ſalvation. So, dear hearts, be ſtill, quiet, and given up in life and death, God's great work is going on: He always comes upon the WORLD in a STORM, and ſometimes to his CHILDREN, that they may be the more weaned from the World, that people may be the more ſtirred up to mind them, and that Truth may be more effectually manifeſted through their ſelf-denial, patience, and reſolution. Stand then, be valiant, and keep your minds to the inviſible Life, that in the Light is felt; and then, I am perſuaded, “Neither Principalities, nor Powers, nor Life, nor Death, nor any other Thing, ſhall ever be able to ſeparate you from the Love of God,” that hath been, and daily is, revealed to you in Chriſt Jeſus, the Lamb of God, and Light of the World.

‘The God of all peace keep your minds and ſpirits in perfect peace, amidſt the greateſt troubles and diſquiets from without, that you may finiſh your teſtimonies with us, to his eternal praiſe that hath called us, who is over every name worthy, even God bleſſed for ever. Amen, Amen.

‘Your fellow-feeling Brother in the Unchangeable Truth,
‘W. P.’

POSTSCRIPT.

‘Truth greatly prevails in theſe Iſlands, and grows daily famous over the heads of its peeviſh oppoſers: And my Friends, that have heard lately of you, travail and ſympathize with you: You are not alone, and He that is in you is greater than he that is in the World. Farewell.’

‘To the LITTLE FLOCK and FAMILY of GOD, the People whom he hath called and gathered to the Knowledge and Belief of his Everlaſting Way to Life and Salvation (of GOD beloved, but of MEN traduced, and ſpoken evil of); as alſo ſuch as have of late any deſires begotten in them after his eternal Truth, now reſiding in the UNITED PROVINCES;

‘Right Underſtanding, Sound Faith, and Perfect Obedience, with all Spiritual Bleſſings, be increaſed amongſt you, according to your ſeveral Neceſſities!

‘DEAR and Well-beloved FRIENDS,

‘MY true and tender love in God, our Life, who by the Power that raiſed our Lord Jeſus Chriſt from the dead, hath quickened us unto an hope of eternal felicity, when days, and years, and times ſhall be no more, do I at this time ſalute you, and the reſt of Friends in all thoſe parts, unto whom is the iſſuing forth of the Light and Love of God in an abundant manner, that you may all receive plentiful Redemption, and be refreſhed in him, who is an Everlaſting Fountain, that can never be exhauſted; and for the Thirſty it is ſet open, that they who want inward conſolation and ſatisfaction for their immortal ſouls, might be abundantly repleniſhed with the living cryſtal ſtreams thereof: Bleſſed are they of the Father of all bleſſings and mercies, that have their eye turned unto him, that watch and wait upon him, who dare not to offend or grieve his good Spirit, that ſtands ready not only to convince the World of Sin, and turn many into the Way of Life; but ſeal all the faithful unto the inheritance of eternal life: That as you once bore the Earthly Image, and wore the Beaſt's Seal in your Foreheads, ſo now you may daily witneſs the renewing of the Heavenly Image upon you, by the power of the Lord, inwardly felt, and a wearing of the Lamb's Seal in your Foreheads, by the Spirit of our God.

‘Oh! be not ſcattered from this bleſſed hope, nor let the bawlings of ſome thick, carnal, head-wiſe oppoſers, who are more in word than in deed, and only ſkilled in Science falſely ſo called (for it is filled with endleſs jangles and debates) any whit move you, my dear Friends, from your holy ſtanding; neither the reproaches of the prophane, nor cruel ſufferings of ſome perſecuting Phariſees, nor, finally, the falling-away, and treacherous apoſtaſy, of any Judas, Demas, or Alexander the Copper-ſmith; but as pilgrims, eſtranged from the life and ſpirit of this world, who are embarked for a more durable country and building that is eternal in the Heavens, paſs away your ſojourning here below in fear and trembling, in diligence and godly converſation; that ſo the Goſpel may be adorned, the life and power of godlineſs ſhine brightly forth through thoſe black clouds, with which envious men ſeek to obſcure and eclipſe the beauty of your principles and practice, and God ſhall have the glory, and you ſhall be preſerved to his eternal kingdom: And therefore, my dear Friends, have a care of the ſnares the Evil-one lays in the ſpirit of this World, whereby to draw out your minds from the heavenly Watch, againſt that which makes not for God's honour and your own true peace: That no ſluggiſh, negligent, or earthly ſpirit overtake you, ſince the fatherly viſitation has reached unto you. Neither let vain Thoughts or unneceſſary Diſputations be cheriſhed, for none of thoſe things make for true comfort in the day of God. O that the Croſs of Chriſt may evermore be precious among you! And you whom the Lord of late hath more particularly extended his loving kindneſs unto, leave the Dead to bury the Dead; part with all, that you may have eternal life: Make no bargains of Eaſe for your Fleſh and Blood, which muſt never enter into the Kingdom of God, and whoſe Conſultings, if you yield to them, will run you into eternal perdition.

‘“Bleſſed are the Poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of God;” and a man is then ſo, when he hath parted with all for Chriſt's name ſake. I mean not a comfortable Livelihood, as Popiſh Friars do, that they may live on the hard labours of other men; that is, at beſt, but the Outſide of the platter; but thoſe Faſhions, Cuſtoms, Pleaſures, Honours, Luſts, &c. that are from below, and formed and brought forth by the Spirit of this World, unto which the freeborn Children of God, by the eternal Spirit, have been made ſtrangers, not touching therewith. O let not the Fooliſhneſs of the Croſs be over-reaſoned, cavilled, and diſputed; a willing Offering, reſigned Spirit, and contented Bearer of the reproach of men for Con-

1673. ' ſcience-ſake, ſuch God loves, and hath in great regard: He is a ſufficient recompence; and every light affliction he repays with a far more exceeding weight of glory, even that pure ſpiritual glory, that was with the Father ere this World began.

' O prize your precious and high calling, and diligently ſeek to make your Calling and Election ſure, by working out your ſo great ſalvation by the Power and Spirit of Jeſus our Lord: And as many as are led by it, are children and heirs, yea co-heirs, of that life and kingdom with him, which abideth for evermore. So the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by his holy Arm and Power, compaſs you about, and have your ſouls and bodies in his keeping, that in his fear and love you may live towards him and one another the remainder of your days: So ſhall honour aſcend to him, and his peace like a river flow amongſt you to your unutterable rejoicing, world without end.

' I am

' Your ſenſible, tender, and ſincere Friend and Brother in the Everlaſting
' Truth, to ſerve you to the utmoſt of my ability therein,

' From my Houſe at Rickmerſworth,
' in the Nation of England, the
' 4th of the 10th Month
S. V. 1673.

' W. P.'

' TO FRIENDS IN MARYLAND.

' DEAR FRIENDS,

' THOUGH unknown to you in Body, yet well known in Spirit, by that eternal living Union and Fellowſhip that the Light of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath brought us into, which comprehends the world, the life, wiſdom, and works of it, and reproves them all as degenerated from the Life of God, and the commonwealth of his bleſſed ſpiritual Iſrael: And bleſſed will you be for ever, as you keep therein; for a growing-up into immortality, and the life, peace, and joy that are eternal, you will witneſs more and more, which is the heavenly durable treaſure in the earthen veſſel. In the living ſenſe of his precious Truth, and glorious day of Light, Life, and Love, that has dawned and is breaking up clearer and clearer upon us, my ſoul ſalutes you, the honeſt and faithful-hearted Friends of Maryland Plantation; wiſhing you the increaſes of God day by day, to the building you more and more up into the Image that is glorious, being the expreſs Repreſentation of Him that hath called you to the hope that gives comfort in the day of the Lord: Oh, my dear Friends, up and work for the Lord God, for the deſpiſed Light and Truth of Jeſus, in your day; and let not us be leſs vigilant, in the tender, diligent, fervent ſpirit for God, than the World is for their Mammon, that ſo we may appear Men for God, not for Ourſelves, minding the Things of Chriſt, and not our own, Phil. ii. 21. So ſhall God's Truth ſpread to the utmoſt Parts of the Earth, and the Heathen ſhall become the Inheritance of that True Light, that lighteth every Man that cometh into the World.

' Dear Friends, It fell to my lot to manage your concerns with the Attorney-General of the Colony, and the Lord Baltimore, about Oaths: I obtained to George Fox's paper the Anſwer endorſed on the back-ſide. Now my advice to you is to repreſent to them,

' Firſt, That Oaths have riſen from Corruptions; that Falſeneſs, Diſtruſt, and Jealouſies brought them into the world, as ſay Polybius, Grotius, Biſhop Gawden, and others; and God having redeemed you to Truth-Speaking, the Cauſe is taken away, viz. Falſehood; Therefore the Effect, by way of Remedy, to wit, Oaths, ſhould ceaſe.

' Secondly, Chriſt expreſly forbids Swearing; inaſmuch as he doth not only prohibit VAIN Swearing, which was already forbidden under the Law, but that Swearing which the Law ALLOWED.

' Thirdly, That it is not only OUR Senſe: Polycarpus, Ponticus, Blandina, Baſilides, Primitive Martyrs, were of this mind; and Juſtin Martyr, Cyprian, Origen, Lactantius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Baſilius Magnus, Chryſoſtom, Theophylact, Oecumenius, Chromatius, Euthymius, (Fathers) ſo read the text, not to mention any of the Proteſtant Martyrs. Therefore ſhould they be tender.

' Fourthly, There is no injury done to the Plantation to take your WORDS, if any, to you that ſuffer the ſame penalty for a LYE which is only due to PERJURY, and which the Law, without your Conſent, does not inflict; your caution and pledge for HONESTY is as large as he that *ſwears*; for, as Truth-Speaking fulfils the Law, ſo equal Puniſhment with perjured Perſons, ſatisfies it.

' Laſtly,

1673.

‘ Laſtly, That your coming thither as to a Sanctuary, makes it reaſonable that they ſhould not drive you thence for mere Conſcience, ſo well grounded and confirmed by Scripture, Reaſon and Authorities. Let your Yea and Nay be all.

‘ The Lord Baltimore mentioned ſomething about your allowing ſome ſmall matter for not performing Martial Matters: In that be wiſe, deliberate and paſſive; only if they preſs too hard, interpoſe. I ſuppoſe they will be moderate in that, and all other caſes relating to you, at leaſt I was told and aſſured ſo.

‘ I have no more, but that Truth proſpers, in Meetings and out of them: Our adverſaries fall before us: And the ſober People of theſe Three Nations are open to hear, and ready both to think and ſpeak well of, the Way of the Lord. I ſent you one of Edward Burrough's books, and two ſmall ones of my own, as a token of my love, which accept. So the Lord God of eternal ſtrength preſerve us all, living, freſh, zealous, and wiſe, in that which is Pure of Himſelf, which he hath ſhed abroad in our hearts, to his eternal praiſe, and our everlaſting comfort. Amen, Amen, ſaith my ſoul.

‘ Your Friend and Brother, in the Truth and Cauſe of Chriſt Jeſus, the Light of the World.’

‘ Anno 1673.’ ‘ W. PENN.’

‘ To J. H. and his Companions, JUSTICES in Middleſex.’

‘ Rickmerſworth, the 31ſt of the 1ſt month,
called March, 1674.

‘ BEcauſe you are Juſtices as well as Neighbours, and reputed Gentlemen; not only Civility, but Duty, engages me to govern myſelf with all due reſpect in this epiſtle: Which, as it proceeds out of love to your perſons, and that hearty deſire I have your actions may not fall ſhort of that courteſy, neighbourhood, Conſcience, and fundamental law that becomes every man, much more a Gentleman, and he an Engliſhman, and a Juſtice too, but moſt of all a True Chriſtian, to ſquare himſelf by, rather than any ſiniſter end; ſo, I beſeech you, give it your peruſal and ſerious conſideration; and then, if you pleaſe, afford me your anſwer.

‘ I offered, as you may remember, ſeveral things, to abate your proceedings with us at Ruſlipe, which then it did not pleaſe you to hear enough to embrace. Perhaps a reiteration may conduce more to your ſatisfaction; at leaſt, it will acquit my conſcience; which, whatever you ſaid, or think, is of great value with me. And thoſe that have known me better than you do, are not ignorant how much I have been thought to ſtand in my own light, merely to preſerve that unblemiſhed.

‘ I told you then, that ſince you affirmed the report of this Meeting to have reached you a Month ſince (which, I think, was at leaſt a Week before any ſuch thing was intended) it had been handſome and neighbourly, indeed but natural and juſt, to give us notice of your intentions: For in a country ſo quiet as this (as where is there now any diſquiet?) Who could have expected ſuch a ſand or rock to ſtrike upon? Men uſe to provide land-marks and ſuch-like tokens for caution, where danger is, to prevent it. We never heard you to be ſevere; on the contrary, moderate; men of more candor than to expreſs ſeverity, or extend the letter of the law upon your neighbours.

‘ For what elſe, I beſeech you, can I call your ſending for all that ſhould meet there to appear before you, without any the leaſt preceding intimation of your diſpleaſure? Again, the Conſtable could give no Evidence of a Meeting, who left the People, ſome in the Houſe, ſome in the Yard, ſome in the Orchard, and ſeveral walking in the Highway: No more Preaching or Praying, then, where no People were. When you came, thoſe that the Conſtable ſaw, were diſperſed, and had been near an hour: Which we thought the thing you only aimed at: Finding ſome Five that remained, either at ſome Repaſt, or Diſcourſe, very remote from a CONVENTICLE, in your own ſenſe of the word, how fair an opportunity had you to clear your hands, as Juſtices and Friends, nothing offenſive to the Law in your hands being preſent to you. Perhaps we expected to hear that you were glad to find the People gone; and that the occaſion of any Rigour, to you unpleaſant, was removed; with, it may be, ſome gentle Caution for the future, that you might quit yourſelves as well like Men in Power, as kind Neighbours. But truly none of us, I dare ſay, ſo much as conceived one Thought like your Actions. Not that I think them the harſheſt that were ever ſhown; by no means; but exceeding our Expectations, the Circumſtances conſidered, and the door that was thereby opened for you to get out at: Eſpecially when you would not take our Words to be gone, but, after an untoward manner, compelled us out. I farther urged the general Quiet of the Seaſon, the Un-

1673. ‘ pleaſantneſs of theſe things to the King, his abſolute Renunciation of all ſuch Proceedings; that his DECLARATION was a great Inſtance; that though IT be cancelled, yet not the LIBERTY; for the quarrel lay not againſt the *Indulgence*, but the GRANT of it *formaliter*. It was not by an ACT of PARLIAMENT; and an ill precedent, ſaid the Parliament. I farther added, that the Parliament had *voted* Indulgence to the King's Diſſenting Proteſtant Subjects, and intended to ratify the former more *firmly*, at leaſt to all Proteſtant Diſſenters; and that ſuch WE are.

‘ I intreat you to peruſe this ſhort diſcourſe againſt the Papiſts, to ſay nothing of the vaſt Diſparity and Antipathy of OUR Principles and Worſhip. To theſe latter allegations, you ſingly and jointly anſwered, That the ACT was in Force, by the repealing or cancelling of the *Declaration*. True, ſtrictly taken: But do not you know, that there be many Acts never formally repealed, that obtain no force among us; but as much neglected as if they were abrogated by new Laws? I much queſtion if that very Law, by which the Proteſtants were burnt for their noble teſtimonies againſt Rome, were ever revoked. This might be ſufficient to you, that the KING diſlikes it; that the Parliament declared their Readineſs to repeal the Law that countenanceth it; that all are quiet; that the Reaſon of the Law ceaſing, the Law, as to its Execution, ſhould ceaſe alſo; that the King and Council, in the Preamble to the Declaration, have diſclaimed all pretence to better ſettlements, by ſeverity upon Diſſenters; that you have work enough to employ yourſelves about, in firſt living, and then executing all laws, that recover and preſerve morality, mercy, juſtice, ſobriety, and godly living: And laſtly, that you had nothing offenſive to the Law before your eyes, when you came among us.

‘ I farther urged, *Argumentum ad hominem*, The King's power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters: That if you acknowledged him Head of the Church, it ſeemed ſomewhat unnatural, that any Members ſtraggle from the judgment and direction of the Head. It was anſwered by one of you, and the beſt thing ſaid, “ That the king was head in Civils too, yet we would not forbear recovering a Debt by law, though the King ſhould interpoſe his Civil Headſhip to prevent receiving it,” or words to that purpoſe. I ſaid then, and now more fully reply; The caſe is vaſtly differing, upon your own principles. The Civil Government of England depends upon Law grounded upon Sincerity, the Eternal Law; and it is not, by the Antient and Fundamental Conſtitution, allowable, that *Meum* and *Tuum* ſhould be over-ruled by any Prince whatever. It is the glory of the King of England's Government, that he is a Prince by Right, not Might; by Law, not Power. He has Power, but from and according to Law; not that he makes his Will and Power Law. This right is agreeable to Human Nature, ſo called, and the Oeconomy which God hath imprinted upon it: But in matters Eccleſiaſtical, you ſay (if old Proteſtants) that it is inherent to, and inſeparable from, the Civil Magiſtrate, ſo ſoon as he profeſſeth Chriſt, to be the Head of the Church in his Dominions (upon the ſtrain of the Jewiſh Story, how reaſonable ſo ever it be): And upon this very foot, was, and is, the Engliſh Reformation ſet; where all Original Compact, all Coronation Oaths, all fundamental Law, and Legiſlators too, are ſet aſide; for the King is not conſtituted Head of the Church by common Conſent of Lords and Commons, though thereby *declared* ſo; but by being a CHRISTIAN King.

‘ Again, I diſtinguiſh between Laws: Some are fundamental, and thoſe are durable, and indiſſoluble; ſome are circumſtantial and ſuperficial, and thoſe be alterable. By the firſt, I mean all thoſe Laws, that conſtitute the Ancient Civil Government of England, and which make up theſe two words ENGLISH MEN. By the latter, I underſtand all Laws ſuited to State, or National emergencies, which are *pro tempore* and away. They live, as long as the Reaſon of them lives, and then die, oftentimes of themſelves. Theſe may be both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical: Civil, as the Act againſt tranſporting Iriſh Cattle: A FAMINE repeals that, by the ancient law-maxim; *ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat* Lex. Eccleſiaſtical; as this in queſtion: They that made it, had UNITY, PEACE, and PLENTY in their eyes: It is found, upon trial, to increaſe Animoſities, diſturb the Peace, and lay waſte honeſt and induſtrious Families. Thus much the King, whom you confeſs to be the Head of the Church, by the advice of his Privy Council, men, doubtleſs, wiſer than any of us, has almoſt in ſo many words declared.

‘ Farther, let it be weighed, that we came not to our Liberties and Properties by the Proteſtant Religion; their date riſes higher. Why, then, ſhould a *Non-conformity* to it, purely conſcientious, deprive us of them? This, or that, ſort of Religion, was not ſpecified in the Ancient Civil Government; though the Clergy twiſted into the Great Charter: Yet let it be conſidered, that it was not intended to deny others Liberty of Conſcience; but to ſecure their Church, Properties, and Revenues, from the King's Seizure. The nature of Body and Soul, Earth and Heaven, this World and that to come, differs: There can be no reaſon to perſecute any man in THIS world, about any thing that belongs to the NEXT. “ Who art thou (ſaith the Holy

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“ Scripture, in this caſe,) that judgeſt another Man's Servant?” He muſt ſtand or fall to his Maſter, the Great God. Let Tares and Wheat grow together, till the Great Harveſt: To call for Fire from Heaven, was no part of Chriſt's Religion, though the reproved Zeal of ſome of his Diſciples. His Sword is ſpiritual, like his Kingdom. Be pleaſed to remember, that Faith is the gift of God, and what is not of Faith, is Sin. We muſt either be Hypocrites, in doing what we believe in our Conſciences we ought not to do; or forbearing what we are fully perſuaded we ought to do. Either give us better Faith, or leave us with ſuch as we have; for it ſeems unreaſonable in you, to diſturb us for this that we have, and yet be unable to give us any other. Oh! ye do not to us as you would be done by: Can it become Proteſtants to uſe that ſeverity to others, they once condemned in others? There can be no pretence of Conſcience, for limiting other Mens, that are virtuous, and who wiſh you heartily well. Were we immoral, or did our Religion and Worſhip border upon an Impiety, we ſhould bluſh to apologize as we do. But being no ways conſcious of any affinity with immoral principles or practices; on the contrary, knowing ourſelves to be better taught, by God's Grace, that leads to all moral and holy living, however different we may be in ſome particular perſuaſions; we do take confidence to remonſtrate our caſe, and to intreat your ſerious conſideration of it, that we, your countrymen and neighbours, may enjoy ourſelves, in the worſhip of Almighty God, with quietneſs and ſecurity. And I am well aſſured it ſhall leſs repent you, upon your dying bed, to have acted moderately, than ſeverely. You cannot but know how fallible Proteſtants acknowledge themſelves to be in matters of Religion, and conſequently, with what Caution they ſhould proceed againſt any about Religion. You alſo ſee how much more deſtructive Vice and Intemperance are to Body and Soul, than mere Opinion, and conſequently, how much more reaſonable it is to puniſh the One, than proſecute the other. Think not that mere Perſuaſion damns us; it is SIN whoſe Wages is Death. I love and honour *all* virtuous perſons, that *differ* from me, and hope God will have regard to every ſuch one, according to Sincerity. And however it ſhall pleaſe you to deal with us, at this or any other time, I pray God forgive you, open your eyes, tender your hearts, and make you ſenſible, how much more Moderation and Virtue are worth your ſtudy and purſuit, than the Diſturbance of Religious Diſſenting Aſſemblies, that, ſo far as I know of them, deſire to honour the King, love their Neighbours as themſelves, and to do unto all Men as they would have all Men do unto them.

‘ Be pleaſed to accept this in good part, and with the moſt favourable conſtruction; which becomes your quality, and is but to do right to his intentions, who, with good wiſhes for you, ſubſcribes himſelf,

‘ Your very true Friend,

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

POSTSCRIPT.

‘ I have ſent you a “ Diſcourſe againſt the Papiſts,” and another of “ Liberty of Conſcience;” ſeveral hundreds of which were preſented to the Houſe that year it was printed.

‘ I could produce a dozen precedents to confirm this: And truly it looks hard upon your own principles, that you ſhould give your ſervants liberty to uſe their diſcretion in errands, or conſtables in the execution of their truſts, provided they anſwer the main end, which is, *Voluntas Magiſtri, Saluſque Regis & Populi,* nay that you can uſe ſometimes a prerogative yourſelves, *& relaxare Legem,* remembering, doubtleſs, that *ſummum Jus* is *ſumma Injuria,* as the old King ſaid; and yet that you ſhould not allow the King a power to ſuſpend the Execution of but a Temporary Law, when the Execution of it is impracticable, without deſtroying thoſe very ends for which it was firſt made. I beſeech you call to mind the ancient Veneration of Proteſtants to Princes Prerogative in Eccleſiaſticks, and their Principles about it, in the reigns of H. 8. E. 6. Q. E. K. Ja. and particularly K. C. the firſt.’

Writes to the Senate of Embden.

The ſame zeal and affection which made him a conſtant advocate for his Friends at home, led him alſo to ſollicit on their behalf with foreign powers and ſtates, under whoſe government they ſuffered Perſecution: For there was a decree made this year at Dantzick for baniſhing the Quakers; and a law of the like nature at Embden, where that People had alſo undergone other grievous ſufferings: Whereupon he wrote to the Senate of Embden an Epiſtle in Latin, which hath been ſince tranſlated into Engliſh, and is in this Collection.

Publiſhes a treatiſe of Oaths.

The perſecution at home now becoming hot again, and many Quakers being impriſoned for refuſing the Oath of Allegiance, our author publiſhes their Reaſons

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againſt "Swearing at all," and confirms the ſame by numerous authorities, in a book intituled "A Treatiſe of Oaths."

England's preſent Intereſt.

This year alſo he publiſhed a choice piece, intituled, "England's preſent Intereſt diſcovered;" wherein, to allay the heats of contending parties, he ſhews the conſiſtency of a General Liberty of Conſcience with the Peace of the Kingdom; diſcovering at once the generous Charity of a real Chriſtian, and the noble Spirit of a True Patriot.

In the eighth month this year, being at London, he wrote the following remarkable Letter to a Roman Catholick.

‘MY FRIEND,

‘CHRIST JESUS did redeem a people with his moſt precious blood; and the ancient Church of Rome, among other churches, was one: But as the ſea loſes and gets, and as proſperity changes its ſtation, ſo the CHASTITY of the Church of Rome is loſt; ſhe having taken in principles and diſcipline that are not of Chriſt, neither can be found in Holy Scripture.

‘If thou waſt to die, wouldſt thou not leave a PLAIN Will to thy children? So have Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the Scripture. Read, and thou mayeſt behold the Simplicity, Purity, Meekneſs, Patience, and Self-denial, of thoſe Chriſtians and Churches. They are Chriſt's, that take up his Croſs to the glory and ſpirit of this world, which the Church of Rome lives in. Behold the Pride, Luxury, Cruelty, that hath for ages been in that church, even the heads and chieftains thereof! It is a miſtake to think THAT Chriſt's Church that has loſt its heavenly qualifications, becauſe it once WAS. What is become of Antioch, Jeruſalem, &c. both churches of Chriſt, and before ROME? Nor is it Number; (the Devil has that) nor Antiquity; (for he has that) but CHRIST-LIKENESS and Conformity to Jeſus; who hath divorced thoſe that have adulterated: And tho' he had left but Two or Three (tho' there were Thouſands) yet he would be in the midſt of them: And they have been in the Wilderneſs, people crying in ſackcloth. The generality declined from CHRIST'S SPIRIT, and it was loſt, and the teachings of it: And then came up FORM without POWER, and a Wrathful Spirit to propagate it; and this made up the Great Whore, that looked like the Lamb's Bride, Chriſt's Church, but was not, which God will judge. Remember, that God was not without a Church, tho' the Natural Church and Prieſthood of the Jews apoſtatized: So in the caſe of the Church of Rome.

‘Now is the Lord raiſing up his old Power, and giving his Spirit, and moving upon the Waters (the People) that out of that ſtate all may come, and know God in Spirit, and Chriſt his Son, whom he has ſent into people's hearts, a True LIGHT. And, my friend, build not upon Fancies, nor the Traditions of Men, but CHRIST, the ſure foundation, as he appears to thee in thy Conſcience; that thou mayeſt feel his Power to redeem thee up to himſelf, out of the earthly ſenſual ſpirit, to know thy right eye plucked out, the true mortification; and this brings thee to the Church of the FIRST-BORN, that is more divine and noble than an Outward Glittering Church, that is inwardly polluted: For know, as thou ſoweſt, thou reapeſt, in the great day of account. So to God's Spirit, in thy own Conſcience, do I recommend thee, that leads out of all Evil, and quickens thee to God, as thou obeyeſt it, and makes thee a Child of God, and an Heir of Glory. I am, in much haſte, and as much love,

‘Thy True Friend,

‘London, 9th October,
‘1675.

‘W. PENN.’

In the 12th month of this year, one Matthew Hide, a perſon that had been very troubleſome in the Quakers meetings, by oppoſing their miniſters in their publick teſtimony and prayers, was taken ſick; and on his death-bed, being under great remorſe of conſcience for what he had done, he could not be eaſy till he had ſent for ſome of that People, and particularly George Whitehead, to whom he expreſſed great ſorrow for the abuſes done them, declaring them to be the children of God, and begging mercy of the Lord for his wilful oppoſition to known truth in gainſaying them; and ſo died penitent. This gave occaſion to our author to publiſh, as a warning to others, a narrative, intituled, "Saul ſmitten to the Ground."

1676.

Is made Proprietor of Weſt Jerſey.

In the year 1676, he became one of the proprietors of Weſt Jerſey in America, and was inſtrumental in the firſt colonizing of that province by the Engliſh: For King Charles II. having given the propriety of that country to the Duke of York, he granted the ſame to Sir George Berkley and the Lord Carteret, the former of whom ſold his part to one Edward Billing, a Quaker; whoſe circumſtances in the world afterward declining, he transferred his right to William Penn, Gawen Lawrey, and Nicholas Lucas, in truſt for the payment of his debts: They accordingly allotted out and ſold the lands; and many people from England tranſported themſelves, and ſettling there, in a few years it became a flouriſhing plantation, and ſo continues. The chief town of it is Burlington, ſituate on the great river Delaware. But we return to religious matters. 1676.

About this time it pleaſed God to inſpire the hearts of two proteſtant ladies of great quality in Germany, with a ſenſe of the follies and vanities of the world, and to excite them to an earneſt inquiry after the knowledge of Himſelf. The one was the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick V. Prince Palatine of the Rhine and King of Bohemia, grand-daughter to king James I. and ſiſter to Prince Rupert and the late Princeſs Sophia, King George the Firſt's mother: The other, Anna Maria de Hornes, Counteſs of Hornes, a familiar acquaintance of the ſaid Princeſs. The report of their religious inclination coming to our author's intelligence, who embraced every opportunity of watering the growing ſeeds of virtue, he ſent them a letter of encouragement and conſolation, exhorting thoſe noble women to a conſtancy and perſeverance in that holy way which the Lord had directed their feet into. The letter itſelf, though large, being worthy of the reader's peruſal, he will find at p. 445 of this Collection.

Writes to the Princeſs Palatine, and Counteſs of Hornes.

In the year 1677. he travelled into Holland and Germany; an account of which, written and publiſhed by himſelf, is likewiſe hereafter inſerted. 1677.

Soon after his return from Holland, he wrote a letter in anſwer to one he had received from John Pennyman, a perſon who had once profeſſed himſelf a Quaker, but was now become an oppoſer of them; part of which letter containing advice well adapted to the caſe of ſuch a backſlider, we here ſubjoin.

'TO JOHN PENNYMAN.'

'JOHN PENNYMAN,

'I Received a letter from thee ſince my arrival in this land.------Let me tell thee, 'in the ſpirit of truth and meekneſs, my ſoul has been frequently ſad and heavy 'for thy ſake, becauſe of thoſe degenerate and ſour grapes which thou haſt brought 'forth, the unnatural and unkindly fruits that of late years have proceeded from thee. 'Ah! Whence art thou fallen, and what art thou turned to? What is become of 'thy Tenderneſs, and thy Zeal for the Way of Truth, as profeſſed amongſt us? Verily thou art increaſing thy burthen, and ſtrengthening the Lord's Judgment againſt 'thee, and treaſuring up wrath againſt the day of wrath.

'Hadſt thou been told of the things thou haſt done, ten years ſince, thou wouldſt 'never have believed it; thou wouldſt have cried out, "God forbid! far be it from "me!" But one weakneſs brings on another, and one unfaithfulneſs increaſeth another. O that thou wouldſt be adviſed! That thou wouldſt ſee from whence thou 'art fallen, and repent, and turn to thy firſt Love, and do thy firſt Works; for I 'have nothing but love and good-will in my heart, both to thee and thy wife; and 'it is with the grief of a friend of God, and of you both, that I behold the evil and 'pernicious uſe that ſome envious, prejudiced, and unreaſonable people make of you, 'and your carriage to us; yet ſcorn and deride you in their hearts, after they have 'ſerved their turns of you. O return, if yet mercy may be found with the Lord, 'and be not found fighting againſt him. O that my love could take hold of you, 'and that my life could raiſe any tenderneſs in you, that yet you might be gathered, 'and not utterly periſh.

'This I tell you, in the name and fear of the Lord, the weighty power and life 'and glory of God is amongſt us as a people: And tho' there may be ſome perſonal 'weakneſſes, or miſcarriages, through the unfaithfulneſs of ſome particulars, that 'ſerve as food for prejudiced ſpirits to feed upon, and though ſome go out from us, 'and turn againſt us, ſpeaking lies in Hypocriſy, that is, under the pretence of Truth, 'which may cauſe ſome to ſtumble, and ſeveral to be aſtoniſhed, yet all this ſhall 'work together for good to them that fear the Lord. It ſhall tend to greater watchfulneſs, diligence, and faithfulneſs to the Lord; and the juſt ſhall live more and 'more by Faith, through which they ſhall overcome all their enemies, and ſtand in 'their lot at the end of all days, and live and reign with the Lord for ever. I ſhould 'willingly ſpend an hour with thee upon this ſubject, if I knew when and where 'without inconvenience to either of us. In the mean while I wiſh thee well, and 'for ever,

'Thy True Friend,

'London, 18th of the 9th
'Month, 1677.

'WILLIAM PENN.'

The people called Quakers being now harraſſed with ſevere proſecutions in the Exchequer, on penalties of twenty pounds per month, or two thirds of their eſtates, by laws made againſt Papiſts, but unjuſtly turned upon them; William Penn, ſoliciting the parliament for redreſs of thoſe grievances, preſented the following Petitions, viz.

'To

1677.

‘ To the COMMONS of ENGLAND aſſembled in Parliament.’

‘ The Requeſt of the People called Quakers.’

‘ BEſides thoſe many and great ſufferings we have ſuſtained by the execution of laws made againſt us, to the ruin of many induſtrious families, we have been many of us much damnified both in our eſtates and perſons, ſometimes even to death itſelf, by laws neither made againſt us, nor ſo much as deſigned againſt ſuch a People as we are, and ſuch Principles as we hold.

‘ And underſtanding that you are pleaſed to inſert and enact ſuch a diſtinguiſhing clauſe in the Bill againſt Popery, as that they who will take the Oath and ſubſcribe a Declaration therein expreſſed, ſhall not ſuffer by ſuch laws; and becauſe, for pure conſcience, we cannot ſwear at all (in which we are not alone, for that many of the Philoſophers, Jews, and many of the beſt of Chriſtians have had the ſame tenderneſs) we intreat you to take our particular caſe into your ſerious conſideration, and give us ſome relief, otherwiſe we are like to come under penalties that belong not to us, becauſe we cannot take this Oath; though the ground of our Refuſal be not the Matter to which the penalty is affixed, but the Form of it; and that, which with due reſpect and integrity we offer, is, That our WORD may be taken inſtead of an OATH, and if we are found faulty, that we may undergo that penalty which ſhall be inflicted in the other Caſe: That we and our families may not be expoſed to the malice, ſelf-ends, or revenge of any, which we ſhall certainly be, if you relieve us not; many of us having already ſuffered upon this ſingle account: And it is not to be thought, by wiſe and charitable men, that we have any ill deſign in refuſing to ſwear, ſince we always refuſed it in our OWN caſe, though to our great DETRIMENT.’

‘ The Requeſt of ſome called Quakers, preſented to the HOUSE of LORDS, on the behalf of their ſuffering Friends.

‘ BEcauſe we are informed that this day you are pleaſed to conſider of Religion, particularly the Romiſh, we think it not improper to let you know, that there are many hundreds of us, that are ſeverely proſecuted, not only upon thoſe Laws that look upon us as Diſſenters in general from the Church of England, but by ſeveral Statutes particularly deſigned againſt Popery, and perſons profeſſing the Romiſh Religion; inſomuch that our perſecutors are proceeding to a ſeizure of Two Thirds of our Eſtates, and give us that trouble, as well as ſubjecting us to the loſs, which will not only render Tenants unable to pay their Rents, and others to live upon their own, but make both a Charge to the Country, who have hitherto by their Callings and Eſtates contributed to others.

‘ The injuſtice of ſuch ſtrained executions, and cruel miſapplications of Law conſidered, we intreat you that you would be pleaſed to compaſſionate our Caſe, and out of your mercy and juſtice relieve and right us: The Way of doing it is left to your Wiſdom.’

Being thereupon admitted to an hearing before a committee, on the 22d of the month called March, 1678, he made the following ſpeeches.

His firſt Speech to the COMMITTEE.

‘ IF we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the Apoſtle, to be always ready to give an account of the Hope that is in us, and that to every ſober and private enquirer; certainly much more ought we to hold ourſelves obliged to declare with all readineſs, when called to it by ſo Great an Authority, what is NOT our hope, eſpecially when our very ſafety is eminently concerned in ſo doing, and that we cannot decline this Diſcrimination of ourſelves from Papiſts, without being conſcious to ourſelves of the guilt of our own ſufferings; for that muſt every man needs be that ſuffers mutely, under another character than that which truly and properly belongeth to him and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary Right to ſpeak at this Time, and in this Place, is the great abuſe that I have received above any other of my Profeſſion; for of a long time I have not only been ſuppoſed a Papiſt, but a Seminary, a Jeſuit, an Emiſſary of Rome, and in pay from the POPE, a man dedicating my endeavours to the intereſt and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the Rabble, but the jealouſy and inſinuation of perſons otherwiſe ſober and diſcreet: Nay, ſome zealous for the Proteſtant Religion, have been ſo far gone in this miſtake, as not

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'only to think ill of us, and to decline our converſation, but to take courage to themſelves to proſecute us for a ſort of concealed Papiſts; and the truth is, what with one thing, and what with another, we have been as the Wool-ſacks, and common Whipping-Stock of the kingdom: All laws have been let looſe upon us, as if the deſign were not to reform, but to deſtroy us, and that not for what we ARE, but for what we are NOT: It is hard that we muſt thus bear the ſtripes of another intereſt, and be their proxy in puniſhment; but it is worſe that ſome men can pleaſe themſeves in ſuch a ſort of Adminiſtration.

'I would not be miſtaken: I am far from thinking it fit that Papiſts ſhould be whipt for their Conſciences, becauſe I exclaim againſt the injuſtice of whipping Quakers for Papiſts: No; for though the hand pretended to be lifted up againſt them, hath (I know not by what diſcretion) lit heavy upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any ſhould take a freſh aim at Them, or that they muſt come in our Room; for we muſt give the Liberty we aſk, and cannot be falſe to our Principles, though it were to relieve ourſelves; for we have good-will to all men, and would have none ſuffer for a truly Sober and Conſcientious Diſſent on any hand: And I humbly take leave to add, that thoſe methods againſt perſons ſo qualified, do not ſeem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the REASON of Mankind; but this I ſubmit to your Conſideration.

'To conclude, I hope we ſhall be held excuſed of the men of that Profeſſion in giving this Diſtinguiſhing Declaration, ſince it is not with deſign to expoſe them, but firſt to pay that regard we owe to the Enquiry of this Committee, and in the next place, to relieve ourſelves from the daily ſpoil and ruin which now attendeth and threatneth many hundreds of families, by the Execution of LAWS, that (we humbly conceive) were never made AGAINST us.'

His Second Speech to the COMMITTEE.

'THE candid hearing our ſufferings have received from this Committee, and the fair and eaſy entertainment that you have given us, obligeth me to add whatever can increaſe your ſatisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe I would tell you a LIE; I am ſure I ſhould chuſe an ill Time and Place to tell it in; but I thank God it is too late in the day for that. There are ſome here that have known me formerly; I believe they will ſay, I never was THAT MAN; and it would be hard, if after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I ſhould ſit down in my Retirement ſhort of Common Truth.

'Excuſe the length of my introduction; it is for this I make it. I was bred a PROTESTANT, and that ſtrictly too: I loſt nothing by Time or Study; for years, reading, travel and obſervations, made the Religion of my Education the Religion of my JUDGMENT: My Alteration hath brought none to that Belief; and though the Poſture I am in may ſeem odd, or ſtrange to you, yet I am Conſcientious; and (till you know me better) I hope your charity will rather call it my Unhappineſs than my Crime. I do tell you again, and here ſolemnly declare in the Preſence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the Profeſſion I now make, and the Society I now adhere to, have been ſo far from altering that Proteſtant Judgment I had, that I am not conſcious to myſelf of having receded from an IOTA of any one Principle maintained by thoſe firſt Proteſtants and Reformers of Germany, and our own Martyrs at Home, againſt the POPE and SEE of ROME.

'On the contrary, I do with great truth aſſure you, that we are of the ſame NEGATIVE Faith with the Ancient *Proteſtant Church*, and upon occaſion ſhall be ready (by God's aſſiſtance) to make it appear, that we are of the ſame Belief as to the Moſt Fundamental POSITIVE Articles of her CREED too. And therefore it is we think it hard, that though we deny, in common with her, thoſe doctrines of Rome ſo zealouſly *proteſted* againſt (from whence the name Proteſtants) yet that we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to ſuffer, and that with extreme Severity, by thoſe very Laws on purpoſe made againſt the Maintainers of thoſe Doctrines we do ſo deny. We CHUSE no ſuffering, for God knows what we have already ſuffered, and how many ſufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourſelves an uſeful People: We are ſure, we are a Peaceable People; yet, if we muſt ſtill ſuffer, let us not ſuffer as POPISH RECUSANTS, but as PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

'But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the leaſt that hath been made againſt us, viz. That we are Enemies to Government in general, and particularly diſaffected to this we live under: I think it not amiſs, but very ſeaſonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you (and that I do with Good Conſcience in the ſight of the Almighty God) firſt, that we believe GOVERNMENT to be *God's Ordinance*; and next, that this PRESENT Government is eſtabliſhed by the *Providence* of *God* and *Law* of the *Land*, and that it is our Chriſtian Duty readily to obey it in all its *Juſt*

1678.

'*Laws*; and wherein we cannot comply, through *Tenderneſs* of *Conſcience*, in all ſuch caſes, not to revile or conſpire againſt the Government, but with Chriſtian Humility and Patience tire out all miſtakes about us, and wait their better information, who, we believe, do as undeſervedly as ſeverely treat us; and I know not what greater ſecurity can be given by any people, or how any Government can be eaſier from the ſubjects of it.

'I ſhall conclude with this; That we are ſo far from eſteeming it hard or ill, that the Houſe hath put us upon this Diſcrimination, that on the contrary we value it, as we ought to do, for an high Favour (and cannot chuſe but ſee and humbly acknowledge God's Providence therein) that you ſhould give us this fair Occaſion to diſcharge ourſelves of a Burden we have, not with more Patience than Injuſtice, ſuffered but too many years under: And I hope our Converſation ſhall always manifeſt the Grateful Reſentment of our Minds for the Juſtice and Civility of this Opportunity; and ſo I pray God direct you.'

The Committee agreed to inſert, in a Bill then depending, a Proviſo or Clauſe for Relief in the Caſe complained of; and the ſame did paſs the Houſe of Commons: But before it had gone through the Houſe of Lords, it was quaſhed by a ſudden Prorogation of the Parliament.

The generality of people being now in a hurry and conſternation of mind upon the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, and apprehenſions of a French Invaſion; he, leſt the minds of any of his Friends the Quakers ſhould be drawn from their wonted Dependence upon God, to partake of the popular Uneaſineſs, writ an Epiſtle to them, directed, "To the Children of Light in this Generation," which is inſerted in this Collection.

1679.

Publiſhes his Addreſs to Proteſtants.

And in the next year, the nation ſtill continuing under fears of wicked deſigns on foot for ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion, and introducing Popery, he publiſhed a book intituled, "An Addreſs to Proteſtants," wherein he ſets forth the reigning evils of the times, and endeavours to excite men to repentance and amendment of life, as the beſt means to cure their fears, and prevent the impending dangers.

Writes a Preface to Samuel Fiſher's works.

The ſame year alſo he prefixed to the Works of Samuel Fiſher, then printing in folio, a Teſtimony concerning that Author, who having been a Miniſter of the Church of England, and afterwards a Preacher among the Baptiſts, at length joined in profeſſion with the Quakers, and died a priſoner for his teſtimony in the year 1665.

Publiſhes a ſheet called "England's "great Intereſt, &c.

The riſing hopes of Papiſts, and the juſt fears of Proteſtants, kept the nation ſtill in a ferment; and writs being iſſued for ſummoning a New Parliament, party-ſtruggles for power ran high, on which occaſion our Author dedicated to the Freeholders and Electors, a ſheet called "England's great Intereſt in the Choice of this New Parliament;" and ſoon after the Parliament ſitting, he preſented to them a book intituled, "One Project for the Good of England."

1680.

Death of Princeſs Elizabeth. And of I. Pennington.

In this year 1680, died that excellent Princeſs Elizabeth of the Rhine, before mentioned, to whoſe real worth our author's religious gratitude dedicated a memorial, by tranſmitting to poſterity her exemplary character, in the ſecond edition of his "No Croſs, No crown," printed anno 1682.

On the eighth of the eighth month this year alſo, departed this life his dear friend and father-in-law Iſaac Pennington; to whoſe virtues he publiſhed a teſtimony, and prefixed it to his Works, that year printed in folio.

1681.

Publiſhes a "Brief Examination, "&c."

There being about this time ſome difference in judgment among his Friends the Quakers about eſtabliſhing Church Diſcipline, (a point not eaſily fixed, ſo as neither to ſubject the Conſcience to an Eccleſiaſtical Authority, nor yet to give an Unlimited Liberty of running into Anarchy and Confuſion) he publiſhed a little book, called, "A Brief Examination of Liberty Spiritual."

Perſecution in Briſtol.

A freſh perſecution being now raiſed in the city of Briſtol, where Sir John Knight, Sheriff, John Hellier, Attorney at Law, and other their accomplices, put the penal laws in a rigorous execution, many of the people called Quakers there were fined and impriſoned. To whom W. P. wrote the following Epiſtle for their Chriſtian Conſolation and Encouragement, directed,

'To the Friends of GOD in the City of Briſtol.'

'This ſent to be read among them, when aſſembled to wait upon the Lord.'

'My Beloved in the Lord!

'I Do herewith ſend amongſt you the dear and tender ſalutation of my unfeigned love, that is held in the fellowſhip of the laſting Goſpel of Peace, that has many years been preached and believed amongſt you, beſeeching the God and Father of this glorious Day of the Son of Man, to increaſe and multiply his grace, mercy and

1681.

‘ peace among you, that you may be faithful, and abound in every good word and work,
‘ doing and ſuffering what is pleaſing unto God, that you may prove what is that good
‘ and acceptable and perfect will of God, which becomes you to be found daily doing,
‘ that ſo an entrance may be adminiſtered unto you abundantly into the kingdom of
‘ our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that is an everlaſting kingdom. My beloved
‘ brethren and ſiſters! Be not caſt down at the rage of evil men, whoſe anger works
‘ not the righteouſneſs of God, and whoſe cruelty the Lord will limit. Nothing
‘ ſtrange or unuſual is come to paſs; it makes well for them that eye the Lord in
‘ and through theſe ſufferings: There is food in affliction, and though the inſtruments
‘ of it cannot ſee it, all ſhall work together for good to them that fear the Lord: Keep
‘ your ground in the TRUTH, that was, and is, the Saints Victory: They that ſhrink,
‘ go out of it; it is a ſhield to the righteous: Feel it; and ſee, I charge you by the
‘ preſence of the Lord, that you turn not aſide the Lord's end towards you in this
‘ ſuffering, by conſulting with fleſh and blood in eaſing your Adverſaries, for that will
‘ load you. Keep out of baſe bargainings, or conniving at fleſhly evaſions of the
‘ Croſs. Our Captain would not leave us ſuch an Example: Let them ſhrink, that
‘ know not why they ſhould ſtand; we know in whom we have believed: He is
‘ mightier in the faithful to ſuffer and endure to the end, than the world to perſecute:
‘ Call to mind thoſe bleſſed Ancients, “ that by Faith overcame of old, that endured
“ cruel Mockings and Scourgings, yea, moreover, Bonds and Impriſonments, that accepted
“ not Deliverance (to deny their Teſtimony) that they might obtain a better
“ Reſurrection: They were ſtoned, they were tempted, they were ſawn aſunder, they
“ were ſlain with the Sword;” but YE have not ſo reſiſted unto BLOOD; and it ſufficeth,
‘ I hope to you, “ That the Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly out of Temptation,
“ and to reſerve the Unjuſt unto the day of judgment to be puniſhed,” when,
“ it may be truly ſaid, “ It ſhall go well with the Righteous, but very ill with the
“ Wicked.” The Lord God by his Power keep your hearts living to him, that it may
‘ be your Delight to WAIT upon him, and receive the bounty of his Love; that being
‘ fed with his Daily Bread, and drinking of his Cup of Bleſſing, you may be raiſed
‘ above the fear or trouble of earthly things, and grow ſtrong in him who is your
‘ Crown of Rejoicing; that having anſwered his requirings, and walked faithfully before
‘ him, you may receive, in the END of your Days the welcome ſentence of gladneſs.
‘ ETERNAL RICHES are before you, an *Inheritance* incorruptible: Preſs after
‘ that glorious mark: Let your minds be ſet on things that are ABOVE; and when
‘ Chriſt, that is the Glory of his poor People, ſhall appear, THEY ſhall appear with
‘ him in Glory; when all tears ſhall be wiped away, and there ſhall be no more ſorrow
‘ or ſighing, but they that overcome ſhall ſtand as Mount Sion, that cannot
‘ be moved.

‘ So my dear Friends and Brethren, endure, that you may be ſaved, and you ſhall
‘ reap, if you faint not. What ſhould we be troubled for? Our kingdom is not of
‘ THIS World, nor can be ſhaken by the Overturning here below. Let all give Glory
‘ to God on high, live peaceably on Earth, and ſhew Good-will to all Men, and our
‘ Enemies will at laſt ſee, they do they know not what, and repent, and glorify God
‘ our heavenly Father. O! Great is God's work on earth. Be UNIVERSAL in your
‘ ſpirits, and keep out of all Straitneſs and Narrowneſs: Look to God's great and glorious
‘ Kingdom and its Proſperity: Our Time is not our own, nor are WE our own:
‘ God hath bought us with a PRICE, not to ſerve ourſelves, but to glorify him, both in
‘ Body, Soul, and Spirit; and by bodily ſufferings for the Truth, he is glorified. Look
‘ to the accompliſhing of the will of God in theſe things, that the meaſure of Chriſt's
‘ ſufferings may be filled up in us, who bear about the “ Dying of the Lord Jeſus;”
‘ elſe our ſuffering is in vain. Wherefore, as the Flock of God, and Family and
‘ Houſhold of Faith, walk with your Loins girded, being ſober, hoping to the End
‘ for the Grace and Kindneſs which ſhall be brought unto you at the Revelation of
‘ Jeſus Chriſt, to whom you and yours are committed: His precious Spirit miniſter
‘ unto you, and his own Life be ſhed abroad plenteouſly among you, that you may
‘ be kept blameleſs to the end.

‘ I am

‘ Your Friend and Brother, in the Fellowſhip of the Suffering for the
‘ TRUTH, as it is in JESUS.

‘ Worminghurſt the 24th of the
12th month, 1681.

‘ WILLIAM PENN.

Having hitherto attended our author through a continued ſeries of his labours and travels in the ſervice of the Goſpel, and work of the miniſtry in theſe parts of the world; we ſhall now accompany him to his province of Pennſylvania.

1681.

The Province of Pennſylvania granted to him and his heirs.

King Charles the ſecond, in conſideration of the ſervices of Sir W. Penn, and ſundry debts due to him from the crown at the time of his deceaſe, by letters-patent bearing date the 4th of March 1680-1, granted to W. P. and his heirs that Province lying on the Weſt Side of the river Delaware in North America, formerly belonging to the Dutch, and then called the New Netherlands: The name was now changed by the King, in honour of W. P. whom and his heirs he made abſolute Proprietors and Governors of it. Upon this, he preſently publiſhes an "Account of the Province of "Pennſylvania," with the king's patent, and other papers relating thereto, deſcribing the country and its produce, and propoſing an eaſy purchaſe of lands, and good terms of ſettlement, for ſuch as might incline to tranſport themſelves. Many ſingle perſons, and ſome families, out of England and Wales, went over; and with ſingular induſtry and application having cleared their purchaſed lands, ſettled and ſoon improved plantations to good advantage, and began to build the City of Philadelphia, in a commodious ſituation on the aforeſaid navigable river Delaware. And to ſecure the new planters from the native Indians, (who, in ſome other provinces, being injuriouſly dealt with, had made repriſals, to the loſs of many lives) the governor gave orders to treat them with all candour and humanity; and appointed commiſſioners to confer with them about land, and to confirm a league of peace; by whom he alſo ſent them the following letter.

The firſt Planting of Pennſylvania by the Engliſh.

'My Friends, London, the 18th of the 8th month, 1681.

'THERE is a GREAT GOD and Power, that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being; and to whom you and I muſt one day give an account for all that we do in the world: This Great God hath written his LAW in our Hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another, and not to do harm and miſchief one unto another: Now this Great God hath been pleaſed to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the King of the Country where I live hath given me a great Province therein; but I deſire to enjoy it with your Love and Conſent, that we may always live together as Neighbours and Friends; elſe what would the Great God do to us? who hath made us not to devour and deſtroy one another, but to live ſoberly and kindly together in the world. Now I would have you well obſerve, that I am very ſenſible of the unkindneſs and injuſtice that hath been too much exerciſed towards you by the people of theſe parts of the world, who have ſought themſelves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of juſtice and goodneſs unto you, which I hear hath been matter of trouble to you, and cauſed great grudgings and animoſities, ſometimes to the ſhedding of blood, which hath made the Great God angry. But I am not ſuch a man, as is well known in my own country: I have great love and regard towards you, and I deſire to win and gain your love and friendſhip by a kind, juſt, and peaceable life, and the people I ſend are of the ſame mind, and ſhall in all things behave themſelves accordingly; and if in any thing any ſhall offend you, or your people, you ſhall have a full and ſpeedy ſafaction for the ſame, by an equal number of juſt men on both ſides, that by no means you may have juſt occaſion of being offended againſt them. I ſhall ſhortly come to you myſelf, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and diſcourſe of theſe matters; in the mean time I have ſent my Commiſſioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace: Let me deſire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive theſe preſents and tokens which I have ſent you, as a teſtimony of my good-will to you, and my reſolution to live juſtly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

'I am your Loving Friend,

W. PENN.

His friendly and pacifick manner of treating the Indians begat in them an extraordinary love and regard to him and his people, ſo that they have maintained a perfect amity with the Engliſh of Pennſylvania ever ſince. And it is obſervable, that upon renewing the treaty with Sir William Keith, bart. their Governor in 1722, they mention the name of William Penn with much gratitude and affection, calling him, * "A GOOD MAN," and, as their higheſt compliment to Sir William, uſe this expreſſion, † "We eſteem and love you as if you were WILLIAM PENN himſelf." So univerſally doth a Principle of Peace, Juſtice and Morality, operate on the hearts even of thoſe we call Heathens.

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* See the hiſtorical regiſter for the year 1723, numb. XXX. pag. 107. † Ib. pag. 108.

1681. The Fundamental Conſtitutions of Pennſylvania drawn up.

He alſo drew up the Fundamental Conſtitutions of Pennſylvania, in twenty-four articles, conſented to and ſubſcribed by the firſt adventurers and freeholders of that province, as the ground and rule of all future government: The firſt of which articles, ſhewing that his principle was to give, as well as take, Liberty of Conſcience in matters of religion, we ſhall tranſcribe:

The First Constitution.

‘IN Reverence to God, the Father of Light and Spirits, the Author, as well as Object, of all divine knowledge, faith and worſhip, I do, for me and mine, declare and eſtabliſh, for the Firſt Fundamental of the Government of this country, that every perſon that doth or ſhall reſide therein, ſhall have and enjoy the free Profeſſion of his or her Faith, and Exerciſe of Worſhip toward God, in ſuch way and manner as every ſuch perſon ſhall in Conſcience believe is moſt acceptable to God: And ſo long as every ſuch perſon uſeth not this Chriſtian Liberty to Licentiouſneſs, or the Deſtruction of others; that is to ſay, to ſpeak looſely and prophanely or contemptuouſly of God, Chriſt, the Holy Scriptures, or Religion, or commit any moral evil or injury againſt others in their converſation, he or ſhe ſhall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforeſaid Chriſtian Liberty by the Civil Magiſtrate.’

1682. The Frame of Government of Pennſylvania.

In the next year, 1682, he publiſhed “The Frame of Government of Pennſylvania,” containing twenty-four articles, ſomewhat varying from the aforeſaid Conſtitutions, together with certain other laws to the number of forty, agreed on in England, by the governor and divers freemen of the ſaid Province: Of which laws one was,

> ‘That all perſons living in this province, who confeſs and acknowledge the One Almighty and Eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World, and that hold themſelves obliged in conſcience to live peaceably and juſtly in civil ſociety, ſhall in no-wiſe be moleſted or prejudiced for their Religious perſuaſion or practice in matters of faith and worſhip; nor ſhall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worſhip, place, or miniſtry whatſoever.’

The reſt of thoſe laws relating to the encouragement of the planters, ſuppreſſing of vice and immorality, and the good government and regulation of the province, our reader may peruſe at his pleaſure.

The time of his departure for America being now at hand, he wrote the following letter to his wife and children a little before he embarked.

‘My dear Wife and Children:

‘MY love, that ſea nor land, nor death itſelf can extinguiſh or leſſen toward you, moſt endearedly viſits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever: And may the God of my life watch over you, and bleſs you, and do you good in this world, and for ever.---Some things are upon my ſpirit to leave with you in your reſpective capacities; as I am to one a huſband, and to the reſt a father; if I ſhould never ſee you more in this world.

‘My dear wife; Remember thou waſt the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the moſt beloved, as well as moſt worthy, of all my earthly comforts: and the reaſon of that love was more thy inward, than thy outward excellencies (which yet were many). God knows, and thou knoweſt it, I can ſay it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the firſt thing, and the moſt amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I ſhall ever ſee thee more in this world, take my counſel into thy boſom, and let it dwell with thee in my ſtead while thou liveſt.

1ſt, ‘Let the fear of the Lord, and a zeal and love to his glory, dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyſelf and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed: elſe God will be offended, and he will repent himſelf of the good he intends thee and thine.

2dly, ‘Be diligent in meetings for worſhip and buſineſs; ſtir up thyſelf and others herein; it is thy day and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family, to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourſelves: and my deareſt, to make thy family-matters eaſy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular; it is eaſy and ſweet; thy retirement will afford thee to do it: as in the morning to view the buſineſs of the houſe, and fix it as thou deſireſt, ſeeing all be in order; that by thy counſel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at leaſt as near as may be; and grieve not thyſelf with careleſs ſervants, they will diſorder thee; rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonitions; this is beſt to avoid many words, which I know wound the ſoul, and offend the Lord.

1682. 3dly, ‘ Caſt up thy income, and ſee what it daily amounts to; by which thou mayeſt be ſure to have it in thy ſight and power to keep within compaſs: and I beſeech thee to live low and ſparingly, till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou ſeeſt it convenient. Remember thy mother's example, when thy father's publick-ſpiritedneſs had worſted his eſtate (which is my caſe). I know thou loveſt plain things, and art averſe to the pomps of the world; a nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my ſake, to be more vigilant herein; knowing that God will bleſs thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a ſaying of thy father's, “ I deſire not riches, but to owe nothing;” and truly that is wealth; and more than enough to live, is a ſnare attended with many ſorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art ſo; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural diſpoſition: but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard againſt encroaching friendſhips. Keep them at arm's end; for it is giving away our power, aye, and ſelf too, into the poſſeſſion of another; and that which might ſeem engaging in the beginning, may prove a yoke and burthen too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyſelf, and let thy children, good meetings and friends, be the pleaſure of thy life.

4thly, ‘ And now, my deareſt, let me recommend to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord's bleſſings, and the ſweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world, in no part of it, get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred, as to outward behaviour; yet I love ſweetneſs mixed with gravity, and chearfulneſs tempered with ſobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour; an accompliſhment worthy indeed of praiſe.

5thly, ‘ Next breed them up in a love one of another; tell them, it is the charge I left behind me; and that it is the way to have the love and bleſſing of God upon them: alſo what his portion is who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes ſeparate them, but not long; and allow them to ſend and give each other ſmall things, to endear one another with. Once more, I ſay, tell them it was my counſel, they ſhould be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal: ſpare no coſt; for by ſuch parſimony all is loſt that is ſaved; but let it be uſeful knowledge, ſuch as is conſiſtent with truth and godlineſs, not cheriſhing a vain converſation or idle mind; but ingenuity mixed with induſtry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the uſeful parts of mathematicks, as building houſes or ſhips, meaſuring, ſurveying, dialling, navigation, &c. but agriculture is eſpecially in my eye: let my children be huſbandmen and houſewives; it is induſtrious, healthy, honeſt, and of good example: like Abraham, and the holy antients, who pleaſed God, and obtained a good report. This leads to conſider the works of God and Nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany, and the nobles of that empire, that they have all their children inſtructed in ſome uſeful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious perſon in the houſe to teach them, than ſend them to ſchools; too many evil impreſſions being commonly received there. Be ſure to obſerve their genius, and do not croſs it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing, but let their change be agreeable, and all their diverſions have ſome little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have moſt care for them; for then there are more ſnares both within and without. When marriageable, ſee that they have worthy perſons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and underſtanding. I need no wealth but ſufficiency; and be ſure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I chuſe not they ſhould be married to earthly covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourſe beware; the world is apt to ſtick cloſe to thoſe who have lived and got wealth there: A country life and eſtate I like beſt for my children. I prefer a decent manſion of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thouſand pounds in London, or ſuch-like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his bleſſed light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator; and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child (ſays the wiſe man) the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to thee their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conſcience ſake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miſerable, humble and kind to all. And may my God make thee a bleſſing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and in age, gather thee to the joy and bleſſedneſs of the juſt (where no death ſhall ſeparate us) for ever.

‘ And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father; hear my counſel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treaſure, and follow it, and you ſhall be bleſſed here, and happy hereafter.

‘ In

1682.

‘ In the firſt place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Iſrael in the 2d of Jeremiah: And how did God bleſs Joſiah, becauſe he feared him in his youth! And ſo he did Jacob, Joſeph, and Moſes. Oh! my dear children, remember, and fear and ſerve him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother: that you may live to him, and glorify him, in you generations.

‘ To do this, in your youthful days ſeek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beaſts, plants, or ſtones; but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within, and ſubſtance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for, in age, it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

‘ Wherefore, my dear children, eſchew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts, that ſhews you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiſs, and reproves you for it. It is the Light of Chriſt, that he has given you for your ſalvation. If you do this, and follow my counſel, God will bleſs you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which ſhall never have an end. For the light of Jeſus is of a purifying nature; it ſeaſons thoſe who love it, and take heed to it; and never leaves ſuch, till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. Oh! that ye may be ſeaſoned with the gracious nature of it; hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful luſts; the vain ſports, paſtimes and pleaſures of the world; redeeming the time becauſe the days are evil. You are now beginning to live---what would ſome give for your time? Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth.---Therefore, love and fear the Lord, keep cloſe to meetings; and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his deſpiſed people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that ſociety, and heirs of that living fellowſhip, which is enjoyed among them---for the experience of which your father's ſoul bleſſeth the Lord for ever.

‘ Next, be obedient to your dear mother; a woman whoſe virtue and good name is an honour to you; for ſhe hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainneſs, integrity, induſtry, humanity, virtue, and good underſtanding: qualities not uſual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay, love her too, for ſhe loved your father with a deep and upright love; chuſing him before all her many ſuitors: and though ſhe be of a delicate conſtitution and noble ſpirit, yet ſhe deſcended to the utmoſt tenderneſs and care for you; performing the painfulleſt acts of ſervice to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurſe too. I charge you before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cheriſh your dear mother.

‘ Next, betake yourſelves to ſome honeſt, induſtrious courſe of life; and that not of ſordid covetouſneſs, but for example, and to avoid idleneſs. And if you change your condition and marry, chuſe with the knowledge and conſent of your mother, if living, guardians, or thoſe that have the charge of you.---Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a ſweet and amiable diſpoſition; ſuch as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleaſant and deſirable to you.

‘ And being married, be tender, affectionate, and patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bleſs you and your offspring. Be ſure to live within compaſs; borrow not, neither be beholden to any.---Ruin not yourſelves by kindneſs to others, for that exceeds the due bounds of friendſhip: neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

‘ Let your induſtry and parſimony go no farther than for a ſufficiency for life, and to make a proviſion for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any. I charge you help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary ſhare of your income, for the good of the poor, both in our ſociety and others: for we are all his creatures; remembering that “ he that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord.”

‘ Know well your in-comings, and your out-goings may be better regulated. Love not money, nor the world: uſe them only, and they will ſerve you; but if you love them you ſerve them;---which will debaſe your ſpirits, as well as offend the Lord.

‘ Pity the diſtreſſed, and hold out a hand of help to them; it may be your caſe: and as you mete to others, God will mete to you again.

‘ Be humble and gentle in your converſation;---of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you ſpeak; hearing out before you attempt to anſwer; and then ſpeaking as if you would perſuade, not impoſe.

‘ Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you ſhall be forgiven of your Heavenly Father.

‘ In making friends conſider well firſt; and when you are fixed, be true; not wavering by reports, nor deſerting in affliction: for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

‘ Watch againſt anger, neither ſpeak nor act in it; for, like drunkenneſs, it makes a man a beaſt, and throws people into deſperate inconveniencies.

‘ Avoid flatterers; for they are thieves in diſguiſe; their praiſe is coſtly, deſigning to get by thoſe they beſpeak; they are the worſt of creatures; they lye to flatter, and flatter to cheat:---and, which is worſe, if you believe them, you cheat yourſelves moſt dangerouſly. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cheriſh, and prefer. Remember David, who aſking the Lord “ Who ſhall abide in thy tabernacle; who ſhall dwell upon thy holy hill?” anſwers, “ He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteouſneſs, and ſpeaketh the truth in his heart; in whoſe eyes the vile perſon is contemned, but honoureth them who fear the Lord.”

‘ Next, my children, be temperate in all things: in your diet, for that is phyſick by prevention; it keeps, nay it makes people healthy, and their generation ſound. This is excluſive of the ſpiritual advantage it brings. Be alſo plain in your apparel; keep out that luſt which reigns too much over ſome; let your virtues be your ornaments; remembering life is more than food, and the body than raiment. Let your furniture be ſimple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice and luxury. Read my NO CROSS, NO CROWN! There is inſtruction.---Make your converſation with the moſt eminent for wiſdom and piety; and ſhun all wicked men, as you hope for the bleſſing of God, and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be ſure you ſpeak no evil of any, no not of the meaneſt; much leſs of your ſuperiors, as magiſtrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Chriſt.

‘ Be no buſy-bodies; meddle not with other folks matters, but when in conſcience and duty preſt: for it procures trouble, and is ill-manners, and very unſeemly to wiſe men.

‘ In your families remember Abraham, Moſes and Joſhua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

‘ Let the fear and ſervice of the living God be encouraged in your houſes, and that plainneſs, ſobriety, and moderation in all things, as becometh God's choſen people: and, as I adviſe you, my beloved children, do you counſel yours, if God ſhould give you any. Yea, I counſel and command them, as my poſterity, that they love and ſerve the Lord God with an upright heart; that he may bleſs you and yours, from generation to generation.

‘ And as for you who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennſylvania, and my parts of Eaſt Jerſey, eſpecially the firſt, I do charge you, before the Lord God and his holy Angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender; fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetouſneſs. Let juſtice have its impartial courſe, and the law free paſſage. Though to your loſs, protect no man againſt it: for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourſelves you would have the people live; and then you have right and boldneſs to puniſh the tranſgreſſor.---Keep upon the ſquare, for God ſees you; therefore do your duty: and be ſure you ſee with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears.----Entertain no lurchers; cheriſh no informers for gain or revenge:---uſe no tricks, fly to no devices, to ſupport or cover injuſtice: but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, truſting in him above the contrivances of men, and none ſhall be able to hurt or ſupplant.

‘ Oh! the Lord is a ſtrong God; and he can do whatſoever he pleaſes: and though men conſider it not, it is the Lord that rules and over-rules in the kingdoms of men: and he builds up and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can ſay, he that truſts in the Lord, ſhall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.

‘ If you thus behave yourſelves, and ſo become a terror to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you, in wiſdom and a ſound mind: and make you bleſſed inſtruments in his hand, for the ſettlements of ſome of thoſe deſolate parts of the world;---which my ſoul deſires above all worldly honours and riches; both for you that go, and you that ſtay; you that govern, and you that are governed: that in the end you may be gathered with me to the reſt of God.

‘ Finally, my children, love one another with a true endeared love, and your dear relations on both ſides: and take care to preſerve tender affection in your children to each other: often marrying within themſelves, ſo as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's Law. That ſo they may not, like the forgetting and unnatural world, grow out of kindred, and as cold as ſtrangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and chriſtian ſtock, you and yours after you may live in the pure and fer-

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'vent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the ſpiritual and natural relation.

'So my God, that has bleſſed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and better life, be with you all; guide you by his counſel, bleſs you, and bring you to his eternal glory; that you may ſhine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power, with the bleſſed ſpirits of the juſt, that celeſtial family, praiſing and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever and ever. For there is no God like unto him; the God of Abraham, of Iſaac, and of Jacob; the God of the Prophets, the Apoſtles, and Martyrs of Jeſus; in whom I live for ever.

'So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children. Yours, as God pleaſeth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor diſtance wear away, but remains for ever,'

'Worminghurſt, 4th ſixth month,
'1682.

'WILLIAM PENN.'

In the 6th month, 1682, himſelf, accompanied with divers of his Friends, took ſhipping for his province of Pennſylvania, and on the 30th of the ſame month, he writ from the Downs, "A Farewell to England, being an Epiſtle containing a Salutation to all faithful Friends."

Goes to Pennſylvania.

After a proſperous voyage of ſix weeks, they came within ſight of the American coaſt, from whence the air, at twelve leagues diſtance, ſmelt as ſweet as a new-blown garden. Sailing up the river, the inhabitants, as well Dutch and Swedes, as Engliſh, met him with demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction. He landed at Newcaſtle, a place moſtly inhabited by the Dutch, and the next day he ſummoned the people to the Court-Houſe, where poſſeſſion of the country was legally given him: He then made a Speech, ſetting forth the purpoſe of his coming, and the ends of government, giving them aſſurances of a free enjoyment of Liberty of Conſcience in things ſpiritual, and of civil freedom in temporal, and recommending to them to live in ſobriety and peace one with another: After which, he renewed the magiſtrates commiſſions, and then departed to Upland or Cheſter, where he called an aſſembly, to whom he made the like declaration, and received their thankful acknowledgments. Here alſo the Swedes deputed one Captain Lucey Cook, in their names, to congratulate him upon his ſafe arrival, and to aſſure him of their fidelity, love and obedience.

Heads of his ſpeech to an aſſembly, at Newcaſtle.

And to another at Cheſter. Is congratulated by the Swedes.

By this time ſome progreſs had been made in building at Philadelphia, and ſeveral pretty houſes were run up on the ſide of the River Delaware: The governor himſelf had a fair manſion-houſe erected at Penn's-Bury, near the fall of the ſaid river, at which he ſometimes reſided. The country was unexceptionable, the air exceeding clear, ſweet and healthy; and proviſions, both meat and drink, good and plentiful.

In the tenth month following, a general aſſembly of the freeholders was held at Cheſter aforeſaid, at which Newcaſtle was annexed to Pennſylvania: The foreigners there inhabiting were naturalized, and the laws before agreed on in England, with ſome amendments and alterations, were confirmed and ratified; and the whole proceedings of the aſſembly carried on with love and unanimity.

A general aſſembly of the freeholders at Cheſter.

After the adjournment of that aſſembly, he went to Maryland, and was there kindly received by the Lord Baltimore, and the chiefs of that colony: They held a treaty about ſettling the bounds of their provinces; but the ſeaſon of the year not admitting the concluſion of that buſineſs, after two days conference he took his leave, and the Lord Baltimore accompanied him back ſome miles to the houſe of one William Richardſon; from thence he went two miles farther to a meeting of his friends, at the houſe of Thomas Hooker, and afterward forwarded his journey to Choptank, on the eaſtern-ſhore; where was to be an appointed meeting of colonels, magiſtrates, and people of ſeveral ranks and qualities. Thus he proceeded to ſettle his government and province, and to eſtabliſh a good correſpondence with his neighbours. Nor was the advancement of himſelf or his family in worldly wealth and grandeur, his aim in the adminiſtration of government; but in the greateſt honour of his publick ſtation, he ſtill retained the meekneſs and humility of a private Chriſtian: The ſincerity of his intentions, and with what zeal and ardour he purſued a general good, are beſt expreſſed by his own words, in a letter to a perſon who had unduly reflected on him; viz.

His Reception at Maryland.

A meeting of magiſtrates, &c. at Choptank, on the eaſtern ſhore.

'MY OLD FRIEND,

---------- 'I could ſpeak largely of God's dealings with me in getting this thing: What an inward exerciſe of faith and patience it coſt me in paſſing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and coſt, through the envy of many, both profeſſors, falſe friends, and profane: My GOD hath given it me in the face of the world, and

His defence of himſelf againſt a cavilling objector.

1682.

‘ it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my ſufferings; and that is ſeen here, whatever ſome deſpiſers may ſay or think: The place God hath given me, and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is MORE than a Worldly Title or Patent that hath clothed me in this place.--- Keep thy place: I am in mine, and have ſerved the God of the whole earth ſince I have been in it: Nor am I ſitting down in a Greatneſs that I have denied.--- I am day and night ſpending my life, my time, my money, and am not ſix-pence enriched by this greatneſs: Coſts in getting, ſettling, tranſportation, and maintenance, now in a publick manner at my own charge duly conſidered; to ſay nothing of my hazard, and the diſtance I am at from a conſiderable Eſtate, and, which is more, my dear Wife and poor Children.

‘ Well! --- the Lord is a God of righteous judgment: Had I ſought Greatneſs, I had ſtayed at home, where the difference between what I am here, and was offered and could have been there, in Power and Wealth, is as wide as the places are: No, I came for the LORD's ſake, and therefore have I ſtood to this day, well, and diligent, and ſucceſsful, bleſſed be his Power.--- Nor ſhall I trouble myſelf to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, ſpendings, and my ſervants every way, FREELY, (not like a SELFISH man) I have many witneſſes.--- To conclude, it is now in Friends hands: Through my travail, faith and patience it came.--- If Friends here keep to God, and in the juſtice, mercy, equity and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their footſtool: If not, their heirs, and my heirs too, will loſe all, and deſolation will follow: But bleſſed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowſhip of his tender heavenly Spirit; and our faith is, for ourſelves and one another, that the Lord will be with us a KING and a COUNSELLOR for ever.

‘ Cheſter, 5th of the 12th
‘ Month, 1682.

‘ Thy Ancient, though Grieved Friend,

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

1683.

Writes to the ſociety of traders at London.

In the ſixth month, 1683, having been about a year in Pennſylvania, he writ a letter “ To the Free Society of Traders of that Province, reſiding at London,” wherein he deſcribes the country, relates the cuſtoms and manners of the Indians, the condition of the firſt planters, and the preſent ſtate and ſettlement of that province, with an account of the new-laid-out city of Philadelphia; which the reader may find no ſmall pleaſure in peruſing.

1684.

And being no leſs ſollicitous for the ſpiritual good, than for the temporal advantages of his people, he writ in the year 1684, “ An Epiſtle to the People of God called “ Quakers, in the Province of Pennſylvania,” &c.

Returns to England.

After about two years reſidence there, having ſettled all things in a thriving and proſperous condition, he returned to England, where he arrived ſafe the 12th of the 6th month, 1684.

Death of K. Charles II.

Acceſſion of K. James.

On the 6th of the 12th month following, King Charles the Second died, and was ſucceeded by his brother the Duke of York, by the name of King James the Second, who being a profeſſed Papiſt, his acceſſion to the crown filled the people's hearts with juſt apprehenſions and fears, leſt he ſhould take into the wonted meaſures of thoſe of his perſuaſion, and eſtabliſh his own religion by the deſtruction of others; and had W. P. at that time fomented the general uneaſineſs, by encouraging multitudes then upon the wing, he might, as himſelf ſaid, ‘ have put many thouſands of people into ‘ his province, as well as pounds into his pocket.’ But he, who had been intimate with that King when Duke of York, and for whom, excepting their difference in matters of Religion, the Duke had always ſhewn a perſonal reſpect and eſteem, was induced, by the repeated proteſtations he had heard him make, to believe that he was really PRINCIPLED for Granting Liberty of Conſcience; and accordingly embraced the preſent opportunity of ſollicitng afreſh for the relief of his innocent and ſuffering Friends, who at that time filled the jails; and that he might be the nearer on all occaſions for the ſervice of them and his country, he took lodgings, in 1685, near Kenſington.

1685.

W. P. undeſervedly cenſured as a Papiſt or Jeſuit.

And now his acquaintance and frequency at court ſubjected him to the undeſerved cenſure of ſuch as leaſt knew him, as being a Papiſt, or Jeſuit; and about this time Two Copies of Verſes were printed, with the initial letters of his name ſubſcribed, condoling the ‘ Late King's Death, and congratulating the Acceſſion of the preſent:’ Theſe verſes, though ſavouring both of Popery and Flattery, were, as perhaps the Publiſher's Malice intended, preſently imputed to him: Whereupon, to undeceive the world and clear himſelf, he publiſhed the following paper, called,

“ Fiction

1685.

“Fiction found out.”

‘To my Eſteemed Friends, called QUAKERS, on occaſion of Two ‘Copies of Verſes printed, and ſubſcribed W. P.

‘DEAR FRIENDS,

‘I Have writ this for your Satisfaction; and yet not for yours, as you well ſay, but to inform thoſe many that importune you on my account, aſking, If I was the author of the condoling and congratulating verſes on the late and preſent king; printed (ſay they) in my name: Concluding, if I were the Author, I muſt needs have turned Papiſt, Flatterer, and what they pleaſe.

‘Others, I perceive, without this help, as well as without truth or modeſty, ſtick not to ~~report me~~ a declared Papiſt, and that I openly go to Maſs.

‘Now, though it looks idle in any to wonder I ſhould be a Papiſt at this time of day, that have been thought, and upon juſt as good ground, a Jeſuit ſo many years; yet becauſe they have no better evidence, a man would wonder why they ſhould be ſo believing, but that we lamentably ſee men are apter to be injurious than juſt. In the mean while I have a fine time of it, to be reported a Papiſt on one hand, and preſented and proſecuted as a Diſaffected Perſon on the other hand: But I know myſelf and the world too well, to be troubled at this, and worſe, if that can be: It is enough for me it is FALSE.

‘For the Verſes, if it be conſidered, the two letters W. P. begin 500 names beſides mine; and I, that pretend not to POETRY at any time, ſhould hardly have done it then, when I muſt needs look to have ſuch ſad company as the dull flattery of all the ſuburbs of the town.

‘But that I did not write them, the Stuff itſelf ſhows; and they muſt be bereaved of Senſe, as well as Charity, that can think it: For to own myſelf a Quaker, and jeer the Profeſſion; to uſe their Phraſes, and profane them; to promiſe, as Quakers, to live peaceably, and yet engage to be no more ſuch; to make ourſelves Loyal in one ſtanza, and aſk Pardon for NOT being ſo in another; be now a Miſtaken and wilful ROUT; and preſently the Loving and Loyal FRIENDS of Charles and James; make up a jarr and a nonſenſe that I have not been uſed to be guilty of in Proſe; and whenever I turn ſuch a PENNY-POET, let ſuch Confuſion be my Judgment: However, it would look rude to be angry at them; for certainly they put a mighty compliment upon my name, that thought two letters of it would make their Drug Sell: And becauſe I am ſo known a Friend to PROPERTY, to the unknown Hawker-Wit that writ them I leave them, with the credit of all the fine and fooliſh Fancy they are laboured with: Contenting myſelf, againſt all Defamations, that I have this defence for my Religion and Conduct in my concluſions:

‘Firſt, That the Grace of God WITHIN me, and the Scriptures WITHOUT me, are the Foundation and Declaration of my Faith and Religion; and let any man get better if he can.

‘Secondly, That the Profeſſion I make of this Religion, is in the ſame Way and Manner that I have uſed for almoſt theſe eighteen years laſt paſt.

‘Thirdly, That my Civil Conduct, I humbly bleſs my God, has been with Peace on Earth, and Good-will to all Men, from the King on the Throne, to the Beggar on the Dunghill.

‘I have ever loved ENGLAND, and Moderation to all Parties in it; and long ſeen, and foreſeen, the conſequences of the want of it: I would yet heartily wiſh it might take place, and PERSUASION that of PERSECUTION, that we might not grow BARBAROUS for CHRISTIANITY, nor abuſe and undo one another for GOD's SAKE.

‘Theſe have been, theſe are, and with God's ſtrength ſhall be, through all the crooked and uneven paths of Time, the principles and practice of

‘Your ancient and conſtant Friend,

‘Worminghurſt-place, the laſt of the
‘ſecond month called April, 1683

‘WILLIAM PENN.’

POSTSCRIPT.

If this will not ſerve and ſatisfy the miſtaken, (for the Malicious I fear are paſt cure) let them but prove the Report upon any-body, and I will yet, as late in the day as it looks for ſuch work, effectually convince them with the Judgment of the Law, that ought to be every honeſt man's Shield.

‘W. P.’

1685.

The occaſion of an epiſtolary conference between doctor Tillotſon and W. Penn.

But yet the miſtaken notions entertained by the common people of his being a Papiſt, or at leaſt holding a correſpondence with Jeſuits at Rome, began to enter the minds of ſome of better judgment; and among others, his acquaintance Dr. Tillotſon (afterward Archbiſhop of Canterbury) having let in a ſuſpicion of him, dropt ſome expreſſions, which were improved to his diſadvantage: W. P. being informed of this, wrote a letter to the doctor on that ſubject, which was followed by ſeveral others that paſſed between them, until at laſt the doctor declared himſelf fully ſatisfied that his ſuſpicion was groundleſs: And that our reader may not miſs of as full ſatisfaction in this caſe, a copy of thoſe letters here follows, viz.

W. Penn to Dr. Tillotson.

‘Worthy Friend,

‘Being often told that Dr. Tillotſon ſhould ſuſpect me, and ſo report me, a Papiſt, (I think a Jeſuit) and being cloſely preſſed, I take the liberty to aſk thee, if any ſuch reflection fell from thee? If it did, I am ſorry one I eſteemed ever the Firſt of his robe, ſhould ſo undeſervedly ſtain me, for ſo I call it; and if the ſtory be falſe, I am ſorry they ſhould abuſe Dr. Tillotſon, as well as myſelf, without a cauſe. I add no more, but that I abhor Two Principles in Religion, and pity them that own them. The firſt is, Obedience upon Authority without Conviction; and the other, Deſtroying them that differ from me for God's Sake. Such a Religion is without Judgment, though not without Teeth: Union is beſt, if right; elſe Charity: And as Hooker ſaid, “The Time will come, when a few Words ſpoken with Meekneſs and Humility and Love, ſhall be more acceptable than Volumes of Controverſies;” which commonly deſtroy Charity, the very beſt Part of the True Religion: I mean not a Charity that can CHANGE with All, but BEAR All, as I can Dr. Tillotſon in what he diſſents from me, and in this Reflection too, if ſaid, which is not yet believed by

‘Thy Chriſtian True Friend,

‘Charing-Croſs, 22d of the
‘11th month, 1685-6.

‘W. Penn.’

Dr. Tillotson to W. Penn.

‘Honoured Sir, Jan. 26, 1685.

‘The demand of your letter is very juſt and reaſonable, and the manner of it very kind; therefore in anſwer to it, be pleaſed to take the following account. The laſt time you did me the favour to ſee me at my houſe, I did, according to the Freedom I always uſe, where I profeſs any Friendſhip, acquaint you with ſomething I had heard of a Correſpondence you held with ſome at Rome, and particularly with ſome of the Jeſuits there; at which you ſeemed a little ſurprized; and after ſome general diſcourſe about it, you ſaid you would call on me ſome other time, and ſpeak farther of it: Since that time I never ſaw you, but by accident and in paſſage, where, I thought, you always declined me, particularly at Sir William Jones's chamber, which was the laſt time, I think, I ſaw you; upon which occaſion I took notice to him of your ſtrangeneſs to me, and told him what I thought might be the reaſon of it, and that I was ſorry for it, becauſe I had a particular Eſteem of your Parts and Temper. The ſame, I believe, I have ſaid to ſome others, but to whom I do not ſo particularly remember. Since your going to Pennſylvania, I never thought more of it; till lately being in ſome company, one of them preſſed me to declare, Whether I had not heard ſomething of you, which had ſatisfied me that you were a Papiſt? I anſwered, No, by no means. I told him what I had heard, and what I ſaid to you, and of the ſtrangeneſs that enſued upon it; but that this never went farther with me, than to make me ſuſpect there was more in that report which I had heard, than I was at firſt willing to believe; and that if any made more of it, I ſhould look upon them as very injurious both to Mr. Penn and myſelf.

‘This is the truth of that matter; and whenever you will pleaſe to ſatisfy me that my ſuſpicion of the truth of that report I had heard was groundleſs, I will heartily beg your pardon for it. I do fully concur with you in the abhorrence of the Two Principles you mention, and in your approbation of that excellent ſaying of Mr. Hooker's, for which I ſhall ever highly eſteem him. I have endeavoured to make it one of the governing principles of my life, never to abate any thing of Humanity or Charity to any man for his difference from me in Opinion, and particularly to thoſe of your Perſuaſion, as ſeveral of them have had experience. I have been ready upon

‘all

1686.

‘ all occaſions to do all offices of kindneſs, being truly ſorry to ſee them ſo hardly uſed; and though I thought them MISTAKEN, yet in the main I believed them to be very HONEST. I thank you for your letter, and have a juſt eſteem of the Chriſtian Temper of it, and reſt,

‘ Your faithful Friend,

‘ Jo. TILLOTSON.’

W. PENN to Dr. TILLOTSON.

‘ WORTHY FRIEND,

‘ HAVING a much leſs opinion of my own Memory, than of Dr. Tillotſon's Truth, I will allow the Fact, though not the Jealouſy: For beſides that I cannot look ſtrange where I am well uſed, I have ever treated the name of Dr. Tillotſon with another regard. I might be grave, and full of my own buſineſs; I was alſo then diſappointed by the Doctor's; but my Nature is not harſh, my Education leſs, and my Principle leaſt of all. It was the Opinion I have had of the Doctor's Moderation, Simplicity, and Integrity, rather than his Parts, or Poſt, that always made me ſet a value upon his Friendſhip, of which, perhaps, I am better judge; leaving the latter to men of deeper talents. I blame him nothing, but leave it to his better thoughts, if, in my affair, his Jealouſy was not too nimble for his Charity. If he can believe me, I ſhould hardly prevail with myſelf to endure the ſame thought of Dr. Tillotſon on the like occaſion, and leſs to ſpeak of it. For the Roman Correſpondence I will freely come to confeſſion: I have not only no ſuch thing with any Jeſuit at ROME, (though Proteſtants MAY have, without offence) but I hold none with ANY Jeſuit, Prieſt, or Regular in the World of that Communion. And that the Doctor may ſee what a novice I am in that buſineſs, I know not one ANY-WHERE. And yet, when all this is ſaid, I am a CATHOLICK, though not a ROMAN. I have Bowels for Mankind, and dare not deny others what I crave for myſelf, I mean Liberty for the Exerciſe of my Religion; thinking Faith, Piety, and Providence a better Security than Force; and that if Truth cannot prevail with her OWN weapons, all others will fail her.

‘ Now, though I am not *obliged* to this Defence, and that it can be no Temporizing now to make it; yet that Dr. Tillotſon may ſee how much I value his good opinion, and dare own the Truth and myſelf at all turns, let him be confident I am no Roman Catholick, but a Chriſtian, whoſe creed is the Scripture; of the Truth of which I hold a NOBLER Evidence, than the Beſt CHURCH AUTHORITY in the World; and yet I refuſe not to believe the *Porter*, though I cannot leave the Senſe to his Diſcretion; and when I ſhould, if he offends againſt thoſe plain Methods of Underſtanding God hath made us to know things by, and which are inſeparable from us, I muſt beg his pardon; as I do the Doctor's for this Length, upon the aſſurance he has given me of his doing the like upon better Information; which that he may fully have, I recommend him to my “ Addreſs to Proteſtants,” from pag. 133. to the end, and to the four firſt chapters of my “ No Croſs, No Crown;” to ſay nothing of OUR moſt Inceremonious and Unworldly Way of Worſhip, and THEIR Pompous Cult; where at this time I ſhall leave the buſineſs, with all due and ſenſible acknowledgments to thy friendly temper, and aſſurance of the ſincere wiſhes and reſpects of

‘ Thy affectionate real Friend,

‘ Charing-Croſs, the 29th of
‘ the 11th month, 1686.

‘ W. PENN.’

W. PENN to Dr. TILLOTSON.

‘ WORTHY FRIEND, Charing-Croſs, 27th of 2d month, 1686.

Third letter to Dr. Tillotſon.

‘ THIS ſhould have been a viſit; but being of opinion that Dr. Tillotſon is yet a debtor to me this way, I choſe to provoke him to another letter by this, before I made him one: For though he was very juſt and obliging when I laſt ſaw him, yet certainly no Expreſſion, however kindly ſpoken, will ſo eaſily and effectually purge me from the unjuſt imputation ſome people caſt upon me in his name, as his LETTER will do. The need of this he will better ſee when he has read the incloſed; which coming to hand ſince my laſt, is, I preſume, enough to juſtify this addreſs, if I had no former pretenſions: And therefore I cannot be ſo wanting to myſelf, as not to preſs him to a LETTER in my juſt defence; nor ſo uncharitable to him, as to think he ſhould not frankly write what he has ſaid, when it is to right a man's Reputation,

1686.

‘ and diſabuſe the too credulous World. For to me it ſeems from a Private Friendſhip, ‘ to become a Moral Duty to the Publick, which, with a perſon of ſo great Morality, ‘ muſt give ſucceſs to the reaſonable deſire of

‘ Thy very real Friend,

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

Dr. TILLOTSON to W. PENN.

‘ SIR, April the 29th, 1686.

‘ I Am very ſorry that the Suſpicion which I had entertained concerning you, of ‘ which I gave you the true account in my former letter, hath occaſioned ſo much ‘ trouble and inconvenience to you: And I do now declare, with Great Joy, that I ‘ am fully ſatisfied that there was no juſt ground for that Suſpicion, and therefore I ‘ do heartily beg your pardon for it. And ever ſince you were pleaſed to give me that ‘ ſatisfaction, I have taken all occaſions to vindicate you in this matter; and ſhall be ‘ ready to do it to the perſon that ſent you the incloſed, whenever he will pleaſe to ‘ come to me. I am very much in the country, but will ſeek the firſt opportunity to ‘ viſit you at Charing-Croſs, and renew our acquaintance, in which I took great ‘ pleaſure. I reſt,

‘ Your Faithful Friend,

‘ JO. TILLOTSON.’

W. P. writes a defence of a book of the Duke of Buckingham's.

Publiſhes a “ Perſuaſive “ to Moderation.”

In this year he publiſhed “ A farther Account of the Province of Pennſylvania;” and about this time the Duke of Buckingham having writ a book in favour of Liberty of Conſcience, for which he was always a known advocate, a Nameleſs Author put forth an Anſwer, reflecting not only on the Duke himſelf, but alſo on W. P. ſaying, ‘ The ‘ Pennſylvanian had entered him, (i. e. the Duke) with his Quakeriſtical Doctrine.’ W. P. gave that Anſwerer a Reply, intituled, “ A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book of Religion and Worſhip,” &c. a ſmall piece; in the concluſion of which, he refers to another excellent and larger diſcourſe, ſoon after publiſhed by himſelf, intituled, “ A Perſuaſive to Moderation to Diſſenting Chriſtians, in Prudence and “ Conſcience, humbly ſubmitted to the King and his great Council:” In which he confutes the ſeveral pleas for Perſecution, and confirms his own arguments for a Toleration, by the teſtimonies of authors, and the examples of flouriſhing kingdoms and ſtates, and ſhews the diſmal effects and conſequences of the contrary: A treatiſe well worthy the reader's ſerious peruſal.

King James's Proclamation for a general pardon:

How far this book, and other ſollicitations of its author, did influence the King and Council, we determine not, but ſhortly after, viz. on the 14th of the month called March, 1685-6, came forth the King's Proclamation for a General Pardon; and inſtructions being given to the Judges of Aſſize, in their ſeveral Circuits, to extend the benefit of it to the Quakers, about Thirteen Hundred of that People, moſt of whom had been divers years impriſoned, were ſet at liberty: Joyful, no doubt, to their diſtreſſed Families, as well as beneficial to the Country, was the reſtoring ſo many induſtrious people to their own homes, and lawful employments; and, whatever private views ſome in authority may be ſuppoſed to have had in granting that general amneſty, it was certainly the duty of the afflicted to receive the preſent favour with a becoming gratitude.

1687.

And alſo a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

On the 4th of the month called April, 1687, came forth the ‘ King's Declaration ‘ for Liberty of Conſcience, ſuſpending the Execution of all Penal Laws in Matters ‘ Eccleſiaſtical;’ by which, (though probably done in favour of the Papiſts) Diſſenters received a general eaſe, and enjoyed their meetings peaceably. The People called Quakers, having ſmarted by thoſe laws more than others, could not be leſs ſenſible of the preſent relief; wherefore at their next Annual Aſſembly held at London, in the third month this year, they drew up an “ Addreſs of Thanks to the King,” deputing W. P. and others to preſent the ſame: His Speech at the preſenting of it, with the Addreſs itſelf, and the King's Anſwer, were as follows.

1687.

W. Penn's Speech to the KING, upon his delivering the Quakers Addreſs.

‘ May It pleaſe the KING,

‘ It was the ſaying of our Bleſſed Lord to the captious Jews in the caſe of Tribute, “ Render to Cæſar the Things that are Cæſar's, and to God the Things that are God's.” As this diſtinction ought to be obſerved by all men in the conduct of their lives, ſo the King has given us an illuſtrious Example in his own Perſon that excites us to it: For while he was a SUBJECT, he gave Cæſar his Tribute; and now he is a CÆSAR, he gives GOD his Due, viz. “ The Sovereignty over Conſciences.” It were a great ſhame, then, for any Engliſhman (that profeſſes Chriſtianity) not to give God his Due. By this grace he has relieved his diſtreſſed ſubjects from their cruel ſufferings, and raiſed to himſelf a new and laſting Empire, by adding their Affections to their Duty: And we pray God to continue the King in this noble reſolution; for he is now upon a principle that has Good-nature, Chriſtianity, and the Good of Civil Society on its ſide; a Security to him beyond the Little Arts of Government.

‘ I would not that any ſhould think, that we came hither with deſign to fill the Gazette with our Thanks; but as our Sufferings would have moved Stones to Compaſſion, ſo we ſhould be HARDER, if we were not moved to GRATITUDE.

‘ Now ſince the King's Mercy and Goodneſs have reached to us throughout the Kingdom of England, and Principality of Wales, our General Aſſembly from all thoſe parts, met at London about our Church Affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the King with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do, by this ADDRESS, with all the affection and reſpect of a dutiful ſubject.’

The ADDRESS.

‘ To King JAMES the Second, over ENGLAND, &c.

‘ The Humble and Grateful Acknowledgment of his Peaceable Subjects ‘ called QUAKERS, in this Kingdom.

‘ From their uſual YEARLY MEETING in LONDON, the Nineteenth Day of the Third ‘ Month, vulgarly called May, 1687.

‘ We cannot but bleſs and praiſe the Name of Almighty God, who hath the Hearts of Princes in his Hand, that he hath inclined the King to hear the Cries of his Suffering Subjects for Conſcience Sake: And we rejoice that inſtead of troubling him with Complaints of our Sufferings, he hath given us ſo eminent an occaſion to preſent him with our Thanks: And ſince it hath pleaſed the King, out of his great compaſſion, thus to commiſerate our afflicted condition, which hath ſo particularly appeared by his gracious Proclamation, and Warrants laſt year, whereby Twelve hundred priſoners were releaſed from their ſevere impriſonments, and many others from ſpoil and ruin in their eſtates and properties; and his princely Speech in Council, and Chriſtian Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, in which he doth not only expreſs his Averſion to all Force upon Conſcience, and grant all his Diſſenting Subjects an ample Liberty to worſhip God, in the Way they are perſuaded is moſt agreeable to his Will, but gives them his Kingly Word the ſame ſhall CONTINUE during his Reign; we do (as our Friends of this City have already done) render the King our Humble, Chriſtian, and Thankful Acknowledgments, not only in behalf of ourſelves, but with reſpect to our Friends throughout England and Wales; And pray God, with all our hearts, to bleſs and preſerve thee, O King, and thoſe under thee, in ſo good a work: And as we can aſſure the King it is well accepted in the ſeveral counties from whence we came, ſo we hope the good effects thereof, for the Peace, Trade, and Proſperity of the Kingdom, will produce ſuch a concurrence from the Parliament, as may ſecure it to our Poſterity in After-times: And while we live, it ſhall be our endeavour (through God's Grace) to demean ourſelves, as, in Conſcience to God, and Duty to the King, we are obliged,

‘ His Peaceable, Loving, and Faithful Subjects.’

The

1687.

The KING's Anſwer.

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ I Thank you heartily for your Addreſs: Some of you know (I am ſure YOU do, ‘ Mr. Penn) that it was always my principle, “ That Conſcience ought not to be “ FORCED; and that all men ought to have the LIBERTY of their Conſciences:” ‘ And what I have promiſed in my Declaration, I will continue to perform as long as ‘ I live: And I hope, before I die, to ſettle it ſo, that After-Ages ſhall have no reaſon to alter it.’

Some have objected againſt the Quakers, and other Diſſenters, for addreſſing King James upon the aforeſaid Declaration of Indulgence, as though they had thereby countenanced the King's Diſpenſing with the Laws in General: Let ſuch obſerve their imputation, as to our Author, and his Friends the Quakers, ſufficiently guarded againſt in that part of their Addreſs where they ſay, ‘ We hope the good effects thereof, for ‘ the Peace, Trade, and Proſperity of the Kingdom, will produce ſuch a Concurrence ‘ from the Parliament, as may ſecure it to our Poſterity.’ It is plain, therefore they gratefully accepted of the Suſpenſion of the Penal Laws, by the King's Prerogative, (as who, in their caſe, would not?) a thing in itſelf juſt and reaſonable, in hopes of having the ſame afterward confirmed by the Legiſlative Authority; there being at that time much talk of an approaching Parliament: And that their expectation centered not in the King's Diſpenſing Power, is evident, by our author's continuing his endeavours to ſhew the neceſſity of *aboliſhing* the PENAL LAWS; for ſoon after this he writ a large Tract, called, “ Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catho“ licks, and Proteſtant Diſſenters;” in which he ſhews the diſannulling of thoſe Laws to be their General Intereſt.

He wrote alſo, preſently after this, a book intituled, “ The Great and Popular “ Objection againſt the Repeal of the Penal Laws, briefly ſtated and conſidered.”

1688. K. James's Declaration renewed.

On the 27th of the month called April, 1688, King James renewed his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, with an order of council for the reading of it in churches; againſt which Seven Biſhops petitioning, were committed to the Tower.

Our author labouring at this time under many Jealouſies and Reflections as a Countenancer of the Court Proceedings, a particular friend of his, William Popple, Secretary to the Plantation-Office, ſent him the following Letter.

‘ To the Honourable WILLIAM PENN, Eſq; Proprietor and Governor ‘ of Pennſylvania.

‘ HONOURED SIR!

‘ THOUGH the Friendſhip with which you are pleaſed to honour me, doth ‘ afford me ſufficient opportunities of diſcourſing with you upon any ſubject, ‘ yet I chuſe rather at this time to offer unto you in writing, ſome Reflections which ‘ have occurred to my thoughts, in a matter of no common importance. The im‘ portance of it doth, primarily and directly, reſpect yourſelf, and your own private ‘ concernments; but it alſo, conſequentially and effectually, regards the King, his ‘ Government, and even the Peace and Settlement of this whole Nation. I intreat ‘ you, therefore, to bear with me, if I endeavour in this manner to give ſomewhat ‘ more weight unto my words than would be in a tranſient diſcourſe, and leave them ‘ with you, as a ſubject that requires your retired conſideration.

‘ You are not ignorant that the part you have been ſuppoſed to have had of late ‘ years in Publick Affairs, though without either the title, or honour, or profit of any ‘ public office, and that eſpecially your avowed endeavours to introduce amongſt us a ‘ general and inviolable Liberty of Conſcience in matters of mere Religion, have oc‘ caſioned the Miſtakes of ſome men, provoked the Malice of others, and, in the ‘ end, have raiſed againſt you a Multitude of Enemies, who have unworthily de‘ famed you with ſuch imputations, as, I am ſure, you abhor. This I know you have ‘ been ſufficiently informed of, though I doubt you have not made ſufficient reflection ‘ upon it: The Conſciouſneſs of your own Innocence ſeems to me to have given you ‘ too great a Contempt of ſuch unjuſt and ill-grounded ſlanders: For however glorious ‘ it is, and reaſonable, for a truly virtuous mind, whoſe inward peace is founded upon ‘ that rock of innocence, to deſpiſe the empty noiſe of popular reproach, yet even that ‘ ſublimity of ſpirit may ſometimes ſwell to a reproveable exceſs. To be ſteady ‘ and immoveable in the proſecution of wiſe and honeſt reſolutions, by all honeſt and ‘ prudent means, is indeed a duty that admits of no exception: But nevertheleſs it ‘ ought not to hinder, that, at the ſame time, there be alſo a due care taken of pre-

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ſerving a fair Reputation. “A good Name,” ſays the Wiſe Man, “is better than precious Ointment.” It is a Perfume that recommends the perſon whom it accompanies, that procures him every-where an eaſy Acceptance, and that facilitates the ſucceſs of all his enterprizes: And for that reaſon, though there were no other, I intreat you obſerve, that “The Care of a Man's Reputation is an eſſential Part of that very ſame Duty that engages him in the purſuit of any worthy Deſign.”

‘But I muſt not entertain you with a declamation upon this general theme. My buſineſs is to repreſent to you, more particularly, thoſe very Imputations which are caſt upon yourſelf, together with ſome of their evident Conſequences; that, if poſſible, I may thereby move you to labour after a Remedy. The ſource of all ariſes from the Ordinary Acceſs you have unto the King, the Credit you are ſuppoſed to have with him, and the Deep Jealouſy that ſome people have conceived of his intentions in reference to Religion. Their jealouſy is, that his aim has been to ſettle POPERY in this nation, not only in a fair and ſecure Liberty, but even in a Predominating Superiority over all other profeſſions: And from hence the inference follows, That whoſoever has any part in the Councils of this Reign, muſt needs be popiſhly affected: But that to have ſo great a part in them, as you are ſaid to have had, can happen to none but an *Abſolute Papiſt*. That is the direct charge; but that is not enough, your Poſt is too conſiderable for a Papiſt of an ordinary form, and therefore you muſt be a *Jeſuit*: Nay, to confirm that ſuggeſtion, it muſt be accompanied with all the circumſtances that may beſt give it an air of probability; as that you have been bred at St. OMER's in the Jeſuits College; that you have taken *Orders* at *Rome*, and there obtained a Diſpenſation to Marry; and that you have ſince then frequently officiated as a *Prieſt*, in the celebration of the *Maſs* at Whitehall, St. James's, and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be caſt upon you. Whatſoever is thought amiſs either in Church or State, though never ſo contrary to your advice, is boldly attributed to it, and if other proofs fail, the Scripture itſelf muſt be brought in to confirm, “That whoſoever offends in one point (in a point eſpecially ſo eſſential as that of our too much affected Uniformity) is guilty of the breach of all our laws.” Thus the Charge of *Popery* draws after it a tail like the *Et Cetera* Oath, and, by endleſs innuendos, prejudicates you as guilty of whatſoever Malice can invent, or Folly believe: But that Charge therefore being removed, the inferences that are drawn from it will vaniſh, and your Reputation will eaſily return to its former brightneſs.

‘Now that I may the more effectually perſuade you to apply ſome remedy to this diſeaſe, I beſeech you, Sir, ſuffer me to lay before you ſome of its pernicious conſequences. It is not a trifling matter for a perſon raiſed, as you are, above the common level, to lie under the Prejudice of ſo General a Miſtake, in ſo important a matter. The general and the long prevalency of any opinion gives it a ſtrength, eſpecially among the vulgar, that is not eaſily ſhaken. And as it happens that you have alſo enemies of an higher rank, who will be ready to improve ſuch popular miſtakes, by all ſorts of malicious artifices, it muſt be taken for granted that thoſe errors will be thereby ſtill more confirmed, and the inconveniences that may ariſe from thence no leſs increaſed. This, Sir, I aſſure you, is a melancholy proſpect to your friends; for we know you have ſuch enemies. The deſign of ſo Univerſal a Liberty of Conſcience as your principles have led you to promote, has offended many of thoſe whoſe intereſt is to croſs it: I need not tell you how many and how powerful they are: Nor can I tell you either how far, or by what ways and means, they may endeavour to execute their revenge. But this, however, I muſt needs tell you, that in your preſent circumſtances, there is ſufficient ground for ſo much Jealouſy, at leaſt, as ought to excite you to uſe the precaution of ſome Publick Vindication. This the Tenderneſs of Friendſhip prompts your friends to deſire of you; and this the Juſt Senſe of your Honour, which true Religion does not extinguiſh, requires you to execute.

‘Pardon, I intreat you, Sir, the earneſtneſs of theſe expreſſions; nay, ſuffer me, without offence, to expoſtulate with you yet a little farther. I am fearful leſt theſe Perſonal Conſiderations ſhould not have their due weight with you, and therefore I cannot omit to reflect alſo upon ſome more general conſequences of your Particular Reproach. I have ſaid it already, That the King, his Honour, his Government, and even the Peace and Settlement of this whole Nation, either are, or have been, concerned in this matter: Your Reputation, as you are ſaid to have meddled in publick affairs, has been of publick concernment. The promoting a General Liberty of Conſcience having been your particular province; the aſperſion of Popery and Jeſuitiſm, that has been caſt upon *you*, has reflected upon HIS MAJESTY, for having made uſe, in that affair, of ſo diſguiſed a perſonage as you are ſuppoſed to have been. It has weakened the force of all your endeavours, obſtructed their effect, and contributed greatly to diſappoint this poor nation of that ineſtimable happineſs, and ſecure eſtabliſhment, which I am perſuaded you deſigned, and which all good and

1688. ‘wiſe men agree, that a juſt and inviolable Liberty of Conſcience would infallibly produce. I heartily wiſh this conſideration had been ſooner laid to heart, and that ſome demonſtrative evidence of your ſincerity in the profeſſion you make, had accompanied all your endeavours for Liberty.

‘But what do I ſay, or what do I wiſh for? I confeſs that I am now ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at that abundant evidence which I know you have conſtantly given, of the Oppoſition of your Principles to thoſe of the Romiſh Church, and at the little regard there has been had to it. If an open profeſſion of the *directeſt* Oppoſition againſt Popery, that has ever appeared in the world, ſince *Popery* was firſt diſtinguiſhed from *Common Chriſtianity*, would ſerve the turn, this cannot be denied to all thoſe of that SOCIETY, with which you are joined in the duties of Religious Worſhip. If to have maintained the Principles of that Society, by frequent and fervent Diſcourſes, by many elaborate Writings, by ſuffering Ignominy, Impriſonment, and other manifold diſadvantages in Defence thereof, can be admitted as any proof of your ſincere adherence thereunto; this, it is evident to the world, you have done already: Nay farther, if to have enquired as far as was poſſible for you, into the Particular Stories that have been framed againſt you, and to have ſought all means of rectifying the miſtakes upon which they were grounded, could in any meaſure avail to the ſettling a true character of you in mens judgments; this alſo I know you have done. For I have ſeen, under the hand of a * reverend Dean of our Engliſh Church, a full Acknowledgment of Satiſfaction received from you, in a ſuſpicion he had entertained upon one of thoſe ſtories, and to which his report had procured too great credit. And though I know you are averſe to the publiſhing of his Letter without his expreſs Leave, and perhaps may not now think fit to aſk it; yet I am ſo thoroughly aſſured of his Sincerity and Candor, that I cannot doubt but he has already vindicated you in that matter, and will (according to his promiſe) be ſtill ready to do it upon all occaſions. Nay I have ſeen alſo your juſtification from another calumny of common fame, about your having kidnapped one who had been formerly a MONK, out of your American Province, to deliver him here into the hands of his Enemies; I ſay, I have ſeen your juſtification from that ſtory under that perſon's own hand: And his Return to Pennſylvania, where he now reſides, may be an irrefragable confutation of it, to any that will take the pains to enquire thereinto.

‘Really it afflicts me very much to conſider that all this does not ſuffice. If I had not that particular reſpect for you which I ſincerely profeſs; yet I could not but be much affected, that any man who had deſervedly acquired ſo fair a reputation as you have formerly had, whoſe Integrity and Veracity had always been reputed ſpotleſs, and whoſe Charity had been continually exerciſed in ſerving others, at the dear expence of his Time, his Strength, and his Eſtate, without any other recompence than what reſults from the conſciouſneſs of doing good; I ſay, I could not but be much affected, to ſee any ſuch perſon fall innocently and undeſervedly under ſuch unjuſt reproaches as you have done. It is an hard caſe; and I think no man, that has any bowels of humanity, can reflect upon it without great relentings.

‘Since therefore it is ſo, and that ſomething remains yet to be done, ſomething more expreſs, and eſpecially more Publick, than has yet been done for your Vindication, I beg of you, dear Sir, by all the tender efficacy that Friendſhip, either mine, or that of your friends and relations together, can have upon you; by the due regard which Humanity, and even Chriſtianity, obliges you to have to your Reputation; by the Duty you owe unto the King; by your Love to the Land of your Nativity; and by the Cauſe of Univerſal Religion and Eternal Truth; let not the ſcandal of Inſincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any longer upon you; but let the ſenſe of all theſe Obligations perſuade you to gratify your Friends and Relations, and to ſerve your King, your Country, and your Religion, by ſuch a publick Vindication of your Honour, as your own Prudence, upon theſe ſuggeſtions, will now ſhew you to be moſt neceſſary, and moſt expedient. I am, with unfeigned and moſt reſpectful affection,

‘Honoured Sir,

‘Your moſt humble, and

‘moſt obedient Servant.’

‘London, October the
‘20th, 1688.

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* Dr. Tillotſon.

W. PENN's Anſwer to the foregoing Letter.

1688.

‘ WORTHY FRIEND,

‘ IT is now above twenty years, I thank God, that I have not been very ſolicitous what the world thought of me. For ſince I have had the Knowledge of Religion from a PRINCIPLE in MYSELF, the firſt and main point with me has been, to approve myſelf in the ſight of God, through patience and well-doing: So that the world has not had weight enough with me, to ſuffer its *good* Opinion to raiſe me, or its *ill* Opinion to deject me. And if THAT had been the only motive or conſideration, and not the Deſire of a good Friend, in the name of many others, I had been as ſilent to thy letter, as I uſe to be to the idle and malicious ſhams of the times: But as the Laws of Friendſhip are ſacred, with thoſe that value that relation, ſo I confeſs this to be a principal one with me, Not to deny a friend the ſatisfaction he deſires, when it may be done without offence to a good conſcience.

‘ The buſineſs chiefly inſiſted upon, is my POPERY, and endeavours to promote it. I do ſay then, and that with all ſincerity; That I am not only no *Jeſuit*, but no PAPIST. And, which is more, I never had any Temptation upon me to be it, either from Doubts in my own mind about the Way I profeſs, or from the Diſcourſes or Writings of any of that Religion. And, in the Preſence of Almighty God, I do declare, that the King did never once, directly or indirectly, attack me, or tempt me, upon that ſubject, the many years that I have had the advantage of a Free Acceſs to him; ſo unjuſt, as well as ſordidly falſe, are all thoſe ſtories of the town.

‘ The only reaſon, that I can apprehend, they have to repute me a Roman Catholick, is, my frequent going to WHITE-HALL, a place no more forbid to me than to the reſt of the world, who yet, it ſeems, find much fairer Quarter. I have almoſt continually had one buſineſs or other there for our Friends, whom I ever ſerved with a ſteady ſolicitation, through all times, ſince I was of their communion. I had alſo a great many perſonal good offices to do, upon a principle of Charity, for people of all Perſuaſions, thinking it a duty to improve the little intereſt I had for the good of thoſe that needed it, eſpecially the poor. I might add ſomething of my own affairs too; though I muſt own (if I may without vanity) that they have ever had the leaſt ſhare of my thoughts or pains, or elſe they would not have ſtill depended as they yet do.

‘ But becauſe ſome people are ſo unjuſt, as to render Inſtances for my Popery, (or rather Hypocriſy, for ſo it would be in me) it is fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuſe me. I ſay then ſolemnly, That I am ſo far from having been bred at St. OMER's, and having received Orders at ROME, that I never was at either place, nor do I know any body there; nor had I ever a Correſpondency with any body in thoſe places; which is another ſtory invented againſt me. And as for my officiating in the King's Chapel, or any other, it is ſo ridiculous, as well as untrue, that beſides that nobody can do it but a *Prieſt*, and that I have been married to a woman of ſome condition above ſixteen years, which no *Prieſt* can be, by any Diſpenſation whatever; I have not ſo much as looked into *any* Chapel of the Roman Religion, and conſequently not the *King*'s, though a common Curioſity warrants it daily to people of all Perſuaſions.

‘ And once for all, I do ſay, That I am a *Proteſtant Diſſenter*, and to that degree ſuch, that I challenge the moſt celebrated Proteſtant of the Engliſh Church, or any other, on that head, be he Layman or Clergyman, in publick or in private. For I would have ſuch people know, It is not impoſſible for a *True Proteſtant Diſſenter* to be dutiful, thankful, and ſerviceable to the KING, though he be of the *Roman Catholick Communion*. We hold not our property or protection from him by our Perſuaſion; and therefore his Perſuaſion ſhould not be the Meaſure of our Allegiance. I am ſorry to ſee ſo many that ſeem fond of the Reformed Religion, by their Diſaffection to him recommend it ſo ill. Whatever practices of Roman-Catholicks we might reaſonably object againſt, (and no doubt but ſuch there are) yet he has diſclaimed and reprehended thoſe ill things by his declared Opinion againſt PERSECUTION, by the Eaſe in which he actually indulges all Diſſenters; and by the Confirmation he offers in Parliament, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty of Conſcience. And in his Honour, as well as in my own Defence, I am obliged in Conſcience to ſay, that he has ever declared to me, *It was his Opinion*; and on all occaſions, when Duke, he never refuſed me the repeated proofs of it, as often as I had any poor ſufferers for Conſcience-ſake to ſollicit his help for.

‘ But ſome may be apt to ſay, “ Why not any body elſe as well as I? Why muſt “ I have the preferable Acceſs to other Diſſenters, if not a PAPIST?” I anſwer, I know not that it is ſo. But this I know, That I have made it my Province and Bu-

1688. ‘ ſineſs; I have followed and preſſed it; I took it for my Calling and Station, and have kept it above theſe Sixteen Years; and, which is more (if I may ſay it without vanity or reproach) wholly at my own CHARGES too. To this let me add the Relation my Father had to this King's Service, his particular Favour in getting me releaſed out of the Tower of London in 1669, my Father's humble Requeſt to him, upon his Death-bed, to protect me from the Inconveniencies and Troubles my Perſuaſion might expoſe me to, and his friendly Promiſe to do it, and exact performance of it, from the moment I addreſſed myſelf to him: I ſay, when all this is conſidered, any body, that has the leaſt pretence to Good-nature, Gratitude, or Generoſity, muſt needs know how to interpret my Acceſs to the King. Perhaps ſome will be ready to ſay, “ This is not all, nor is this yet a Fault, but that I have been an Adviſer in other Matters diſguſtful to the Kingdom, and which tend to the Overthrow of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of the People.” A likely thing indeed, that a Proteſtant Diſſenter, who from Fifteen Years old has been (at times) a Sufferer in his Father's Family, in the Univerſity, and by the Government, for being ſo, ſhould deſign the *Deſtruction* of the Proteſtant Religion. This is juſt as probable as it is true, that I died a *Jeſuit* ſix years ago in *America*. Will men ſtill ſuffer ſuch ſtuff to paſs upon them? Is any thing more Fooliſh, as well as Falſe, than that becauſe I am often at WHITE-HALL, therefore I muſt be the AUTHOR of all that is done there, that does not pleaſe abroad? But ſuppoſing ſome ſuch things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppoſe any thing that I am not called to do? I never was a Member of Council, Cabinet, or Committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are tranſacted. I have had no Office, or Truſt, and conſequently, nothing can be ſaid to be done by me; nor, for that reaſon, could I lie under any teſt or obligation to diſcover my opinion of Publick Acts of State; and therefore neither can any ſuch Acts, nor my Silence about them, in juſtice be made my Crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all Governments. And unleſs calling at White-hall once a day, upon many occaſions, or my not being turned out of nothing (for that no Office is) be the evidence of my Compliance in diſagreeable things, I know not what elſe can, with any truth, be alledged againſt me. However, one thing I know, that I have every-where moſt religiouſly obſerved, and endeavoured in converſation with perſons of all ranks and opinions, to allay heats, and moderate extremities, even in the politicks. It is below me to be more particular; but I am ſure it has been my endeavour, that if we could not all meet upon a Religious Bottom, at leaſt we might upon a Civil One, the Good of England; which is the common intereſt of king and people: That He might be great by Juſtice, and we free by Obedience; diſtinguiſhing rightly on the one hand, between Duty and Slavery; and on the other, between Liberty and Licentiouſneſs.

‘ But, alas, I am not without my apprehenſions of the cauſe of this behaviour towards me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean my conſtant zeal for an impartial Liberty of Conſcience. But if that be it, the cauſe is too good to be in pain about. I ever underſtood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a Religion without it, his Religion was none of his own. For what is not the Religion of a Man's *Choice*, is the Religion of him that *impoſes* it: So that Liberty of Conſcience is the firſt ſtep to have a Religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have writ many apologies within the laſt twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as conſtantly declared, that Bounds ought to be ſet to this Freedom, and that Morality was the BEST; and that as often as that was violated, under a pretence of Conſcience, it was fit the Civil Power ſhould take place. Nor did I ever once think of promoting any ſort of Liberty of Conſcience for any body, which did not preſerve the COMMON PROTESTANCY of the Kingdom, and the ANCIENT RIGHTS of the Government. For, to ſay truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.

‘ Upon the whole matter, I muſt ſay, I love ENGLAND; I ever did ſo; and that I am not in her debt. I never valued Time, Money, or Kindred, to ſerve her and do her good. No party could ever biaſs me to her Prejudice, nor any Perſonal Intereſt oblige me in her Wrong. For I always abhorred diſcounting *private Favours* at the *publick Coſt*.

‘ Would I have made my market of the fears and jealouſies of people, when this King came to the Crown, I had put Twenty Thouſand Pounds into my pocket, and an Hundred Thouſand into my Province; for mighty numbers of people were then upon the wing: But I waved it all; hoped for better times; expected the effects of the king's word for Liberty of Conſcience, and happineſs by it: And till I ſaw my Friends, with the Kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage which Penal Laws for Religion had ſubjected them to, I could with no ſatisfaction think of leaving England; though much to my prejudice beyond ſea, and at my great expence here; having, in all this time, never had either Office or Penſion, and always refuſing the Rewards or Gratuities of thoſe I have been able to oblige.

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'If therefore an *Univerſal Charity*, if the aſſerting an *Impartial Liberty of Conſcience*, if doing to *others* as one would be *done by*, and an open avowing and ſteady practiſing of theſe things, in all Times, to all Parties, will juſtly lay a man under the reflection of being a *Jeſuit*, or a *Papiſt* of any rank, I muſt not only ſubmit to the Character, but embrace it too; and I care not who knows that I can wear it with more pleaſure, than it is poſſible for them with any juſtice to give it me. For theſe are Corner-Stones and Principles with me; and I am ſcandalized at all Buildings that have them not for their Foundations. For Religion itſelf is an empty Name *without* them, a Whited Wall, a Painted Sepulchre, no LIFE or VIRTUE to the Soul; no Good, or Example, to one's Neighbour. Let us not flatter ourſelves, "We can never be the *better* for our Religion, if our Neighbour be the *worſe* for it." Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon *ſpeculative* Errors, and break all bounds in our reſentments; but we let practical ones paſs without Remark, if not without Repentance: As if a Miſtake about an *Obſcure Propoſition* of FAITH were a greater Evil, than the Breach of an *Undoubted* PRECEPT. Such a Religion the Devils themſelves are not without; for they have both *Faith* and *Knowledge*; but their Faith doth not work by Love, nor their Knowledge by Obedience. And if this be their Judgment, can it be our Bleſſing? Let us not then think Religion a litigious thing; nor that Chriſt came only to make us good Diſputants, but that he came alſo to make us good Livers. Sincerity goes farther than Capacity. It is CHARITY that deſervedly excels in the Chriſtian Religion; and happy would it be, if where Unity ends, Charity did begin, inſtead of Envy and Railing, that almoſt ever follow. It appears to me to be the way that God has found out and appointed to moderate our Differences, and make them at leaſt harmleſs to Society; and therefore, I confeſs, I dare not aggravate them to Wrath and Blood. Our Diſagreement lies in our *Apprehenſion* or *Belief* of Things; and if the Common Enemy of Mankind had not the governing of our Affections and Paſſions, that Diſagreement would not prove ſuch a Canker, as it is, to Love and Peace, in Civil Societies.

'He that ſuffers his Difference with his neighbour about the other world to carry him beyond the line of Moderation in this, is the *worſe* for his OPINION, even though it be *true*. It is too little conſidered by Chriſtians, that men may hold the Truth in *Unrighteouſneſs*; that they may be *Orthodox*, and not know what *Spirit they are of*: So were the Apoſtles of our Lord; they believed in him, yet let a falſe *Zeal* do violence to their *Judgment*, and their unwarrantable *Heat* contradict the Great End of their Saviour's Coming, LOVE.

'Men may be angry for GOD's ſake, and *kill* people too. CHRIST ſaid it, and too many have practiſed it. But what ſort of Chriſtians muſt they be, I pray, that can *hate* in his name, who bids us, *love*; and *kill* for his ſake, that forbids *killing*, and commands *Love*, even to *Enemies*?

'Let not men or parties think to ſhift it off from themſelves: It is not this *Principle*, or that *Form*, to which ſo great a defection is owing, but a Degeneracy of Mind from GOD. Chriſtianity is not at *Heart*: No Fear of God in the Inward Parts: No Awe of his Divine Omnipreſence. *Self* prevails, and breaks out, more or leſs, through all Forms, but too plainly, (Pride, Wrath, Luſt, Avarice); ſo that though people ſay to God, "*Thy* Will be done," they do their *own*; which ſhews them to be true Heathens, under a maſk of Chriſtianity, that *believe* without *Works*, and *repent* without *Forſaking*; buſy for *Forms*, and the *temporal Benefits* of them, while *True Religion*, which is "to viſit the Fatherleſs, and the Widow, and to keep ourſelves unſpotted from the World," goes bare-foot, and, like Lazarus, is deſpiſed. Yet this was the definition the Holy Ghoſt gave of Religion, before *Synods* and *Councils* had the meddling with it, and modelling of it. In thoſe days, *Bowels* were a good part of Religion, and that to the Fatherleſs and Widow *at large*. We can hardly now extend them to thoſe of our own *Way*. It was ſaid by him that could not ſay amiſs, "Becauſe Iniquity abounds, the Love of many waxeth cold." Whatſoever divides Man's Heart from *God*, ſeparates it from his *Neighbour*; and he that loves *Self* more than *God*, can never love his *Neighbour* as himſelf. For, as the apoſtle ſaid, "If we do not love him, whom we have ſeen; how can we love God, whom we have not ſeen?"

'O that we could ſee ſome men as eager to turn people to God, as they are to blow them up, and ſet them one againſt another. But, indeed, thoſe only can have that *pure* and *pious* Zeal, who are themſelves turned to God, and have taſted the Sweetneſs of that Converſion, which is to *Power*, not *Form*; to *Godlineſs*, not *Gain*. Such as thoſe do bend their thoughts and pains to appeaſe, not increaſe, heats and animoſities; to exhort people to look at Home, ſweep their own Houſes and weed their own Gardens. And in no age or time was there more need to ſet men at work in their own Hearts, than this we live in, when ſo buſy, wandering, licentious a ſpirit prevails. For, whatever ſome men may think, "The Diſeaſe of this kingdom is *Sin*; Impiety againſt *God*, and Want of *Charity* to *Men*." And while this Guilt is at our door, Judgment cannot be far off.

1688.

‘ Now this being the Diſeaſe, I will briefly offer two things for the Cure of it:

‘ The firſt is, David's *Clean Heart* and *Right Spirit,* which he aſked, and had of God: Without this, we muſt be a Chaos ſtill. For the diſtemper is WITHIN; and our Lord ſaid, ALL EVIL comes from THENCE. Set the *Inward* Man *right,* and the *Outward* Man cannot be *wrong:* That is the Helm that governs the human veſſel; And this nothing can do but an *Inward Principle,* the LIGHT and GRACE that came by Chriſt, which, the Scripture tells us, “ enlightens *Every one,* and hath appeared to *all Men.*” It is prepoſterous to think that He, who made the World, ſhould ſhow leaſt Care of the beſt Part of it, our *Souls.* No, he that gave us an *outward* Luminary for our BODIES, hath given us an *inward* one for our *Minds* to act by. We have it; and it is our Condemnation that we do not love it, and bring our deeds to it. It is by this we ſee our ſins, are made ſenſible of them, ſorry for them, and finally forſake them, And he that thinks to go to Heaven a *nearer* Way, will, I fear, belate his ſoul, and be irreparably miſtaken. There are but *Goats* and *Sheep* at laſt, whatever ſhapes we wear here. Let us not therefore, dear friend, deceive ourſelves. Our ſouls are at ſtake: “ God will not be mocked: What we ſow we muſt expect to reap. There is no Repentance in the Grave;” which ſhows, that if none there, then no-where elſe, To ſum up this Divinity of mine: It is the LIGHT of JESUS in our ſouls, that gives us a true *Sight* of ourſelves, and that Sight that leads us to *Repentance;* which Repentance begets *Humility,* and Humility that true *Charity,* that covers a Multitude of Faults; which I call GOD's *Expedient* againſt MAN's *Infirmity.*

‘ The Second remedy to our preſent Diſtemper, is this: Since all of all parties profeſs to believe in God, Chriſt, the Spirit, and Scripture, that the Soul is immortal, that there are Eternal Rewards and Puniſhments, and that the Virtuous ſhall receive the one, and the Wicked ſuffer the other; I ſay, ſince this is the Common Faith of Chriſtendom, let us all reſolve, in the ſtrength of God, to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out ſo miſerably about the reſt in which we differ. I am perſuaded, the change and comfort which that pious courſe would bring us to, would go very far to diſpoſe our natures to compound eaſily for all the reſt, and we might hope yet to ſee happy days in poor England; for there I would have ſo good a work begun. And how it is poſſible for the Eminent Men of every Religious Perſuaſion (eſpecially the preſent *Miniſters* of the *Pariſhes* of *England*) to think of giving an Account to God at the laſt day, without uſing the utmoſt of their endeavours to MODERATE the Members of their reſpective Communions toward thoſe that DIFFER from them, is a Myſtery to me! But this I know, and muſt lay it at their doors, I charge alſo my own ſoul with it, “ GOD requires *Moderation* and *Humility* from us;” for he is at hand, who will not ſpare to judge our *Impatience,* if we have no *Patience* for one another. The Eternal God rebuke (I beſeech him) the Wrath of Man, and humble all under the ſenſe of the evil of this day; and yet (unworthy as we are) give us *Peace,* for his Holy Name's Sake!

‘ It is now time to end this letter, and I will do it without ſaying any more than this: Thou ſeeſt my Defence againſt Popular Calumny; thou ſeeſt what my Thoughts are of our Condition, and the Way to better it; and thou ſeeſt my hearty and humble Prayer to Almighty God, to incline us to be wiſe, if it were but for our own ſakes. I ſhall only add, that I am extremely ſenſible of the Kindneſs and Juſtice intended me by my friends on this occaſion, and that I am, for that and many more reaſons,

‘ Thy obliged and affectionate Friend,

‘ Teddington, October
‘ the 24th 1688.

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

Prince of Orange's landing.

On the 5th of November this Year, William Prince of Orange landed at Torbay in Devonſhire, to the great joy of the Engliſh Nation: Many of K. James's officers and army ſoon joined the Prince; and the King, perceiving the hearts of the people alienated from him, withdrew himſelf, and went over to France; and by a Convention, called ſhortly after, the ſaid Prince of Orange and the Princeſs Mary his Spouſe, King James's Daughter, were declared King and Queen of England, &c. and were proclaimed on the 13th of the month called February, 1688-9. Upon this turn of the times, our author's late Friendſhip at Court made him ſuſpected of Diſaffection to the preſent Government; ſo that on the 10th of December 1688, walking in White-Hall, he was ſent for by the Lords of the Council then ſitting; and though nothing appeared againſt him, and himſelf aſſured them ‘ That he had done nothing, but what he could anſwer before God, and all the Princes in the World, that he loved his *Country* and the *Proteſtant Religion* above his *Life,* and never acted againſt either; that all he ever aimed at in his publick Endeavours, was no other than what the *Prince* himſelf had declared for; that King James was always his Friend, and his Father's Friend, and in gratitude he was the *King*'s, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to

W. P. is examined by the Lords of the Council.

‘ his true Intereſt;’ notwithſtanding this, they obliged him to give Sureties for his Appearance the firſt day of the next Term; which he did, and then was continued on the ſame Security to Eaſter Term following; on the laſt day of which, nothing having been laid to his charge, he was cleared in open court.

1689. Is ſet at Liberty.

1690. Is a ſecond time examined, and appeals to King William.

In the year 1690, he was again brought before the Lords of the Council, upon an accuſation of holding Correſpondence with the late King James; and they requiring Sureties for his Appearance, he appealed to King William himſelf, who, after a conference of near two hours, inclined to acquit him; but, to pleaſe ſome of the Council, he was held upon bail for a while, and in Trinity-Term, the ſame year, again diſcharged.

A Proclamation iſſued againſt him and others.

He was yet attacked a third time, and his name inſerted in a Proclamation, dated July the 18th this year, wherein he, with divers Lords and others, to the number of eighteen, were charged with adhering to the Kingdom's Enemies; but proof failing reſpecting him, he was again cleared by order of the King's Bench Court at Weſtminſter, on the laſt day of Michaelmas Term, 1690.

Prevented from going again to Pennſylvania, by a freſh Accuſation.

Being now again at liberty, he purpoſed to go over a ſecond time to Pennſylvania, and publiſhed propoſals in print for another ſettlement there: He had ſo far prepared for his tranſportation, that an order for a convoy was granted him by the Secretary of State, when his voyage was prevented by a freſh accuſation againſt him, backed by the Oath of one William Fuller; a WRETCH afterward by Parliament declared a CHEAT and IMPOSTOR; and a warrant was thereupon granted for his apprehenſion, which he narrowly eſcaped, at his return from G. Fox's burial, on the 16th of the month called January, 1690.

Retires for ſome years.

He had hitherto defended himſelf before the King and Council; but now thought it rather adviſable to retire for a time, than hazard the ſacrificing his Innocence to the Oaths of a Profligate Villain; and accordingly he appeared but little in publick for two or three years. During this receſs, he applied himſelf to writing; and firſt, leſt his own Friends, the Quakers, ſhould entertain any ſiniſter thought of him, he ſent the following Epiſtle to their Yearly-Meeting in London, viz.

The 30th of the Third Month, 1691.

‘ My Beloved, Dear, and Honoured Brethren,

‘ MY unchangeable love ſalutes you; and though I am abſent from you, yet I feel the ſweet and lowly Life of your heavenly Fellowſhip, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongſt you, whom I have loved above my chiefeſt joy: Receive no evil ſurmiſings, neither ſuffer hard thoughts, through the inſinuations of any, to enter your minds againſt me, your *afflicted*, but not *forſaken*, Friend and Brother. MY Enemies are YOURS, and, in the Ground, mine for your ſakes; and that God ſeeth in ſecret, and will one day reward openly. My Privacy is not becauſe men have ſworn *truly*, but *falſely* againſt me; “For wicked men have laid in wait for me, and falſe witneſſes have laid to my charge things that I knew not,” who have never ſought Myſelf, but the Good of All, through great exerciſes, and have done ſome good, and would have done more, and hurt to no man; but always deſired that Truth and Righteouſneſs, Mercy and Peace, might take place amongſt us. Feel me near you, and lay me near you, my dear and beloved Brethren; and leave me not, neither forſake, but wreſtle with Him that is able to prevail againſt the cruel deſires of ſome, that we may yet meet in the Congregations of his People, as in days paſt, to our mutual comfort. The Everlaſting God of his Choſen in all Generations, be in the midſt of you, and crown your moſt ſolemn aſſemblies with his bleſſed Preſence! that his tender, meek, lowly, and heavenly Love and Life may flow among you, and that he would pleaſe to make it a ſeaſoning and fruitful opportunity to you! that edified and comforted you may return home, to his glorious high praiſe, who is worthy for ever! To whom I commit you, deſiring to be remembered of you before Him, in the neareſt and freſheſt acceſſes, who cannot forget you in the neareſt relation,

‘ Your Faithful Friend and Brother,

‘ W. P.’

1691. Writes prefaces to Barclay's and Burnyeat's Works.

His excellent Preface to Robert Barclay's Works, and another to thoſe of John Burnyeat, both printed this year, were farther fruits of his retirement; as were alſo,

1. A ſmall treatiſe, intituled, “Juſt Meaſures, in an Epiſtle of Peace and Love, to ſuch Profeſſors as are under any Diſſatisfaction about the preſent Order practiſed in the Church of Chriſt.”

1692. Publiſhes his Juſt Meaſures. And his Key.

2. "A Key opening the Way to every Common Underſtanding, how to diſcern the "Difference between the Religion profeſſed by the People called Quakers, and the "Perverſions, Miſrepreſentations, and Calumnies of their Adverſaries, both upon their "Principles and Practices; wherein ſeveral Doctrines of that People are ſet in a clear "Light:" A book ſo generally accepted, that it has been re-printed even to the fifteenth edition.

1693. Reflections and Maxims.

3. "Reflections and Maxims, relating to the Conduct of Human Life:" An uſeful little book, which has alſo paſt many impreſſions.

Having thus improved the times of his retirement to his own comfort, and the common good, it pleaſed God to diſſipate that cloud, and open his way again to a publick ſervice; for in the latter end of the year 1693, through the mediation of his friends, the Lord Ranelagh, Lord Somers, Duke of Buckingham, and Sir John Trenchard, or ſome of them, he was admitted to appear before the King and Council, where he ſo pleaded his innocency, that he was acquitted.

Appears before the King and Council, and is acquitted.

Death of his wife, Gulielma Maria.

In the 12th month, 1693, departed this life his beloved wife, Gulielma Maria, with whom he had lived in all the endearments of that neareſt relation, about twenty-one years. The loſs of her was a very great exerciſe; *ſuch*, himſelf ſaid, as all his *other* troubles were nothing in compariſon of. Her character, dying expreſſions, and pious end, were related by himſelf, in an account he publiſhed, which is as follows:

'An Account of the Bleſſed End of my dear Wife GULIELMA 'MARIA PENN.

'*The Memory of the Juſt is bleſſed.* Prov. x. 7.

'MY dear wife, after eight months illneſs (though ſhe never perfectly recovered 'her weakneſs the year before, which held her about ſix months) departed 'this life the 23d of the 12th month, 1693-4, about half an hour paſt two in the af'ternoon, being the ſixth day of the week, and the fiftieth year of her age, and was ſen'ſible to the very laſt.

'During her illneſs ſhe uttered many living and weighty expreſſions, upon divers oc'caſions, both before and near her end. Some of which I took down, for mine and 'her dear childrens conſolation.

At one of the many meetings held in her Chamber, we and our children and one of 'our ſervants being only preſent, in a tendering and living power ſhe broke out as ſhe 'ſat in her chair, "Let us all prepare, not knowing what hour or watch the Lord "cometh. Oh! I am full of matter! Shall we receive good, and ſhall we not receive "evil things at the hands of the Lord? I have caſt my care upon the Lord; he is "the phyſician of value; my expectation is wholly from him: He can raiſe up, and "he can caſt down." A while after ſhe ſaid, "Oh! what ſhall be done to the unpro"fitable ſervant?" At another meeting, before which much heavineſs ſeemed to lie up'on her natural ſpirits; ſhe ſaid, "This has been a precious opportunity to me; I am "finely relieved and comforted, bleſſed be the Lord." At another time, as I was ſpeaking to her of the Lord's Love and Witneſs of his Spirit that was with her, to give her the peace of well-doing, ſhe returned to me, looking up, "For," ſaid ſhe, "I never did, to my knowledge a wicked thing in all my life."

To a friend, aged 75 years, that came to ſee her, ſhe ſaid, "Thou and I, to all ap"pearance, are near our ends:" And to another, about 65 years old, that came alſo to "ſee her, ſhe ſaid, "How much older has the Lord made me by this weakneſs, than "thou art! But I am contented; I do not murmur; I ſubmit to his holy will."

In the ſtrength of her fits and vapours, ſhe ſaid, "It is the great goodneſs of the "Lord, that I ſhould be able to lie thus ſtill. He is the phyſician of value to me, "can I ſay: Let my tongue ſet forth his praiſe, and my ſpirit magnify him whilſt I "have breath. Oh! I am ready to be tranſported beyond my ſtrength. God was "not in the Thunder, nor in the Lightening, but he was heard in the STILL VOICE."

'She did, at ſeveral times, pray very ſweetly, and in all her weakneſs manifeſted the 'moſt equal, undaunted, and reſigned ſpirit, as well as in all other reſpects. She 'was an excellent perſon, both as child, wife, mother, miſtreſs, friend, and neigh'bour.

She called the children one day when weak, and ſaid, "Be not frighted, chil"dren; I do not call you to take my leave of you, but to ſee you; and I would "have you walk in the Fear of the Lord, and with his People in his holy Truth," 'or to that effect.

'Speaking at another time ſolemnly to the children, ſhe ſaid, "I never deſired any "great things for you, but that you may fear the Lord, and walk in his Truth, "among his People, to the end of your days," &c.

1691.

'She would not ſuffer me to neglect any publick meeting, after I had my liberty, 'upon her account, ſaying often, "O go, my deareſt! Do not hinder any good for "me. I deſire thee go: I have caſt my care upon the Lord: I ſhall ſee thee again."

'About three hours before her end, a relation taking leave of her, ſhe ſaid again, "I have caſt my care upon the Lord: My dear love to all Friends;" and (lifting up 'her dying hands and eyes) prayed the Lord to preſerve them and bleſs them.

'About an hour after, cauſing all to withdraw, we were half an hour together, in 'which we took our laſt leave, ſaying all that was fit upon that ſolemn occaſion. She 'continued ſenſible, and did eat ſomething about an hour before her departure; at 'which time our children, and moſt of the family, were preſent. She quietly expired 'in my arms, her head upon my boſom, with a ſenſible and devout reſignation of her 'ſoul to Almighty God. I hope I may ſay, ſhe was a publick as well as a private loſs; 'for ſhe was not only an excellent Wife and Mother, but an intire and conſtant 'Friend, of a more than common Capacity, and greater Modeſty and Humility; yet 'moſt equal and undaunted in danger. Religious, as well as ingenuous, without af'fectation. An eaſy miſtreſs, and good Neighbour, eſpecially to the POOR. Neither 'laviſh, nor penurious, but an example of induſtry, as well as of other virtues: 'Therefore, our great loſs, though her own Eternal Gain.'

Travels in the miniſtry.

In the 9th, 10th, and 11th months this year, he travelled in the work of the miniſtry, in the counties of Glouceſter, Somerſet, Devon and Dorſet, having meetings almoſt daily, in the moſt conſiderable towns, and other places in thoſe counties, at which the people flocked in abundantly; and his Teſtimony to the TRUTH, anſwering to that of GOD in their Conſciences, was aſſented to by many.

1695.

Replies to an anſwer to his Key.

In the year 1695, a Nameleſs Author writ what he called, "An Anſwer to William "Penn's Key;" and W. P. returned, "A Reply to a Nameleſs Anſwer to William "Penn's Key, in which the Principles of the People called Quakers are farther ex"plained and confirmed:" A paſſage or two in which Reply, being a Defence of his own Conduct, under the ſeveral Changes of Government, we think it but juſtice to tranſcribe.

The ſaid Nameleſs Author charges W. Penn as being the author of a Pamphlet in Defence of the Bill of Excluſion, and tells him, "He was *then* a Man principled "for the Civil Liberties of his Country:" To which W. P. thus anſwers: 'But if 'I may be ſo bold with the Author, pray, why *then* principled for Civil Liberties, 'and not afterwards? And why this upon me at *all*? But why at *this* Time, and 'upon *this* Occaſion, to be brought in by head and ſhoulders, as the Proverb is? But 'what if I never *writ* ſuch a pamphlet, (as to be ſure I did *not*) what is to be ſaid 'to, and of, ſuch an Author, in ſuch a Caſe, and in ſuch a Time, and to a man un'der my Circumſtances? Let him know, then, that I did not only never *write* ſuch 'a Pamphlet, but I am ſure that I do not remember that I ever read one of ſuch a '*Title*, or *heard* of it; nor was I of that *Principle*, and therefore I return the civility 'of his Concluſion to him again; for, I thank God, I was always ſo much for *Civil* '*Liberties*, that I thought no man ought to loſe them for his *Religious Principles*; 'and farther, that they were never to be ſecured by this or that *Man*, but by a good 'and equal *Conſtitution* of *Government*, as ſome papers by me, which I writ at that 'time, as well as divers perſons yet living, of good reputation, can evidence for me.'

The aforeſaid author alſo charges him with prevaricating in the late Reign, and ſhewing an intemperate Zeal for a boundleſs Liberty of Conſcience, &c. To which he ſays, 'In this he would be *charitable*, but let him firſt be *juſt*. If there were *no* 'Prevarications, then there is no need of an intemperate Zeal for *Liberty* to ſhadow 'or reconcile them to my former Principles; and I am ſo much a friend to him and 'his brethren, that I wiſh them *free* from *all* Intemperance and Prevarications too, 'and that in all reigns: And if it be poſſible, or worth while, to reconcile him bet'ter to my conduct, let him peruſe my "Great Caſe of Liberty of Conſcience," 'printed 1671, and my "Letter to the States of Embden, 1672," and my "Pre"ſent State of England, 1675." and he will find I was the ſame Man then, and 'acted by the ſame Principles: Not more intemperate in the Reign that favoured 'it, than in the reign I contended with that did not favour it: And no man, but a 'Perſecutor, which I count a *Beaſt of Prey*, and a declared *Enemy to Mankind*, can, 'without great injuſtice or ingratitude, reproach that part I had in King James's 'Court. For I think I may ſay without Vanity, upon this Provocation, I endea'voured at leaſt to do ſome Good at my own Coſt, and would have been glad to 'have done more: I am very ſure I intended, and I think I did, Harm to none, nei'ther Parties nor private Perſons, *my own Family excepted*; for which I doubt not this 'author's Pardon, ſince he ſhews himſelf ſo little concerned for the Maſter of it.'

Diſpute at Melkſham.

About the latter end of the ſummer this year, he again went down into the Weſt of England, and was preſent in the 8th month at a diſpute held at Melkſham in

1695. Wiltſhire, between one John Plympton a Baptiſt, and John Clark a Quaker. The Baptiſt had dared the Quakers to a conference on five heads, viz. 1. "The Univerſality of Grace. 2. Baptiſm. 3. The Supper. 4. Perfection. 5. The Reſurrection." John Clark notably anſwered his objections; but Plympton continuing to cavil againſt the plaineſt ſcripture proofs, even when the auditors were ſatisfied, would not be ſilent. The evening approaching, and William Penn finding himſelf under a Concern to bear his teſtimony to the Truth in that aſſembly, terminated the diſpute by an open and free Declaration, which the auditory received with ſingular attention; and he concluded the meeting with Prayer.

A large meeting at Wells broke up by the Mayor's order.

On the 15th of the 9th month a meeting was appointed at Wells, and a large room at an inn, with a balcony next the ſtreet, was taken for that purpoſe, and the Biſhop duly certified of the ſame. The room was quickly filled, and there was alſo a great concourſe of people in the ſtreet; ſo that, for the conveniency of his double auditory, W. P. placed himſelf in the Balcony, and thence preached to the people; but in the midſt of his Declaration came officers from the Mayor with the following Warrant, viz.

'Wells City and 'Burrough. } To the Conſtables, Verderors, and Serjeants at Mace, of the ſaid City.

'WHEREAS William Penn, and ſeveral others called Quakers, are now riotouſly and unlawfully aſſembled and gathered together in this City, and the ſaid William Penn is now preaching or teaching in an Houſe not licenſed according to the late Act of Parliament. Theſe are therefore in his Majeſty's name to require you to take the ſaid William Penn, and him immediately to bring before us to anſwer the Premiſes. Given under our Hands and Seals this 15th day of November, 1695.

'Matthew Baron, Mayor.
'William Salmon.'

The officers, rudely officious, though deſired to tarry till he had done, forced him away inſtantly before the magiſtrates; who upon examination finding the houſe was certified, and that, by diſturbing a lawful for an unlawful aſſembly, they had overſhot themſelves, excuſed the matter as well as they could, and preſently diſmiſſed him.

Preſents a paper on ſwearing to the H. of Commons.

About this time, the People called Quakers ſolliciting the Parliament in the caſe of Oaths, W. P. preſented to the Houſe of Commons, before whom a Bill for their Eaſe was then depending, the following Paper, viz.

'To the Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS.'

'A Few Words crave their Peruſal, upon occaſion of the Bill to excuſe 'the People called Quakers from Swearing.'

'THAT the requeſt of the People called Quakers may be indulged by the members of this honourable houſe, it is humbly propoſed to them to conſider the Nature and Fulneſs of the SECURITY they offer; and if it be found to amount to the Weight and Value of an OATH, it is hoped there will be no difficulty in accepting it in Lieu of an Oath.

'The pledge that every man upon oath gives of his truth, is his SOUL; he means that God ſhould deal with him according to the truth of his affirmative or negative given by him in the name of God. Now that the ſaid People do as much, viz. That they pledge their Souls too, in their Way; that they mean the ſame Caution with them that Swear, and are under the ſame Reverence in their ſimple and ſolemn AY or NO, and therefore give the ſame Security; I ſhall beg this honourable houſe to conſider three things:

'Firſt, That this People make it an article of their faith and practice, and a great part of their characteriſtick, NOT TO SWEAR AT ALL: They think (whether miſtaken or no) that the righteouſneſs of Chriſtianity does not need or uſe an Oath; ſo that you have their Religion, in the higheſt exerciſes of it, in human affairs, for your ſecurity.

'Secondly, That they have often, and at very dear rates, proved to the world they MEAN what they SAY; ſince they have frequently choſen to loſe their eſtates, and lie and die in jail, rather than ſave the one, or deliver the other, by deviating from their principle; and ſince, in ſuch caſes, Integrity is the ſecurity all aim at, it is hard to conceive which way any man can give a greater: Nor are they ſo inſenſible, as not to know that Untruth in them, after this great Indulgence, is a more aggra-

1695.

‘vated crime than Perjury in others: ſince they excuſe themſelves from not Swearing, by a profeſſion of an exacter Simplicity and greater Strictneſs.

‘Laſtly, They humbly hope, that being to ſuffer for Untruth as for Perjury, their requeſt will not be uneaſy; ſince they ſubject their integrity to trial, upon the hazard of a correction, that is ſo much greater than the nature of the offence, in the eye of the law, would bear. Let them then, pray, ſpeak in their OWN way; and if falſe, be puniſhed in YOURS. And ſince this honourable houſe has teſtified an excelling zeal to ſecure the rights and privileges of that great body they repreſent, this inferior member, with all due reſpect claiming a relation to it, requeſts they may not be left expoſed in theirs; but that, by your wiſdom and goodneſs, they may be provided for, in true proportion to the exigencies they are under; which will engage them in the beſt wiſhes for your proſperities.’

‘W. P.’

His ſecond marriage.

On the 5th of the 1ſt month, 1695-6. he conſummated his ſecond marriage at Briſtol, with Hannah the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and grandaughter of Dennis Holliſter, an eminent man of that city: She was a ſober and religious young woman, with whom he had a comfortable cohabitation during the reſt of his life, and had iſſue by her four ſons and one daughter.

1696.

Death of his eldeſt ſon.

In the 2d month, 1696. his eldeſt ſon by his former wife, named Springett, died of a conſumption, at Worminghurſt in Suſſex, in the 21ſt year of his age, a moſt hopeful and promiſing young man; whoſe character, publiſhed together with that of his mother, in the account before mentioned, is as follows:

‘SORROW and JOY, in the Loſs and End of ‘SPRINGETT PENN.’

‘MY very dear child and eldeſt ſon, Springett Penn, did from his childhood maniſeſt a diſpoſition to Goodneſs, and gave me hope of a more than ordinary Capacity; and time ſatisfied me in both reſpects. For beſides a good ſhare of Learning, and eſpecially of Mathematical Knowledge, he ſhewed a judgment in the uſe and application of it, much above his years. He had the ſeeds of many good qualities riſing in him, that made him beloved, and conſequently lamented; but eſpecially his Humility, Plainneſs, and Truth; with a Tenderneſs and Softneſs of Nature, that, if I may ſay it, were an improvement upon his other good qualities. But though theſe were no ſecurity againſt ſickneſs and death, yet they went a good way to facilitate a due Preparation for them. And indeed the good ground that was in him ſhewed itſelf very plainly ſome time before his illneſs: For more than half a year before it pleaſed the Lord to viſit him with weakneſs, he grew more retired, and much diſengaged from youthful Delights; ſhewing a remarkable Tenderneſs in Meetings, even when they were ſilent: But when he ſaw himſelf doubtful as to his recovery, he turned his mind and meditations more apparently towards the Lord; ſecretly (as alſo when they that attended upon him were in the Room) praying, often with great Fervency, to the Lord, and uttering very many thankful expreſſions and praiſes to him in a very deep and ſenſible manner. One day he ſaid to us, “I am reſigned; what God pleaſeth; he knows what is beſt. I would live, if it pleaſed him, that I might ſerve him: But, O Lord, not my will, but thy will be done.”

‘One ſpeaking to him of the things of this world, and what might pleaſe him when recovered; he anſwered, “My eye looks another way, where the trueſt pleaſure is.” When he told me he had reſted well, and that I ſaid it was a mercy to him, he quickly replied upon me, with a ſerious, yet ſweet look, “ALL is Mercy, dear father, EVERY thing is Mercy.” Another time when I went to meeting, at parting, he ſaid, “Remember me, my dear father, before the Lord: Though I cannot go to meetings, yet I have many good meetings; the Lord comes in upon my ſpirit; I have heavenly meetings with him by myſelf.”

‘And not many days before he died, the Lord appearing by his holy Power upon his ſpirit when alone, at my return, aſking him how he did, he told me, “O I have had a ſweet time, a bleſſed time! Great enjoyments! The Power of the Lord overcame my ſoul: A ſweet time indeed!”

‘And telling him how ſome of the gentry, that had been to viſit him, were gone to their games, and ſports and pleaſures, and how little conſideration the children of men had of God and their latter end; and how much happier he was in this weakneſs to have been otherwiſe educated, and to be preſerved from thoſe temptations to vanity, &c. he anſwered, “It is all ſtuff, my dear father: It is ſad ſtuff. O that I might live to tell them ſo!” Well, my dear child, I replied, let this be the time of thy entering into ſecret covenant with God, that if he raiſe thee, thou wilt dedicate

1696. ‘ thy youth, ſtrength and life, to him, and his people, and ſervice: He returned, “ Father, that is not NOW to do; it is not NOW to do;” with great tenderneſs upon his ſpirit.

‘ Being ever almoſt near him, and doing any thing for him he wanted or deſired, he broke out with much ſenſe and love, “ My dear father! if I live I will make thee amends.” And ſpeaking to him of divine enjoyments, that the eye of man ſaw not, but the ſoul made alive by the Spirit of Chriſt plainly felt; he, in a lively remembrance, cried out, “ O I had a ſweet time yeſterday by myſelf! O the Lord hath preſerved me to this day! O bleſſed be his name; my ſoul praiſes him for his mercy! O father, it is of the goodneſs of the Lord that I am ſo well as I am!” Fixing his eyes upon his ſiſter, he took her by the hand, ſaying, “ Poor TISHE! Look to good things, poor child! there is no comfort without it. One drop of the Love of God is worth more than all the world. I know it; I have taſted it: I have felt as much, or more, of the Love of God in this weakneſs, than in all my life before.”

‘ At another time, as I ſtood by him, he looked up upon me, and ſaid, “ Dear father, ſit by me; I love thy company, and I know thou loveſt mine; and if it be the Lord's will that we muſt part, be not troubled, for that will trouble me.”

‘ Taking ſomething one night in bed, juſt before his going to reſt, he ſat up, and fervently prayed thus: “ O Lord God! thou whoſe Son ſaid to his diſciples, *Whatever ye aſk in my* Name, *ye ſhall receive*; I pray thee, in His Name, bleſs this to me this night, and give me reſt, if it be thy bleſſed will, O Lord!” And accordingly he had a very comfortable night, of which he took a thankful notice before us, next day.

‘ And when he, at one time, more than ordinarily, expreſſed a deſire to live, and intreated me to pray for him; he added, “ And, dear father, if the Lord ſhould raiſe me, and enable me to ſerve him and his people, then I might travel with thee ſometimes, and we might eaſe one another;” meaning in the Miniſtry: He ſpoke it with great Modeſty: Upon which I ſaid to him: My dear child, if it pleaſe the Lord to raiſe thee, I am ſatisfied it will be ſo; and if not, then inaſmuch as it is thy fervent deſire in the Lord, he will look upon thee juſt as if thou didſt live to ſerve him, and thy comfort will be the ſame: So either way it will be well. For if thou ſhouldſt not live, I do verily believe thou wilt have the recompence of thy good deſires, without the temptations and troubles that would attend, if long life were granted to thee.

‘ Saying one day thus, “ I am reſolved I will have ſuch a thing done;” he immediately catched himſelf, and fell into this reflection, with much contrition, “ Did I ſay, I WILL? O Lord, forgive me that irreverent and haſty expreſſion! I am a poor weak creature, and live by thee; and therefore I ſhould have ſaid, If it pleaſeth thee that I live, I INTEND to do ſo, or ſo; Lord forgive my raſh Expreſſion!”

‘ Seeing my preſent wife ready to be helpful and do any thing for him, he turned to her and ſaid, “ Do not thou do ſo; let THEM; do not trouble thyſelf ſo much for ſuch a poor creature as I am.” And taking leave of him a few nights before his end, he ſaid to her, “ Pray for me, dear mother; thou art good and innocent; it may be the Lord may hear thy prayers for me; for I deſire my ſtrength again, that I might live and employ it more in the Lord's ſervice.”

‘ Two or three days before his departure, he called his brother to him, and looking awfully upon him ſaid, “ Be a good boy; and know there is a God, a Great and Mighty God, who is a rewarder of the Righteous, and ſo he is of the Wicked; but their rewards are not the ſame. Have a care of idle People, and idle Company; and love good Company, and good Friends, and the Lord will bleſs thee: I have ſeen good things for thee ſince my ſickneſs, if thou doſt but fear the Lord: And if I ſhould not live (though the Lord is all-ſufficient) remember what I ſay to thee, when I am dead and gone: Poor child! The Lord bleſs thee! Come and kiſs me!” Which melted us all into great tenderneſs, but his brother more particularly.

‘ Many good exhortations he gave to ſome of the ſervants, and others that came to ſee him, that were not of our communion, as well as thoſe that were, which drew tears from their eyes.

‘ The day but one before he died, he went to take the air in a coach; but ſaid at his return, “ Really, father, I am exceeding weak, thou canſt not think how weak I am:” My dear child, I replied, thou art weak, but God is ſtrong, who is the Strength of thy Life: “ Ay, THAT is it,” ſaid he, “ which upholdeth me.” And the day before he departed, being alone with him, he deſired me to faſten the door; and looking earneſtly upon me, ſaid, “ Dear father, thou art a Dear father, and I know THY Father: Come, let us Two have a little Meeting, a private ejaculation together, now no body elſe is here. O my ſoul is ſenſible of the Love of God!” And indeed a ſweet time we had, like to precious Ointment for his Burial.

‘ He deſired to go home, if not to live, to die there; and we made preparation for it, being twenty miles from my houſe; and ſo much ſtronger was his ſpirit than his

1696.

'body, that he ſpoke of going next day, which was the morning he departed; and a
'ſymptom it was of his greater journey to his longer home. That morning he left us,
'growing more and more ſenſible of his extreme weakneſs, he aſked me, as doubtful
'of himſelf, "How ſhall I go home?" I told him, in a Coach; he anſwered, "I
"am beſt in a Coach." But obſerving his decay, I ſaid, Why, child? Thou art at
'home every where. "Ay," ſaid he, "So I am, in the LORD." I took that opportunity
'to aſk him if I ſhould remember his Love to his Friends at Briſtol, London,
'&c. "Yes, Yes," ſaid he, "my Love in the Lord, my Love to all Friends in
"the Lord:" And Relations too? He ſaid, "Ay, to be ſure." Being aſked if he
'would have his aſs's milk, or eat any thing; he anſwered, "No more Outward Food,
"but Heavenly Food is provided for me."

'His time drawing on apace, he ſaid to me, "My dear father, kiſs me: Thou art a
"dear father; I deſire to prize it: How can I make thee amends?"

'He alſo called his ſiſter, and ſaid to her, "Poor child! come and kiſs me;" between
'whom ſeemed a tender and long farewell. I ſent for his brother, that he might kiſs
'him too, which he did: All were in tears about him. Turning his head to me, he
'ſaid ſoftly, "Dear father, haſt no hope for me?" I anſwered, My dear child, I am
'afraid to hope, and I dare not deſpair; but am, and have been, reſigned, though
'one of the hardeſt leſſons I ever learned. He pauſed a while; and with a compoſed
'frame of mind he ſaid, "Come, Life, come Death, I am RESIGNED. O the Love
"of God overcomes my Soul!" Feeling himſelf decline apace, and ſeeing him not able
'to bring up the matter that was in his throat, ſomebody fetched the doctor; but ſo
'ſoon as he came in, he ſaid, "Let my Father ſpeak to the Doctor, and I will go to
"ſleep;" which he did, and waked no more; breathing his laſt on my breaſt, the 10th
'day of the 2d month, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, 1696, in his
'One and Twentieth Year.

'So ended the life of my dear child, and eldeſt ſon; much of my comfort and hope, and
'one of the moſt tender and dutiful, as well as ingenuous and virtuous youths, I knew,
'if I may ſay ſo of my own dear child: In whom I loſt all that any father can loſe
'in a child, ſince he was capable of any thing that became a ſober young man; my
'friend and companion, as well as moſt affectionate and dutiful child.

'May this loſs and end have its due weight and impreſſion upon all his dear relations
'and friends, and thoſe to whoſe hands this account may come, for their Remembrance,
'and Preparation for their Great and Laſt Change; and I have MY End in making my
'dear CHILD's thus far publick.'

'W. PENN.'

This year he publiſhed a treatiſe, intituled, "Primitive Chriſtianity revived, in the "Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers:" A book which rightly repreſented that people's principles, and hath been ſerviceable to the information of many.

G. Keith's ſeparation.

At this time George Keith, having been diſowned by the Quakers for his contentious and diſorderly ſpirit, kept up a meeting, with ſome adherents, at Turner's-Hall, London; where, under the name of Religion, he foſtered Strife and Debate; ſending out peremptory challenges and ſummonſes to the Quakers to diſpute with them; and muſtering up againſt them quotations out of their books, ſuch as himſelf formerly could candidly interpret, and had ſucceſsfully vindicated againſt other oppoſers. To put a check to his confidence, by employing him to beat down the batteries himſelf had raiſed, W. P. ſets before him his own Vindications of the Quakers from thoſe very Lies, when told by others, which himſelf had now licked up afreſh. This book our author intituled, "More Work for George Keith." It has a ſuitable preface, wherein he aptly deſcribes the man, and his ſelf-contradictious methods of procedure.

His confidence checked.

1697.

W. P. preſents to the H. of Lords a Caution about the Bill againſt Blaſphemy.

There being about this time a bill depending in the Houſe of Lords againſt Blaſphemy, he preſented to that Houſe, "A Caution requiſite in the conſideration of that "bill," wherein he adviſes that the word BLASPHEMY be ſo explained, as that no ambiguous interpretation might miniſter occaſion to malicious or envious perſons to proſecute under that name whatſoever they ſhould be pleaſed to call ſo: After which the Houſe thought fit to drop the Bill.

1698.

Departs from Briſtol for Ireland.

In the 2d month 1698, he ſet out, together with John Everott and Thomas Story, from Briſtol, where he then dwelt, for Ireland. Some time after his arrival there, John Plympton, the tenacious Baptiſt diſputant mentioned before, being at Dublin publiſhed a paper, intituled, "A Quaker no Chriſtian," to which W. P. replied under the title of, "The Quaker a Chriſtian;" and the more effectually to wipe away that adverſary's aſperſions, he alſo writ and diſperſed a paper intituled, "Goſpel Truths "held by the People called Quakers," ſubſcribed by himſelf and three others of his friends; and likewiſe reprinted the 8th and 9th chapters of his "Primitive Chriſti-"anity revived;" which gave the people a general ſatisfaction that Plympton's charges were groundleſs.

1696. His ſervices in Ireland.

After this, he travelled to other parts of that nation in the work of the miniſtry to the edification of the churches, of which himſelf gave ſome account, in an "Epiſtle "ſent to the yearly-meeting at London," which is as follows:

‘An EPISTLE to the YEARLY-MEETING at LONDON.

‘Lamb's-Town in Ireland, the 2d of the 4th month, 1698.

‘Dear FRIENDS and BRETHREN,

‘IT is not the leaſt of our exerciſes that we are thus far outwardly ſeparated from you at this time of your Holy and Bleſſed Solemnity: But becauſe we have great reaſon to believe it is in the Will of God, we humbly ſubmit to his ordering Hand, and with open arms of deep and tender love embrace you, our Living and our Loving Brethren, who are given up to ſerve the Lord in your generation, and that have long preferred Jeruſalem, and the peace and proſperity of her Borders, above your chiefeſt joy. The ſalutation of our endeared brotherly love, in CHRIST JESUS, is unto you, deſiring that he may richly appear among you in power, wiſdom and love, to guide your judgments, and influence your ſpirits, in this weighty and anniverſary aſſembly, that ſo nothing may appear, or have place among you, but what ſingly ſeeks the Honour of the Lord, the Exaltation of his Truth, and the Peace and Eſtabliſhment of his Heritage. For this, Brethren, you and we know, has been the aim, end, and practice of thoſe whom the Lord hath made willing to forſake and give up all for his name's-ſake; and through various exerciſes and tribulations, yea, in the way of the Daily Croſs, and through the Fight and Baptiſm of manifold Afflictions, to have their converſation, and ſojourning here below upon the earth, in fear and love, looking for their reward in the heavens that ſhall never paſs away; who have not been lifted up by Good Report, nor caſt down by Evil Report, from their Love to the Lord and his precious TRUTH, but hold on their Way, and whoſe hands, being clean of evil things towards all men, have waxed ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord. Wherefore, dear Brethren, let us all be found in the ſame ſteps, and walking the ſame way, not being high-minded, but fearing to the end, that we may ſerve up our generation in diligence and faithfulneſs, and ſo enter into the reſt that God has reſerved for his true travellers and labourers in his vineyard.

‘And now, dear Brethren, know that the Lord hath brought us well into this kingdom of Ireland, and given us many large and bleſſed opportunities in ſeveral parts; Meetings being crowded by people of all ranks and perſuaſions, eſpecially at Dublin, who, for aught we have heard, have given the Truth a good report; and indeed the Lord has mightily appeared for his own Name, and owned us with a more than ordinary Preſence, ſuitable to the occaſions, and made very heavy and hard things eaſy to us, becauſe of the Glory of his Power, with which he aſſiſted us in our needful times; for which our ſouls bow before him, and bleſs, reverence, and praiſe, his holy and worthy Name. So that, dear Brethren, we have good tidings to give you of Truth's proſperity at large, and more eſpecially, in the Churches, having had the comfort of the General Meeting of this Nation, conſiſting of many weighty Brethren and Siſters, from all parts thereof, which was held in the City of Dublin, in much love, peace and unity, for ſeveral days; wherein we had occaſion to obſerve their commendable care for the proſperity of the Bleſſed Truth, in all the branches of its holy Teſtimony, both in the general and in the particular, improving the good Order practiſed among the Churches of Chriſt in our nation.

‘Indeed, their Simplicity, Gravity, and Coolneſs, in managing their Church Affairs; their Diligence in Meetings, both for Worſhip and Buſineſs; their Diſpatch in ending Differences, and Expedients to prevent them, but eſpecially their Zeal againſt Covetouſneſs, and Indifferency in Truth's Service, and Exemplary Care, to diſcourage IMMODERATE CONCERN in purſuit of the Things of this Life, and to excite Friends to do GOOD with what they have, very greatly comforted us: And in the ſweet and bleſſed Power of Chriſt Jeſus the Meeting ended, and Friends departed. The Lord grant that you may alſo ſee of the travel of your ſouls, and end of your labour, and ſervice of love, who ſeek not your OWN Things, but the Things of JESUS CHRIST, in this your ſolemn General Meeting.

‘And, dear Brethren, we muſt tell you, here is Room enough for True Labourers in God's Vineyard; and cannot well forbear to recommend the Service of Truth in this Nation to your ſerious conſideration, if haply the Lord may put it into the hearts of any faithful and weighty Brethren to viſit it, in the WORD of ETERNAL LIFE; for we cannot but ſay, The Harveſt appears to us to be GREAT, and the Labourers, in compariſon, but a FEW: So in that LOVE which many Waters cannot quench,

1698.

‘ nor Diſtance wear out of our remembrances, and in which we deſire to be remembered of you to the Lord of our Houſhold, we dearly and tenderly ſalute and embrace you, and remain

‘ Your Loving and Faithful Brethren,

William Penn,
John Everott,
Thomas Story.

‘ P. S. Friends here have been zealous and liberal in printing and re-printing, and freely diſtributing great quantities, and to very good purpoſe, of ſeveral books and papers writ in Defence of Truth, and for Information of the Simple and Miſ-informed, which we hope will alſo fall under your Conſideration.’

A ſhort time after, being at Cork, he viſited the Biſhop, and occaſionally preſented him with one of the forementioned papers, called “ Goſpel Truths,” which he then ſeemed to receive favourably, but afterward unexpectedly publiſhed ſome exceptions againſt it in print; to which W. P. after his coming back to England, the ſame year returned an anſwer, being, “ A Defence of a Paper, intituled Gospel Truths, “ againſt the Exceptions of the Biſhop of Cork's Teſtimony.”

1699.

Diſpute at Weſt Dereham in Norfolk.

In the year 1699, was a Diſpute at Weſt-Dereham in Norfolk, between ſome Clergymen and the Quakers; in which the former, having miſſed their aim, the Vain-Glory of a Conqueſt, grew angry: And in hopes of whetting the Magiſtrates Sword to cut aſunder thoſe knots themſelves wanted Skill to untie, preſented to the King and Parliament a book called, “ A Brief Diſcovery,” &c. wherein they painted the Quakers as black as their own Robes: Upon which our author publiſhed the following ſhort obſervations, viz.

His obſervations on the Norfolk Clergymens book.

‘ It does not ſurprize us to be evilly intreated, and eſpecially by thoſe that have an Intereſt in doing it. But if Conſcience prevailed more than Contention, and Charity over-ruled Prejudice, we might hope for fairer quarter from our adverſaries.

‘ But ſuch is our Unhappineſs, that nothing leſs will ſatisfy them than breaking in upon the INDULGENCE that we enjoy; if they could perſuade the government to ſecond their attempts to a NEW PERSECUTION. In order to which, we perceive they have been hard at work to pervert our Books, violate our Senſe, abuſe our Practice, and ridicule our Perſons; knowing very well with whom they have to do, and that the Patience of our Profeſſion is their Security in ABUSING of it.

‘ However, if it has weight enough with our Superiors to expect a freſh defence of our principles and practices, we ſhall, with God's aſſiſtance, be ready, for their ſatisfaction, once more to juſtify both, againſt the inſults of our reſtleſs adverſaries; who otherwiſe, we take leave to ſay, would not deſerve our Notice, ſince we have already repeatedly anſwered their Objections in Print, and think it our Duty, as well as Wiſdom, to uſe the Liberty the Government has favoured us with, in as peaceable and inoffenſive a manner as may be.’

Takes ſhipping for Pennſylvania.

In the ſixth month this year, himſelf with his wife and family took ſhipping for his province of Pennſylvania; and on the third of the ſeventh month following, from on board the ſhip lying in Cowes Road near the Iſle of Wight, he took his farewell of his Friends, in an Epiſtle directed “ To the People of God called Quakers, wherever ſcattered or gathered, in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, or in any other parts of Europe” which is as follows:

‘ An EPISTLE of Farewell, to the People of GOD called ‘ Quakers, wherever ſcattered or gathered, in England, Ireland, Scotland, ‘ Holland, Germany, or in any other Parts of EUROPE.

‘ MY dearly beloved, and highly eſteemed in Chriſt, our heavenly Head; the Living and Good Shepherd of the Sheep, by whom we have been found out (One of a Family, and Two of a Tribe) and made One Holy Flock and Family unto Him, in this Day of his ſpiritual and glorious Appearance: Grace, Mercy and Peace, yea, HIS Peace, which the World can neither give you, nor take from you, be plentifully multiplied amongſt you from day to day; that an holy, harmleſs, and faithful people you may be, yielding to the Lord the fruits of his goodneſs, by a circumſpect and ſelf-denying converſation to the end.

‘ And now, my dear Friends, whom I know and love, and you alſo whom I truly love, though I do not know perſonally, nor may be ſo known of ſome of you, ſince

1699. ‘ it has pleaſed the good and all-wiſe God to order my courſe from you, ſo that I cannot viſit you, as I have often deſired before I left you, this, therefore, is to be my Brotherly Farewell unto you. And ſurely my ſoul is bowed in humble petitions to Iſrael's God, the True, and Living, and Powerful God, that it may be WELL with you all, here and for ever. And, my dear Brethren, this is certain, if you DO well, you ſhall certainly FARE well; and in the end of all your trials, troubles and temptations, it ſhall be ſaid unto you, “ WELL DONE, good and faithful ſervants, enter ye into the Joy of the Lord.” O it is that which crowns the work: Not Saying, but Doing: We muſt not only Begin, but End Well; and hold out to the End: Not be of thoſe who are *weary* of Well-doing, but who follow the Lord *fully*, as Caleb and Joſhua did in old time, and are famed for it. So that though God has appeared to us, and given us many and undeniable teſtimonies that it was HE, and not another, who reached our Hearts, and touched our Conſciences, and brought us to Confeſſion, yea, and forſaking too, of that which offended him, in great meaſure, bleſſed be his name; yet we are not to ſtop, or take up our reſt here: We muſt *watch* ſtill, *pray* ſtill, *fight* ſtill, that good fight of Faith, till we have overcome the Enemy of our ſouls: And even *then* muſt we watch and pray, and that to the end of our days; that we may not loſe that Crown of Glory, which God, the Righteous Judge, ſhall give to all thoſe that love his Appearance, and overcome, and perſevere to the End: For, be aſſured, we ſhall reap if we *faint* not: But we ſhall faint, if we WAIT NOT upon GOD, who alone is the Strength of his People.

‘ This, my dear Friends, is that which lies with greateſt ſtreſs upon my ſpirit; WATCH to your DAILY PRESERVATION, and be not ſatisfied unleſs you feel it. “ Sufficient is the Day for the Evil thereof,” ſaid our bleſſed Lord. God is not wanting: He that long ſtood at the door of our hearts, under our impenitency in times paſt, “ till his Locks were wet with the Dew, and his Hair with the Drops of the Night,” till we were wakened out of our carnal ſecurity, and came to judgment in ourſelves, unto unfeigned repentance; to be ſure he is not weary of waiting to be gracious now to his poor people; eſpecially if they are poor in ſpirit, and hungering and thirſting after righteouſneſs; and are not filled, overlaid and choaked with the cares and incumbrances of this world. No, he was ever *good* unto Iſrael, yea, unto *all* that are of an upright and clean *heart:* Wherefore, Brethren, let your eye be to the Lord, and wait often upon him; walk with him, and dwell with him, and he will walk and dwell with you: And then no weapon formed againſt you, be it in Particular, or in General, ſhall proſper; that is, not FINALLY. It may perhaps *try* you, and bruiſe your *Heel,* as it did your Lord and Maſter's; but it ſhall never finally prevail againſt you, if you keep the eye of your minds to him, and have faith in him, who ſaved Daniel in the lion's den, and Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace, and has upheld us to this day under various afflictions.

‘ And though Balaams there are, that may be hired by the Balaks of our age, to curſe our Iſrael-Family of God, of which ſome of us have been very ſenſible, yet this we know, *The Son of God is among us,* who commands the *Fire* and the *Water,* and the *Winds,* as well *now* as *then:* And there is no Inchantment againſt Jacob, or Divination againſt Iſrael, that can proſper. And who knows, but even ſome of theſe preſent Balaams may yet live to ſay, before they die, as others of them have done ſince we were a People, “ How Goodly are thy Tents, O Jacob! How Pleaſant is thy Dwelling-place, O Iſrael!” But then, Friends, we muſt KEEP our Tents, we muſt be a Retired and a Peculiar People, and dwell ALONE. We muſt keep above the World, and clear of the Spirit of it, and thoſe many trifles, cares and troubles that abound in it, with which but too many have viſibly wounded and pierced their own ſouls.

‘ Beware of this, in the Name of the Lord, and do not tempt GOD: It is in CHRIST ye have Peace; in the WORLD is the Trouble: Keep, therefore, in Him who has called himſelf (and we have *found* him ſo) the WAY, TRUTH, and LIFE; and you ſhall live, becauſe HE lives: He the *Root,* you the *Branches;* by whom you will be kept green and fruitful, bringing forth the fruits and graces of the Holy Spirit, in all your converſe and commerce, that it may be ſeen and ſaid, “ God is with you, and amongſt you.” O! Let Humility, Charity, Meekneſs, and Self-denial, ſhine amongſt you; ſo will you come to ſit, as did the Primitive Chriſtians, in Heavenly Places in Chriſt Jeſus, and be preſerved through the noiſe, ſnares, and hurry of this preſent evil world.

‘ Much I could ſay, for my heart is open, and full too of divine love and matter to you; but time fails me: Therefore FEEL me, my dear Friends, in that Love of God which is over ſea and land; where Diſtance cannot ſeparate, or Time decay, nor many Waters quench. In which Love I embrace and ſalute you all, with the kiſs of our heavenly fellowſhip, which the Lord hath given us in the Bleſſed TRUTH. And my ſtrong deſires are to him, that we may maintain our Bleſſed Relation by the ſame Means by which we came at firſt into it, viz. The true Fear and Love of God;

1699.

which did not only make us careful not to offend him, but alſo to be willing to forſake all things that came in competition with him, or our duty to him.

'Oh! let this chaſte Fear and firſt Love abound amongſt you, my beloved, in Chriſt, our bleſſed Light and Life; or you will decay, wither, and die to God, and your good beginnings; which God Almighty forbid.'

'I know there is a ſerious and diligent people amongſt you, who do not only know *when* Good comes from the Hand of the Lord, but wait upon him *for* it, and that daily; that their ſouls may be ſtrengthened in the way and work of the Lord: And theſe can no more live without his Preſence, his myſtical and hidden MANNA, in their ſpiritual journey to the Eternal Canaan of God, than outward Iſrael was able to live without *Manna* in the Wilderneſs, in their journey to their Temporal Canaan. And I beſeech my God and my Father, and your God and your Father, my dear Brethren, to attend all theſe holy waiters upon him with the good things of his Houſe, and daily make them glad in his holy Houſe of Prayer.

'But the condition of ſome, who pretend to follow Chriſt, yet are afar off, affects my ſpirit; for they know little of theſe enjoyments, and hardly eat ſo much as the *Crumbs* which fall from CHRIST's *Table*, and ſeem to ſatisfy themſelves with a mere *Convincement of the Truth*, or, at beſt, with a bare *Confeſſion* to it. Who taking up with a formal going to Meetings, and hearing what others have to ſay of the work and goodneſs of God in and to them, they ſhun the Daily Croſs of Chriſt, whereby they ſhould die daily to their earthly Wills and vain Affections, and overcome the World, the Fleſh, and the Devil. Oh! Theſe are ſtill their OWN, and not the LORD's; and gird themſelves, and go Whither, and do What, they liſt! For which cauſe they are lean, barren, and unfruitful to God, and to their own Souls; and worſhip him in the *Form* only, and not the *Power* of Godlineſs; ſuch muſt needs be weak in Faith, ready to ſlip and ſtart aſide at every windy Doctrine, or ſenſual Temptation.

'Oh! my dear Friends, let me prevail with you, in this my Farewell to you, to turn your minds INWARD, and wait to feel your Redeemer, and meet him in the way of his righteous judgments; for there is no Redemption but through Judgment, nor Converſion, but through Righteouſneſs. Come and be baptized by Chriſt; he will baptize you with his Fire and Holy Ghoſt. He will ſcower and rinſe you; for, believe me, his Fan is ſtill in his HAND, and he will, if you will *let* him, thoroughly purge his *Floor*, viz. your HEARTS, and make all things clean and new there, by his Spirit and Power. So will you come to find your Intereſt in Chriſt, as you feel his Workmanſhip and Intereſt in and over YOU: And as you thus come to be related to Chriſt, the Heavenly Head, (by knowing him to be Head IN you) ſo will you come to be related to his Body, the Church, and ſee your proper Memberſhip and Service therein; which I pray God effect, to his glory, and your comfort.

'And now to the whole Family and Flock of God, in this European Part of the World, of the ſame Communion, according to the diſpenſation of God; be they High or Low, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, Wiſe or Simple, Strong or Weak, Male or Female, Bond or Free; I ſend this Parting Salutation of my moſt dear Love in the TRUTH; beſeeching you all to have me and mine in your remembrance, not only when upon the Mighty Waters, but when in the Solitary Deſerts of America, if it pleaſe the Lord to bring us ſafe thither: For I am not above the Love and Prayers of my dear Brethren, knowing I need them, and have often found, by good experience, That they avail much with the Lord.

'I muſt leave you, but I can never FORGET you; for my Love to you has been, even as David's and Jonathan's, above the Love of Women: And ſuffer me to ſay, That, to my power, I have from the firſt endeavoured to ſerve you (and my poor country too) and that at MY OWN *Charges*, with an upright mind, however miſunderſtood and treated by ſome, whom I heartily forgive. Accept you my ſervices; and ever love and remember, my dear Friends and Brethren,

'Your Old, True, and Affectionate

'Friend, Brother, and Servant in Chriſt Jeſus,

'WILLIAM PENN.

'Cowes, Iſle of Wight, weighing Anchor,
'the 3d of the 7th Month, 1699.'

On the 9th of the ſame month they ſet ſail, and were near three months out at ſea; Providence, by the tediouſneſs of their voyage, protracting the time of their arrival, until the danger of a contagious Diſtemper, then reigning in that country, was over. Upon their coming thither, they were received with the univerſal joy of the inhabitants.

Arrives there in ſafety.

1700.

His paternal Adminiſtration of Government.

A Bill in the H. of Lords for diſſolving Proprietary Governments.

Being now determined to ſettle in his province, he applied himſelf to the offices of government, always preferring the good of the country and its inhabitants to his own private intereſt; rather remitting, than rigorouſly exacting his lawful revenues: So that under the influence of his paternal adminiſtration, the province was in an eaſy and flouriſhing condition: When ſome perſons here in England, taking advantage of his abſence, were endeavouring to undermine both his and other Proprietary Governments, under the ſpecious pretence of advancing the Prerogative of the Crown; and a Bill for that purpoſe was brought into the Houſe of Lords. His friends, the proprietors and adventurers here, preſently repreſented the hardſhip of their caſe to the Parliament, ſolliciting time for his return to anſwer for himſelf; and accordingly giving him a ſpeedy account how matters ſtood, they preſſed his coming over forthwith; with which he ſeeing it neceſſary to comply, ſummoned an Aſſembly to meet at Philadelphia, to whom, on the 15th of September 1701, he made the following Speech, viz.

'FRIENDS,

His Speech to the Aſſembly at Philadelphia.

'YOU cannot be more concerned than I am at the frequency of your ſervice in Aſſembly, ſince I am very ſenſible of the Trouble and Charge it contracts upon the Country: But the motives being conſidered, and that you muſt have met of courſe in the next month, I hope you will not think it an hardſhip now.

'The reaſon that haſtens your ſeſſions, is the neceſſity I am under, through the endeavours of the enemies of the proſperity of this country, to go for England; where, taking advantage of my abſence, ſome have attempted, by falſe or unreaſonable charges, to undermine our Government, and thereby the true value of our Labours and Property. Government having been our firſt encouragement, I confeſs I cannot think of ſuch a voyage without great reluctancy of mind, having promiſed myſelf the quietneſs of a Wilderneſs, and that I might ſtay ſo long at leaſt with you, as to render every body entirely eaſy and ſafe. For my Heart is among you, as well as my Body, whatever ſome people may pleaſe to think; and no unkindneſs or diſappointment ſhall (with ſubmiſſion to God's Providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country, and reſolution to return and ſettle my family and poſterity in it: But having reaſon to believe I can at this time beſt ſerve you and myſelf on that ſide of the water, neither the Rudeneſs of the Seaſon, nor Tender Circumſtances of my Family, can over-rule my Inclinations to undertake it.

'Think, therefore, (ſince all men are mortal) of ſome ſuitable expedient and proviſion for your Safety, as well in your Privileges as Property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatſoever may render us happy by a nearer Union of our Intereſts.

'Review again your laws; propoſe new ones that may better your circumſtances; and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that the Parliament ſits the end of the next month, and that the ſooner I am there, the ſafer I hope we ſhall be here.

'I muſt recommend to your ſerious thoughts and care, the King's Letter to me for the Aſſiſtance of New-York with three hundred and fifty pounds ſterling, as a Frontier Government; and therefore expoſed to a much greater expence in proportion to other Colonies; which I called the laſt Aſſembly to take into their conſideration, and they were pleaſed, for the reaſons then given, to refer to this.

'I am alſo to tell you the good news of the governor of New-York his happy iſſue of his conferences with the Five Nations of Indians, that he hath not only made peace with them, for the King's Subjects of that Colony; but (as I had by ſome letters before deſired him) for thoſe of all other Governments under the Crown of England on the Continent of America, as alſo the Nations of Indians within thoſe reſpective Colonies: Which certainly merits our acknowledgements.

'I have done, when I have told you, That Unanimity and Diſpatch are the Life of Buſineſs, and that I deſire and expect from you for your own ſakes, ſince it may ſo much contribute to the diſappointment of thoſe that too long have ſought the ruin of our young country.'

The Aſſembly's ADDRESS.

'May it pleaſe the PROPRIETARY and GOVERNOR!

'WE have this day in our Aſſembly read thy Speech, delivered yeſterday in Council; and having duly conſidered the ſame, cannot but be under a deep ſenſe of ſorrow for thy purpoſe of ſo ſpeedily leaving us, and at the ſame time taking notice of thy Paternal Regard to us and our Poſterity, the Freeholders of this Province, and Territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expreſſions of being ready to comply with whatſoever Expedient and Proviſions we ſhall offer for our Safety, as well in Privileges as Property, and what elſe may render us happy in a nearer

1701.

‘ Union of our Intereſts; not doubting the performance of what thou haſt been ſo
‘ lovingly pleaſed to promiſe, we do in much humility, and as a token of our grati-
‘ tude, return unto thee the unfeigned thanks of this Houſe.

‘ Subſcribed by Order of the Houſe,

‘ JOSEPH GROWDON, Speaker.’

Returns to England.

The next month he took ſhipping for England, and ſafely arrived at Portſmouth about the middle of December; and the ſame month came up to London: After his return, the Bill which, through his friends ſollicitations, had been poſtponed the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, was wholly dropped, and no farther progreſs made in that affair.

K. William's death, and Q. Anne's acceſſion to the throne.

About two months after this, viz. on the eighth of the month called March 1701-2. K. William died; and the Princeſs Anne of Denmark aſcended the throne, who began her reign with Moderation and Clemency, and declared for maintaining the Act of Toleration. Our author, being in the Queen's favour, was often at Court, and for his conveniency took lodgings at Kenſington; where he wrote, “More Fruits of Solitude, “being a ſecond part of Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of Human “Life.” After which he removed to Knightſbridge, over-againſt Hyde-Park corner, where he reſided for ſome years.

1702.

Occaſional Conformity Bill.

About this time, a Bill to prevent Occaſional Conformity was brought into the Houſe of Commons; on which occaſion he wrote a ſheet intituled, “Conſiderations “upon the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity.”

1703.

W. P. publiſhes Prefaces to ſeveral books.

1704.

In the year 1703, he wrote a Preface to a Book publiſhed by Dan. Philips, M. D. intituled, “*Vindiciæ Veritatis*, being a Defence of the Quakers Principles, from the “Miſrepreſentations of John Stillingfleet, a Clergyman in Lincolnſhire:” And in the ſame year he publiſhed a Preface to a Collection of Charles Marſhall's Writings, intituled, “Zion's Travellers comforted:” And in the next year, a Preface to the Written Labours of John Whitehead; all which the reader may find in the front of the books they were deſigned for.

1705.

Anno 1705, he wrote a ſhort Epiſtle, by way of Exhortation, to his Friends the Quakers, being as follows, viz.

‘ MY DEAR FRIENDS!

An Epiſtle to his Friends called Quakers.

‘ HOLD all your Meetings in that which ſat them up, the Heavenly POWER of
‘ GOD, both Miniſters and Hearers; and live under it, and not above it, and the
‘ Lord will give you Dominion over that which ſeeks to draw you again into Captivity
‘ to the Spirit of this World, under divers appearances: That the Truth may ſhine
‘ through you, in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs, in Self-denial, Long-Suffering, Pati-
‘ ence, and Brotherly Kindneſs; ſo ſhall you approve yourſelves the Redeemed of the
‘ Lord, and his living Witneſſes in and to an Evil Generation. So prays your Friend
‘ and Brother through the many tribulations that lead to the reſt and kingdom of God.’

‘ W. PENN.

Viſits again the Weſtern parts of England.

In this year he again viſited the meetings of his friends in the Weſtern Parts of England; where he had good ſervice, and his teſtimony was effectual to the information of many.

1706.

Settles at Brentford.

In the year 1706, he removed with his family to a convenient habitation, about a mile from Brentford, and eight from London, where he dwelt ſome years; and frequently attended the meeting at Brentford; which his friends, as well for the accommodation of his family, as the general ſervice of their perſuaſion, then firſt appointed to be held there once a month.

1707.

Is unhappily involved in a ſuit at law.

1708.

In the year 1707, he was unhappily involved in a Suit at Law with the Executors of a perſon who had been formerly his Steward; againſt whoſe Demands he thought both Conſcience and Juſtice required his endeavours to defend himſelf. But his Cauſe, (though many thought him aggrieved) was attended with ſuch circumſtances, as that the Court of Chancery did not think it proper to relieve him; wherefore he was obliged to dwell in the Old Baily, within the Rules of the Fleet, ſome part both of this and the next enſuing year, until ſuch time as the matter in diſpute was accommodated.

1709.

His laſt travels in the work of the miniſtry.

Now although the infirmities of old age began to viſit him, and to leſſen his abilities of continuing his ſervice in the work of the miniſtry with his wonted alacrity; yet he travelled, as his ſtrength and health would admit, into the Weſt of England, as alſo the counties of Berks, Buckingham, Surry and other places.

1710.

Removes to Ruſhcomb.

In the year 1710, the air near London not being agreeable to his declining conſtitution, he took a handſome ſeat at Ruſhcomb near Twyford in Buckinghamſhire, where he had his reſidence during the remainder of his life.

1711. Writes a preface to John Banks's Journal.

In the year 1711, the Works of an ancient Friend of his, John Banks, being ready for the preſs, he dictated to a perſon, that wrote it from his mouth (as he walked to and fro with his cane in his hand, and gave occaſional anſwers to other matters intervening) the following Preface, which being the laſt piece he publiſhed, and obſervable for its conciſe and pithy expreſſions, we here inſert;

The PREFACE to JOHN BANKS's JOURNAL.

‘ FRIENDLY READER,

‘ THE Labours of the Servants of God ought always to be precious in the eyes of his People, and for that reaſon, the very Fragments of their Services are not to be loſt, but gathered up for Edification; and that is the cauſe we expoſe the following Diſcourſes to publick View: And I hope it will pleaſe God to make them effectual, to ſuch as ſeriouſly peruſe them; ſince we have always found the Lord ready to ſecond the Services of his Worthies upon the Spirits of the Readers, not ſuffering that which is his OWN to go without a Voucher in every Conſcience, I mean thoſe Divine Truths it has pleaſed him to reveal among his children by his own bleſſed SPIRIT, without which no man can rightly perceive the Things of God, or be truly ſpiritually-minded, which is Life and Peace. And this, indeed, is the only BENEFICIAL Evidence of heavenly Truths; which made that excellent Apoſtle ſay in his day, “ We know that we are of God, and that the whole World lieth in Wickedneſs:” “ For in that day, True Religion and undefiled before God and the Father, conſiſted in viſiting the Fatherleſs and Widows in their Afflictions, and keeping unſpotted from the World;” not only a GODLY TRADITION of what others have enjoyed, but the EXPERIMENTAL ENJOYMENT and Knowledge thereof, by the Operation of the DIVINE POWER in their own hearts, which makes up the Inward Jew, and Accompliſhed Chriſtian, whoſe praiſe is not of Men but of God: Such are Chriſtians of CHRIST's making, that can ſay with the apoſtle, “ It is not WE that live, but CHRIST that liveth *in* us,” dying daily to Self, and riſing up, through Faith in the Son of God, to Newneſs of Life. Here *Formality* bows to REALITY, *Memory* to FEELING, Letter to SPIRIT, and *Form* to POWER; which brings to the *Regeneration*, without which no man can inherit the Kingdom of God; and by which he is enabled, in every eſtate, to cry, *Abba Father*.

‘ Thou wilt ſee a great deal of this in the following author's Writings; and that he rightly began with a juſt diſtinction between *True Wiſdom* and the *Fame* of Wiſdom; what was of *God*, and taught of *God*, and of *Man*, and taught by *Man*; which, at beſt, is a Sandy Foundation for Religion to be built upon; or rather, the Faith and Hope of Man in reference to Religion, and Salvation by it. And, oh! that none, who make profeſſion of the diſpenſation of the Spirit, may build beſide the Work of JESUS CHRIST in their own ſouls, in reference to his Prophetical, Prieſtly, and Kingly Office! In which regard, God, his Father, gave him as a tried Stone, Elect and Precious, to build by and upon: Concerning which great and glorious Truth, we do moſt humbly beſeech the Almighty, who is God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, the Father of light and ſpirits, to ground and eſtabliſh all his viſited and convinced ones, that they may grow up an holy Houſe and Building to the Lord: ſo ſhall purity, peace and charity abound in the houſe and ſanctuary that He hath pitched, and not Man.

‘ Now as to this worthy man, the author of the following treatiſes, I hope I may without offence ſay, his memorial is bleſſed, having known him above forty-four years, an heavenly Miniſter of Experimental Religion, of a ſound judgment and pious practice, valiant for the truth upon the earth, and ready to ſerve all in the love and peace of the Goſpel. He was amongſt the firſt in Cumberland that received the glad tidings of it, and then readily gave up, with other brethren, to declare to others what the Lord had done for their ſouls.

‘ Thus I firſt met him, and as I received his teſtimony through the ſavour of Life, ſo I was kindly accepted and encouraged by him in the belief of the bleſſed teſtimony of the Light, Spirit, Grace and Truth of Chriſt in the inward parts, reproving, inſtructing, reforming and redeeming thoſe ſouls from the Evil of the World that were obedient thereunto: Here he was a ſtrength to my ſoul, in the early days of my convincement; together with his dear and faithful friend, brother, and fellow traveller, John Wilkinſon of Cumberland, formerly a very zealous and able Independent Miniſter.

‘ And as I hope this piece of labour of our ancient friend and brother will find acceptance every-where among God's people; ſo I hope it will be more eſpecially acceptable in the North, where he began and had his early ſervices; and in the Weſt, where they were witneſſes of his care to preſerve good order in the Church.

1711.

‘ Now, Reader, before I take my leave of thee, let me adviſe thee to hold thy Religion in the SPIRIT, whether thou prayeſt, praiſeſt, or miniſtereſt to others; go forth in the ability God giveth thee; preſume not to awaken thy Beloved before his Time; be not thy OWN in thy performances, but the LORD's; and thou ſhalt not hold the Truth in Unrighteouſneſs, as too many do, but according to the Oracle of God, that will never leave nor forſake them who will take counſel at it: Which that all God's People may do, is, and hath long been, the earneſt deſire and ſervent ſupplication of

‘ Theirs and thy faithful Friend in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

‘ London 23d of the 12th
‘ month 1711.

‘ W. PENN.’

1712. Is taken with apoplectick fits.

In the year 1712, he was ſeized at diſtant times with three ſeveral fits, ſuppoſed to be apoplectick; by the laſt of which, though beyond all probability or expectation he ſurvived it, his Underſtanding and Memory were ſo impaired, as to render him incapable of publick action for the future: Neverthleſs we ſhall continue our annals to the cloſe of his days, from the accounts an intimate friend hath left of his condition at the viſits he yearly made him.

1713. His memory becomes weak.

In the third month 1713, the aforeſaid friend being at his houſe ſome days, found him to appearance pretty well in health, and cheerful of diſpoſition, but defective in Memory; ſo that though he could relate many paſt tranſactions, yet could he not readily recollect the names of abſent perſons; nor could he deliver his words ſo readily as heretofore; yet many ſenſible and ſavoury expreſſions came from him, rendering his company even yet acceptable, and manifeſting the religious ſettlement and ſtability of his mind.

1714. His health much as laſt year.

At a ſecond viſit made him in the ſpring, 1714, he was very little altered from what he had been the laſt year. The friend accompanied him in his chariot to Reading Meeting, where he ſpoke ſeveral ſenſible ſentences; but was not able to ſay much. At parting he took leave of his Friends with much tenderneſs and affection.

1715. His memory yet more deficient.

In the year 1715 his Memory became yet more deficient; but his love to, and his ſenſe of, religious enjoyments, apparently continued; for he ſtill often went in his chariot to the Meeting at Reading, and there ſometimes uttered ſhort, but very ſound and ſavoury expreſſions. One morning, while the friend was at his houſe, being about to go to the meeting, he expreſſed his deſires to the Lord, that they might receive ſome Good from him. This year he went to the Bath, but the waters there proved of no benefit to his long-continued diſtemper.

1716. Is very weak, and knows not his friends by name.

In the year 1716, the ſaid friend and another went to viſit him, at whoſe coming he ſeemed glad; and though he could not then remember their Names, yet, by his anſwers, it appeared he knew their Perſons. He was now much weaker than laſt year, but ſtill expreſſed himſelf ſenſibly at times, and particularly took his leave of them at their going away in theſe words, “ My Love is with you: The Lord preſerve you, “ and remember me in the Everlaſting Covenant!”

1717. His ſtrength of body much decayed.

In the 5th month 1717, being the laſt viſit the ſaid friend made him, he found his Underſtanding ſo much weakened, as that he ſcarce knew his old Acquaintance, and his bodily Strength ſo much decayed, that he could not well walk without leading; nor ſcarce expreſs himſelf intelligibly.

1718. His death and burial.

After a continued and gradual declenſion for about ſix years, his Body drew near to its diſſolution; and on the thirtieth day of the fifth month, 1718, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, his Soul, prepared for a more Glorious Habitation, forſook the decayed Tabernacle, which was committed to the earth on the fifth of the ſixth month following, at Jordans in Buckinghamſhire, where his former wife, and ſeveral of his family, had been before interred.

The concluſion.

As he had led in this life a courſe of patient Continuance in Well-doing, and, through Faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, had been enabled to overcome the World, the Fleſh and the Devil, the grand enemies of man's ſalvation; he is, we doubt not, admitted to that everlaſting Inheritance, which God hath prepared for his people, and made partaker of the promiſe of Chriſt, Rev. iii. 21. “ To him that overcometh will “ I grant to ſit with me in my Throne, even as I alſo overcame, and am ſet down with “ my Father in his Throne.”

7 AP 59

TRUTH EXALTED:

IN

A SHORT but SURE TESTIMONY

AGAINST

All thoſe Religions, Faiths, and Worſhips, that have been formed and followed in the *Darkneſs of Apoſtaſy:*

AND

For that GLORIOUS LIGHT which is now riſen, and ſhines forth, in the Life and Doctrine of the deſpiſed QUAKERS, as the alone good old Way of Life and Salvation.

PRESENTED

To Princes, Prieſts, and People, that they may repent, believe and obey,

By WILLIAM PENN,

Whom Divine LOVE conſtrains in an holy Contempt, to trample on *Ægypt's Glory*, not fearing the King's Wrath, having beheld the Majeſty of HIM who is inviſible.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TRUTH EXALTED, &c.

To PRINCES, PRIESTS, and PEOPLE.

1668. Life, p. 5.

JEHOVAH, the everlaſting power, that ſpans out the heavens with his ſpan, and meaſures the waters in the hollow of his hand, before whom all nations, tongues and people, are leſs than the drop to the ocean, or the ſand to the ſea-ſhore; who ſaid, ‘let all things be,’ and they were, and by the ſame word of his might, preſerves them to this very day, is holy, merciful, and juſt; and, as the moſt excellent part of the whole creation, made he man, ‘the image of himſelf,’ by inveſting him with that righteous principle, and innocent life, which gave him dominion and authority over all his works, allowing him to eat of every tree, ſaving that of the knowledge of good and evil, of which if he did eat, he ſhould certainly die.

Happy had it been for Adam and his poſterity, had he obeyed God's commands; but tranſgreſſion by diſobedience getting entrance, he ſoon died to his innocent ſtate, in which God created him, and became alive in the dominion ſin had over him, being now as one without law, in whoſe fallen ſtate all nations have been, and are, (let their profeſſions ſeem never ſo great, and their ſacrifices never ſo many) that live in the diſobedient nature, and ſo ſtrangers to that immortality and life eternal, the firſt Adam became dead and darkened to by his tranſgreſſion, and which the ſecond Adam raiſes to the knowledge and poſſeſſion of, by the power of his quickening ſpirit; yet where the devil (that ſubtil ſerpent) hath not totally extinguiſhed the notion of a God, and the neceſſity of his being worſhipped, it has been rather his intereſt than diſſervice, to put the ſelfiſh part of the creature upon ſacrificing, wickedly inſinuating that none can be freed from ſin, and that the performing of rites, duties, and ceremonies, is all God requires, and what is neceſſary to procure acceptance with him. Thus 'twas that murdering Cain became a ſacrificer, whoſe ſacrifice God rejected, becauſe offered in the fallen, unrighteous, and accurſed nature.

Such alſo were thoſe generations who drew near to God with their lips, and to whom he ſaid of old, ‘to what purpoſe is the multitude of your ſacrifices unto me? I am full of burnt-offerings, bring no more vain oblations; incenſe is an abomination unto me; the new moons and ſabbaths; the calling of the aſſemblies I cannot away with, it is iniquity; even the ſolemn meeting: I am weary to bear them; and when you ſpread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes; yea, when you make many prayers, I will not hear, your hands are full of blood: Waſh you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings, &c.’ Iſa. i. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.

Therefore, O ye princes, prieſts, and people, the ſolid, neceſſary, and weighty queſtion I have to aſk you all, in the dread and fear of the everlaſting, holy, Lord God almighty, (by whoſe eternal Spirit the ſenſe of your preſent ſtate and condition I perfectly have received) is this: what nature, what heart, what ſpirit, and what ground is it in which your religions, faiths, works, words and worſhips ſtand and grow? is it the divine, not the fallen nature? is it the broken, not the ſtony heart? is it the contrite, not the formal ſpirit? is it the goſpel increaſing good, not old Adam's corrupt, thorny ground? for this know, that no performances but by clean hands, and a pure heart, from whence evil doings are put away, can give acceptance with the pure God.

Come, anſwer me firſt, you papiſts, whoſe popes for many hundred years have ſat exalted in the hearts of nations, (God's temple) above all that is called God: what ſcripture ever made a pope, or gave authority to any one to lord it over the conſciences of others, ſince Chriſt enjoins that chriſtians ſhould be brethren? and by what warrantable tradition can he make, diſpoſe, and depoſe civil empires? whence came your creeds, but from factious and corrupted councils, dyed in the blood of thoſe who refuſed conformity? what ſcriptures of the holy prophets, and apoſtles, or any tradition for the firſt three hundred years, mention a maſs-book, ſpeak of Peter's chair, and a ſucceſſive infallibility, or ſay a wafer is corporally the fleſh, blood and bones, which ſuffered without Jeruſalem? And where did they teach to adore images, conſume many thouſands and millions in building, carving, and painting outward temples, after Jeruſalem (the type) was deſtroyed, whilſt thouſands of poor families languiſhed through extreme poverty? when did they enjoin baby-baptiſm, churching of women, marrying by prieſts, holy water to frighten the devil, hallowing of bells to ſcare evil ſpirits, making and worſhipping of croſſes, erecting of altars? and where did they command bowings, inſtitute muſicks, appoint holy days, canonize ſaints, chaffer and merchandize about indulgences, pray for the dead, preach, or write for a purgatory? and what book, or chapter, in the old or new teſtament, mentions the degrees of popes, cardinals, archbiſhops, deans, prebends, Jeſuits, Franciſcans, Dominicans, Urſulines, Capuchines, Benedictines, with other ſuch like lazy nuns and fryars, for the edification of Chriſt's church? but above all, when and where did they authorize, or indulge your cruel, perſecuting, whipping, racking, inquiſition, murdering ſpirit? whoſe popes, faith, church-government, and whole religion, were founded, and are maintained by inhumane blood-ſhed, as your own hiſtories plainly manifeſt. Who gave life to theſe things but the devil, 'who was a murderer from the beginning'?

Mat. xv. 9. Thus have you papiſts, through many generations, 'received for doctrine the precepts of men,' who for much ſpeaking, and ſacrificing of your own inventions, expect to be heard, whilſt in the luſtful, wanton, ignorant, and killing nature, which has been always ſhedding the precious blood of thoſe whom God in every age raiſed to teſtify againſt your ſuperſtitions and will-worſhips: Therefore woes from God almighty Rev. xvii. 3, 4, 6. Chap. xviii. 6, 8. to that Romiſh whore, who has corrupted the nations, 'and ſits upon a ſcarlet-coloured beaſt full of names of blaſphemy, drunk with the blood of ſaints, and martyrs of Jeſus; the hour of her deſolation is nigh, and in the cup which ſhe hath filled, ſhall it be filled unto her double; for ſtrong is the Lord God of hoſts who judgeth her.'

Come now, you that are called Proteſtants, however denominated or diſtinguiſhed, who profeſs the ſcriptures for the rule of life and doctrine, ſtand your trial by them; and firſt thoſe who are called Epiſcopalians, who date your religion from the martyrs: that thoſe who firſt proteſted againſt the darkneſs and groſs idolatry of the popiſh antichriſt, were directed thereto, and ſupported therein, by the mighty power of God, is not denied; and that the ſeals of blood they ſet to recommend their teſtimonies to poſterity, are with us in high eſteem, I openly affirm and declare: but that you of the church of England (who now perſecute us) have any more to do with them than had the Acts vii. 52. Jews and phariſees, who crucified the Lord of life, with Abraham, Moſes, and the prophets, is as poſitively diſowned: for as they were out of the life and ſpirit of thoſe holy men, (though building and garniſhing their ſepulchres, and making great profeſſion with their words) inſomuch as that they ſlew thoſe whom God ſent in the ſame ſpirit, to preach a farther glory, and to diſcover a more excellent way; ſo are you out of the power and ſpirit your fore-fathers lived and died in, profeſſing their words, but perſecuting the ſame ſpirit in others, and crucifying it in yourſelves: no wonder therefore you have made ſo little progreſs ſince the firſt dawning of reformation, being not yet got out of the borders of Babylon's form, and altogether in her luſtful, proud, perſecuting, and wicked nature: for have not you, proteſtant princes, condemned that in others, which you have and do allow in yourſelves, contrary to your forefathers proteſtations? did you not return ſevere perſecutions, not only upon the heads of the Roman-catholics in queen Elizabeth's time, who eſteemed it antichriſtian in them; but even your fellow-proteſtants, who through zeal for God, declared againſt your backſlidings? witneſs her ſeverity, and what followed in the reigns of James, and the deceaſed Charles, but more particularly the many thouſands now of late that have been clubbed, bruiſed, impriſoned, exiled, poiſoned to death by ſtinking dungeons, and ruined in their outward eſtates, contrary to law, chriſtian or humane: therefore well may I Iſa. xxix. 21. take up the lamentation and reproof that was of old, 'ye make offenders for a word, Amos iii. 10. Jer. xxiii. 17. and lay a ſnare for him that reproveth in the gate: ye turn aſide the juſt for a thing of nought, and lay burthens upon the backs of the righteous, whilſt evil-doers paſs Ezek. xiii. 19, 20. unpuniſhed; you ſtore up violence in your palaces, and many are the oppreſſed that Iſa. lvi. 10, 11. are amongſt you? yet do not your prieſts propheſy ſmooth things, that ſew pillows under your arms, and cry peace? who provoke you to ſlay thoſe, by executing cruel acts, that ſhould not die, and preach ſafety to them that ſhould not live, like greedy dogs, ſhepherds that cannot underſtand, they all look for gain from their quarters; Mic. iii. 5, 6, 11. they teach for hire; they divine for money, and you all judge for rewards;' for all which abominations God is departed;' 'viſion is ceaſed, the ſun is gone down over you, and your day is turned into thick darkneſs:' therefore it is you deny the neceſſity as well as the preſent enjoyment of revelation to any, though without it, as Chriſt John xvii. 3. ſaith, 'no man can know God, whom to know is life eternal;' and place the ground of divine knowledge in human arts and ſciences, that thereby you may ingroſs a function to yourſelves, and keep up your trade of yearly gain upon the poor people; preaching ſin for term of life, thereby rendering invalid the glorious power of the ſecond Adam, and indulging people in tranſgreſſion; though 'he that committeth ſin is of the 1 John iii. 8. Heb. xii. 14. Jer. xxiii. 32. devil, and without holineſs none ſhall ſee God;' miniſters he never ſent, but were commiſſionated by men, void of the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore ye profit not the people; a badge inſeparable to lying prophets, who run in their own name.

Come and tell me now, ye of the church of England, that ſay the ſcriptures are your rule, where do they own ſuch perſecutors, falſe-prophets, tythe-mongers, deniers of revelations, oppoſers of perfection, men-pleaſers, time-ſervers, unprofitable teachers

(witneſs the abominations of the land) extollers of humane learning, as the only way to know God; admirers of univerſities, (ſignal places for idleneſs, looſeneſs prophaneneſs, prodigality, and groſs ignorance;) and where do we find the prophets, apoſtles, and ſervants of the Lord, to live in wordly pomp, poſſeſs hundreds and thouſands a year, be called lords of their brethren, and exerciſe civil and ſpiritual juriſdiction over the bodies and ſouls of chriſtians in their days? Whence came your forms of prayers, and church-government, from the ſcriptures of truth, and the practice of the primitive chriſtians, or the maſs-book, and popiſh canons? Where is it that maſs-houſes are called churches? and what precedent do you find for litanies, reſponſes, ſinging, choiriſters, organs, altars, bowing, ſurplices, ſquare caps, hoods, rochets, fonts, baby-baptiſm, holy days, (as you call them) with much more ſuch like dirty traſh, and foul ſuperſtition? Are theſe your ſcripture doctrines, and this the ſpiritual worſhip of the holy Jeſus, his apoſtles, and the ancient chriſtians? Stand up and anſwer me, ye members of the church of England; but are they not the off-ſpring of that idolatrous popiſh generation, amounting at beſt to will-worſhip, which is abominable to the God of heaven, who is now breaking forth in vengeance, to thunder down and conſume all the fair buildings, and pleaſant pictures of Babyloniſh inventions? Therefore from you may I expect an anſwer to the queſtion I aſked the Romaniſts, in what nature and ſpirit is it, O princes, prieſts, and people, you hold and profeſs religion, and worſhip towards God? Is it the divine and heavenly one, which is pure and perfect? Are you baptized by the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire; crucified through the daily croſs to the Acts xix. 2. 3, 4, 5.
world; born again, and your affections ſet on things above? But alas, poor ſouls! are Col. iii. 2.
you not at 'have mercy upon us miſerable ſinners, there is no health in us,' from ſeven to ſeventy? and as in truth it is to the ſhame of religion, and deſtruction of humane ſociety; how do you abound in evil? equalizing, if not outſtripping papiſts and heathens (againſt whom you proteſt in words) in all kinds of impiety: therefore, 'wo unto you proteſtants, that are mighty to drink ſtrong drink, that give your neigh- Iſa. v. 11, 12.
bours drink, and put the bottle to them that they may be drunk; that put far away Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6.
the evil day, and cauſe the ſeat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and ſtretch yourſelves upon your couches; that eat the fat of the flock, and drink the ſweet of the vine; that anoint yourſelves with the chief ointments; that chant to the ſound of the viol, and invent to yourſelves inſtruments of muſick, but conſider not the afflictions of Joſeph.' How ſport you away your precious time, as if ye were born not to die, at leaſt never to be judged? O what ſwearing, what uncleanneſs, what drunkenneſs, what prophanation, what vanity, what pride, what expence, what patching, what painting, what laſcivious intrigues, what wanton appointments, what publick unclean houſes, what merry maſks, what luſtful inſinuating treats at your plays, parks, mulberry and ſpring-gardens, with whatſoever elſe may pleaſe the luſtful eye, and gratify the wanton mind! Is not this your caſe and practice, ye gallants, young and old, men and women? and by theſe courſes, have not debts ſurprized your eſtates, poverty plenty, diſeaſes health, debauchery chaſtity? Whole families ruined both in ſoul and body; yea, ſuch a deluge of intemperance has ſo overwhelmed the nations, that hard it is to light upon ſobriety and virtue.

Well, my friends, when I ruminate on theſe things, my heart affects mine eye, and grief overcomes my ſoul for your ſakes: repent therefore, O ye proteſtants, or elſe
know, 'that for all theſe things God almighty will bring you to judgment;' and in Mat. vii. 21.
the day that his indignation ſhall be kindled, your religion of words ſhall fly away, and your Lord, Lord, cryings ſhall be rejected, becauſe you were ſtrangers to the ſpiritual nature (tho' babblers of the name) of true chriſtianity, and therefore ſhall ye periſh by the ſword.

Now as for you ſeparatiſts of divers names, although I ſhall not diſallow the zeal that once you had, yet muſt I on God's behalf bear my teſtimony concerning you; therefore
be it known unto all, 'that you are teaching and receiving for doctrine the traditions of Iſa. l. 11.
men,' running and ſtriving in your own ſpirits, 'compaſſing yourſelves with the ſparks of your own fire,' being not yet come to ſtand ſtill and know that Will done on earth which is done in heaven: you tell people, Chriſt Jeſus has ſuffered and ſatisfied for ſins paſt, preſent, and to come; and that though they are never ſo corrupt, vile, and polluted in themſelves, yet are they reconciled to, and juſtified in the ſight of God, by his perſonal righteouſneſs imputed unto them, and not from a work of grace or regeneration in the creature; therefore no wonder at your vehement cries againſt a ſtate of perfect ſeparation from ſin, as being a dangerous doctrine, who preach acceptance with the holy God, whilſt in an unholy ſtate: you generally ſcoff at revelation as being ceaſed; moſt of you alſo abetting God to have ordained a remnant abſolutely to ſalvation, and conſequently making ſin as well as torment unavoidably neceſſary to the major part; whereby the glorious God of mercy is repreſented more infamouſly unjuſt than the worſt of men; doctrines of devils indeed, and grounds of all looſeneſs and ranteriſm; and the pleaders, and fighters for liberty of conſcience when oppreſſed, are the greateſt oppreſſors when in power, not minding the end of God's loving kindneſs: becauſe of

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Wherefore, O ye zealous profeſſors, who in the ſpirit of a man are ſtriving to com- John i. 9. prehend the myſtery of God, unleſs ye repent and believe in 'that light, wherewith Chriſt hath enlightened every man,' that you may attain to the true diſcerning of the ſpirit and nature, in which you live and worſhip, that ſo you may come to witneſs the Rev. iii. 9. work and will of God, 'it ſhall be more tolerable for them, in the day that God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men, by Jeſus Chriſt; God will make them of the ſynagogue of Satan, who ſay they are chriſtians, and are not.'

Therefore unto you, princes, prieſts, and people, whether papiſts or proteſtants, or any other ſeparated way, that are in your idolatry, ſuperſtition, carnal ordinances, and will-worſhip; whoſe faith in, and fear towards God, are grounded on other mens apprehenſions, perſwaſions and precepts, and not from the teaching of God's Holy Spirit or grace; to you all am I conſtrained to ſound forth and proclaim, that unto us, the moſt deſpiſed, afflicted and forſaken, by all the families of the earth is a child born, Iſa. ix 6. 7. Cap. xlix. 6. 'unto us a ſon is given, we call him wonderful, counſeller, the mighty God, the everlaſting father, the prince of peace; of the increaſe of whoſe government, there ſhall be no end: this is he the prophet ſtiles, a light unto the gentiles, and for ſalvation unto John i. 7, 8, 9. c. 8. 12. the ends of the earth; unto whom John Baptiſt bore this certain record, that he was the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; who alſo 1 John i. 7. 1 Cor. xv. 47. gave this teſtimony of himſelf, that whoſoever followed him ſhould not abide in darkneſs, but have the light of life, and the blood of Jeſus, (ſaith the beloved diſciple) cleanſeth us from all ſin.'

John vi. 51, 52, 53. Iſa. xlii. 6. Jer. xxxi. 32, 33, 34. John xiv. 6. 1 Cor. i. 20. Ezek. xxxiv. 29. Gen. iii. 15. Tit. ii. 11, 12. 'This is the ſecond Adam, the quickning ſpirit, the Lord from heaven, the new and ſpiritual man, the heavenly bread, the true vine; the fleſh and blood that was given for the life of the world; the ſecond covenant; the law written in the heart and ſpirit, put in the inward parts; the way in which the fool cannot err; the truth, before deceit was, the life that's hid in God, eternal in the heavens, glorified before the world began; the power, the wiſdom, the righteouſneſs of God; the plant of renown; the royal ſeed that bruiſeth the ſerpent's head; in ſhort, that grace which hath appeared unto all men, teaching them to deny all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to live godlikely and ſoberly in this preſent world.' He ſtands at the door of every heart, and knocks, if by any means he may be heard and have admittance, whereby God's promiſe may be fulfilled, that God will dwell with men; and my teſtimony is, that a remnant have obeyed this heavenly voice, and now walk in this pure light, in which Rev. xxi. 3. God almighty is known to tabernacle with them: therefore, in the fear of God eternal, do I cry aloud unto you all, who are wandering in the by-paths of mens inventions, traditions and precepts, to empty your hearts and minds of thoſe unprofitable gueſts, that better entertainment than a manger may be had to receive this Lord of Deut. xviii. 18. 19. 20. Jer. xvii. 10. John iv. 29. glory; the mighty prophet, all muſt hear or die, 'who ſearcheth the heart, trieth the reins, and is able to tell you all that ever you did:'-----this is the Quakers Chriſt, and ſon of the living God, whom we are not aſhamed to confeſs before men, as that glorious light, which ſince we have believed and walked in, according to our diſtinct meaſures, we have not only received a perfect diſcovery of all the will-worſhips, pollutions, and vain faſhions, or cuſtoms that have been brought forth by, and ſtand in the dark, luſtful,

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ful, and apoſtatized nature; but as we have continued in an holy watchfulneſs, to obſerve and obey its righteous dictates; God's mighty power we have, and do experience to ſubdue and redeem therefrom; yea, that ſpiritual blood is ſenſibly felt, to 'ſprinkle Heb. ix. 14. 'and cleanſe the conſcience from dead works.' x. 22.

And to you all muſt I declare, that by no other way did I ever receive the knowledge of the leaſt evil, or ability to conquer it, than in this univerſal light, who is given for a captain and a leader out of all the by-paths and petty perſwaſions of men, through judgment that purifies, and the red ſea of troubles, trials, and afflictions, unto the reſt which is pure and undefiled: 'this is God's beloved ſon, hear ye him;' for I proclaim, another way there is not to eternal life and peace, than this everlaſting goſpel which now is preached; for the time is come that the angel of his preſence is flying through the midſt of heaven, having this ancient goſpel to preach to them that dwell upon the earth, and are in their earthly nature, wiſdom, and worſhip, 'crying with a loud voice, fear Rev. xiv. 6. 'God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come:' therefore away, 7. away with all your own ways, works and worſhips, that are grounded upon mens command, and fallible apprehenſions, whoſe breath is in their noſtrils; and no more do homage according to ſuch preſcriptions, but fear and dread the living Lord God of heaven and earth: 'for if the righteous ſcarcely be ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and ſinner 1 Pet. iv. 18. 'appear? but wo, anguiſh, tribulation and ſorrow ſhall come upon every ſoul that 'remains in ſin.'

Therefore be warned, ye dark and idolatrous papiſts, ye ſuperſtitious and looſe proteſtants, ye zealous, yet carnal profeſſors, to come out of all your own ways, works, worſhips, nature, ſpirit and practice: in ſilence and fear to wait in this glorious light which God almighty has diſplayed, and raiſed us contemned Quakers to walk in, and teſtify of, in theſe laſt ages; that by believing therein, and circumſpectly adhering thereto, you may come to experience the riſing of that eternal power which overcomes and removes tranſgreſſion, that hath ſo long ſeparated between you and your God; hereby ſhall you receive ſound judgment and heavenly wiſdom.

This will not deſtroy, but fulfil the ſcriptures of truth, and ſo ſhall you know the baptiſm that is from above, and eat the heavenly bread, and drink the ſpiritual wine at Chriſt's table, in his kingdom, which the ſaints of old ſaw the coming of before they taſted of death; 'for the kingdom of God is within:---here all old things, covenant, Luke xvii. 20, ſigns, ordinances, and whatever periſheth with the uſing,' ſhall be done away; and the 21. everlaſting unchangeable ſubſtance witneſſed; and no more ſhall you profeſs religion, or perform worſhip from the imagining and tranſgreſſing nature, but from a certain ſenſe of God's own operation; ſo ſhall your faith ſtand in that power the gates of hell can never prevail againſt: for this I once more am neceſſitated to declare, by virtue of the ſound knowledge given me of God, that whilſt you are fulfilling the luſts of the fleſh, and walking after your own will and imaginations, you are altogether ſtrangers to the yoak, to the daily croſs, and ſelf-denying life, but are yet the corrupt ground, and evil tree, which bringeth forth evil fruits, thorns, briars, and ſour grapes: 'be ye Job iv. 8. 'undeceived, God will not be mocked; ſuch as you ſow, ſuch ſhall you reap:'---- Gal. vi. 7. 8.

Wherefore I intreat, adviſe, and warn you all, before the day of your viſitation be ſhut up, in the eternal withdrawings of God's love, and revelation of his dreadful, endleſs vengeance, O ye idolatrous, ſuperſtitious, carnal, proud, wanton, unclean, mocking and perſecuting princes, prieſts and people, to repent; return, return, believe and obey this light, which manifeſts and reproves all your evil deeds, that in it you may know your redemption from the captivity of ſin effectually wrought.

O tremble and quake with the prophet Habakkuk, you who ſcoff at Quakers, 'that 'you may all reſt in the day of trouble.' Hab. iii. 16.

But if you ſhall ſtill go on to rebel againſt the reproofs and inſtructions of this holy light, and deſpiſe and perſecute the children of it; be it known to you all, that before the brightneſs of its glory ſhall your ſhadows vaniſh, your imitations fly away, your beggarly elements melt, and you ſhall die in your ſins.

Nor ſhall we be ſolicitous what your intentions are concerning us, well knowing him in whom we have believed, 'to be much greater in us than he that is in the world,' 2 Tim. i. 12. who in love hath called us out of it, and we doubt not will by his everlaſting arm of 1 John iv. 4. ſtrength defend and preſerve us over all oppoſition, and by us exalt his name, truth, and ſalvation unto the ends of the earth.

Therefore let the winds of imagination blow, the ſtorms of perſecution beat, and the ſea of raging malice foam: yea, 'though the fig-tree ſhall not bloſſom, neither fruit Hab. iii. 17. 'be in the vine; though the labour of the olive fail, and the fields yield not their meat; 18. 'though the flock be cut off from the fold, and there be no herd in the ſtalls;' though nations ſhould combine againſt us, and multitudes aſſemble themſelves to our overthrow;---yet, be it reported to the nations, and let it be told unto the people, that we ſhall ſtill confide and rejoyce in that everlaſting holy God almighty, Lord of hoſts, and king of ſaints, who hath gathered us and therefore is by us; over all things in heaven, and things on earth, bleſſed and renowned for ever.

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Life p. 40.

A cautionary Postscript *to the people of* England.

Friends,

WHILST you have a day, prize it, and whilſt you have the light, believe in it; for this is the word of the Lord God, that made heaven and earth, to you all; the time is at hand, that he that is unrighteous, muſt be unrighteous ſtill. Be not deceived, put not the day far from you; neither cry, the Lord is on our ſide, for his indignation is ready to be revealed, and deſtruction is at the door.

Calamity, pining, and diſtreſs, is coming upon you, yea, a conſumption is decreed, and trouble, perplexity, and terrible deſolation; and what hand ſhall ſtop it? for the Lord God of hoſts is ariſing, to avenge himſelf of his enemies, and to eaſe himſelf of the cruel oppreſſor of his righteous ſeed; yea, the mighty he will humble, and the proud ſhall be laid low. He will ſmite the wanton with paleneſs, and the deſpiſer ſhall periſh off the earth; and all the inſtruments of wickedneſs and oppreſſion will he daſh in pieces; and you ſhall know, that the Majeſty which dwells on high is on our ſide, and that the nations of them who are ſaved ſhall walk in obedience to the light.

But unto ſuch as believe in the light, and live in the daily croſs, who have forſaken either father, mother, ſiſter, brother, houſe, land, huſband or wife, for this bleſſed teſtimony; and that through the good report and bad report are journeying on, towards an everlaſting inheritance: bleſſings, honour, immortality, and eternal life, from God the father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Newgate in London, the 7th
of the 2d Month, 1671.

I am not of this world, but ſeek a country
eternal in the heavens.

WILLIAM PENN.

THE

SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN;

OR,

Thoſe ſo generally believed and applauded DOCTRINES,

Of
One God, ſubſiſting in three diſtinct and ſeparate perſons,
The impoſſibility of God's pardoning ſinners, a plenary ſatisfaction,
The juſtification of impure perſons, by an imputative righteouſneſs,
Refuted,

From the authority of Scripture Teſtimonies, and right reaſon.

By WILLIAM PENN, jun.

A Builder on that foundation which cannot be moved.

But to us there is but one God the father, of whom are all things. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity? he retaineth not his anger for ever, becauſe he delighteth in mercy. Micah vii. 18.

For I will not juſtify the wicked. Exod. xxiii. 7.

To the Unprejudiced READER.

1668. Life, p. 6. IT was the fault of ſome in ancient times, that they made void God's law by mens traditions; and certainly I may now aſſume the ſame complaint; for whilſt I take a ſerious proſpect of the ſpiritual nature and tendency of the ſecond covenant, which God almighty, in the fulneſs of time, by his prophets, propheſied to make and perfect; and alſo the accompliſhment thereof by Jeſus Chriſt, and what was brought to paſs amongſt the primitive believers; methinks I do not only ſee an utter aboliſhment of ceremonial worſhips, but the inſcribing that ſpiritual law on the heart, and infuſion of holy fear to the inward parts, whereby each perſon became capacitated to know ſo much of God, as ſuited with his preſent ſtate, from an infallible demonſtration in himſelf, and not on the ſlender grounds of mens lo-here interpretations, or lo-there; for the kingdom of God is within, where himſelf muſt be the teacher of his people: but on the other hand, when from the noiſe of every party's pretenſions to and contentions for their own way, as moſt infallible, I am induced to an impartial examination of them: alas! how have all adulterated from the purity both of ſcripture record, and primitive example? receiving for unqueſtionable doctrines, the fallible apprehenſions, and uncertain determinations of ſuch councils, whoſe faction, prejudice, and cruelty ſoon parallelled the foregoing heatheniſh perſecutions; and yet that the reſults of perſons ſo incompetently qualified, ſhould at this day in their authority remain unqueſtioned by the nations, is matter both of aſtoniſhment and pity; but an implicit faith has ever been the conſequence of ignorance, idleneſs and fear, being ſtrong impediments to a judicious enquiry how far profeſt and impoſed opinions have their conſiſtency with reaſon, and the true religion. But that which moſt of all deſerves a lamentation is, that proteſtants, whoſe better arguments have confuted the plea of ſuch as made tradition and mens preſcriptions unqueſtionable in circumſtantials, ſhould themſelves, by print and practice, ſo openly declare and contend for its authority in eſſentials; as muſt be obvious to any that obſerve their zealous anathemas againſt whomſoever refuſe a compliance with them in doctrines, manifeſtly bottomed upon mens nice inventions.

This is the right ſtate of the controverſy that is maintained by us (contemptibly called Quakers) againſt the world, and the undoubted reaſon of our ſevere treatment at its hands; the end of God almighty's raiſing us, being for no other purpoſe, than to declare, that which our eyes have ſeen, our ears heard, and which our hands have handled of the Eternal Word, in oppoſition to the private opinions, conjectures, and interpretations of men concerning God and religion, that all people might thereby be reduced to faith in and obedience to the univerſal grace which brings ſalvation; which as it only can reſtore ſound judgment concerning God, and effect redemption from iniquity, ſo its being relinquiſhed by men, was the very ground both of their diviſion in judgment, and corruption in manners.

That this hath been, and is our caſe, I ſhall produce an inſtance, which is indeed the occaſion of this treatiſe.

Two perſons lately of Thomas Vincent's auditory in Spittle-fields, (who goes under the notion of a preſbyter) being deſirous to prove all things, and to hold faſt the beſt, viſited our meeting, to underſtand if we were as really deſerving blame, as repreſented by our enemies; where it then pleaſed divine goodneſs to viſit them with the call of his light, from the inventions, carnal obſervations, will-worſhip, and vain converſation of thoſe to whom they were formerly related, that they might be made children of the day; and though its appearance might be ſmall, yet ſufficient to diſcover them to have been inhabitants of the night, and can never be rejected, but it ſhall bring that condemnation which will farther teſtify it to be of God.

But their relinquiſhing his congregation ſo incenſed this preſbyterian preacher, as that his peeviſh zeal tranſported him beyond not only the moderation of chriſtianity, but the civility of education, venting his folly and prejudice much to this purpoſe, That he had as lieve they ſhould go to a bawdy-houſe, as to frequent the Quakers meetings, becauſe of their erroneous and damnable doctrines. And pointing to the window ſaid, If there ſhould ſtand a cup of poiſon, I would rather drink it, then ſuck in their damnable doctrines. He farther expreſſed himſelf in this manner to one of them: If ever you go again, I will give you up, and God will give you up, that you may believe a lie, and be damned. Which ſtorms of foul and railing accuſation, proving ineffectual to ſhipwrack that little grain of faith, his hearers, as forgetting they hold their preaching by connivance, and the many appeals made by their non-conforming brethren, for an indulgence, came with this caution to the Pater-familias, (or he that was both huſband and father to the concerned parties) that he would exerciſe his authority, as well to refuſe them to all Quaker-viſitants, as prohibit them the liberty of their conſciences in frequenting our meetings.

All which we could not for the truth-ſake let paſs in ſilence, and therefore did require him to let us have a public meeting, in which we might have liberty to anſwer on the behalf both of ourſelves and principles; which after ſome demur was granted, the day he appointed, and at the ſecond hour in the afternoon. But that he might not want applauſe of many voices, and doubtleſs to prevent our friends, (as I am informed) beſpoke his uſual auditory to be there at one; and, as a man that would not over-ſpend himſelf, or incur a nonplus for want of ſeconds, he had his third and fourth, to wit, Thomas Danſon, Thomas Doolittle, and---Maddocks, who at their times (and often out of them) did interpoſe, to whom George Whitehead moſtly anſwered; nor had there any thing been ſpoken by another, but from their own example.

The matter in controverſy will be related in the beginning of this treatiſe, as a neceſſary preludium, or introduction to the following diſcourſe: the manner of it was ſo groſs, that I know not how to repreſent it better, than by the levity and rudeneſs of ſome prize; laughing, hiſſing, ſhoving, ſtriking, and ſtigmatizing us with the opprobrious terms of confident fellow, impudent villain, blaſphemer, &c. And, as the uſual refuge of ſhallow perſons (when they have little elſe to ſay, to prepoſſeſs their hearers with prejudice againſt the principles of ſuch as do oppoſe them) he queſtioned much whether I was not ſome jeſuit; not remembering, or at leaſt unwilling to let the people know, that none have been, nor are more inſtant in the vindication of that doctrine he and his brother did aſſert, (to wit, God ſubſiſting in three diſtinct perſons) than the jeſuits: ſo that if I ſhould not as well reflect a ſcandal upon their learning by a compariſon, as he did upon my principle, I could more truly invert jeſuitiſm upon himſelf: in ſhort, they neither would keep to ſcripture-terms themſelves, nor ſuffer it in any others; but looking upon G. Whitehead's explanation of their terms, and reduction of their matter (if poſſible) to a ſcripture-ſenſe (thereby fitting it to the auditors apprehenſion) to be an indirect way of anſwering (as that which nakedly did expoſe their traditional folly to the vulgar) T. V. in an abrupt manner fell to his prayer, in which he falſly, and with many ſtrangely-affected whines, accuſed us for blaſphemers unto God; and that he might prevent the clearing of ourſelves, he deſired the people, when he had finiſhed, to be gone, giving them an example by his and three brethrens retreat: but we being deſirous farther to inform the people of our innocency, they did not only (as before) endeavour to pull us down, but put the candles out, though ſeveral perſons, of good eſteem, continued whilſt we ſpoke in vindication of ourſelves, from the invectives of our adverſaries.

The people ſtill remaining undiſperſed, T. V. came very palely down the ſtairs (having a candle in his hand) requiring their diſmiſſion, at which time he promiſed us, at our requeſt, another meeting; but as one that knew not well what he ſaid, or never purpoſed to perform what he promiſed, has given us ſince to underſtand, he cannot in conſcience ſpare us ſo much time; yet to ſatisfy G. W. and myſelf, in private, he could agree; which ſurely cannot be termed another meeting, ſince then it muſt relate to the preceding one: but how near the relation is betwixt an accuſation before hundreds, and a ſatisfaction before none, muſt needs be obvious to every unbiaſſed perſon:----our right ſhould have been altogether as public as our wrong:------for which cauſe we were neceſſitated to viſit his meeting, where, on a lecture-day, (after a continued ſilence during all his worſhip) we modeſtly intreated we might be cleared from thoſe unjuſt reflections before his congregation, leaving a diſputation (if he could not then attend it) to ſome more ſeaſonable opportunity: but as one, who reſolved injuſtice to mens reputation, as well as cowardice, in baulking a defence of his own principles, he flung moſt ſhamefully away; nor would any there, though urged to it, aſſume his place to vindicate his practice towards us, or his doctrines then delivered.

Reader, what is thy opinion of this ſavage entertainment? Would Socrates, Cato, or Seneca, whom they called heathens, have treated us with ſuch unſeemly carriage? I ſuppoſe not: and well is it for the truly ſober and conſcientious, they are not liable to thoſe ſevere laſhes, and that peeviſh uſage, which are the inſeparable appendix to a Scotch directory, whoſe cold and cutting gales ever have deſigned to nip and blaſt the faireſt bloſſoms of greater reformation. So much for hiſtory.

What remains is, to inform the reader, that with great brevity I have diſcuſſed, and endeavoured a total enervation of thoſe cardinal points, and chief doctrines ſo firmly believed, and continually impoſed for articles of chriſtian faith: 1. The trinity of ſeparate perſons, in the unity of eſſence. 2. God's incapacity to forgive, without the fulleſt ſatisfaction paid him by another. 3. A juſtification of impure perſons, from an imputative righteouſneſs. Which principles let me tell thee, reader, are not more repugnant to ſcripture, reaſon, and ſouls-ſecurity, than moſt deſtructive to God's honour, in his unity, mercy, and purity.

Therefore I beſeech thee to exterminate paſſion from her predominancy, in the peruſal

1668. ſal of this diſcourſe, ſince it was writ in love to thee; that whilſt 'tis thy deſire to know, love, and fear God almighty above mens precepts, thou mayeſt not miſs ſo good an end, by the blind embraces of tradition for truth. But in the nobility of a true Berean, ſearch and enquire; letting the good old verity, not a pretended antiquity, (whilſt a meer novelty) and ſolid reaſon, not an over-fond credulity, ſway the balance of thy judgment, that both ſtability and certainty may accompany thy determinations. Farewel.

A ſhort confutation by way of recapitulation, of what was objected againſt us at Thomas Vincent's meeting.

IF diſputations prove at any time ineffectual, 'tis either to be imputed to the ignorance and ambiguity of the diſputants, or to the rudeneſs and prejudice of the auditory: all which may be truly affirmed of T. V. with his three brethren, and congregation.

The accuſation being general, viz. that the Quakers held damnable doctrines: George Whitehead on their behalf ſtood up, and, as it was his place, willingly would have given the people an information of our principles, which, if objected againſt, he was as ready to defend them by the authority of ſcripture and reaſon; but inſtead of this better method, T. V. as one that is often employed in catechiſtical lectures, falls to interrogatories, begging that himſelf, he in his ſlander had taken for granted, to wit, the knowledge of our principles.

The queſtion was this, Whether we owned one God-head, ſubſiſting in three diſtinct and ſeparate perſons, as the reſult of various reviſes and amendments; which being denied by us, as a doctrine no where ſcriptural, T. V. frames this ſyllogiſm from the beloved diſciple's words.

John v. 7. 'There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy 'Ghoſt; and theſe three are one.'

'Theſe are either three manifeſtations, three operations, three ſubſtances, or three 'ſomethings elſe beſides ſubſiſtences.'

'But they are not three manifeſtations, three operations, three ſubſtances, nor three 'any thing elſe beſides ſubſiſtences;'

Ergo, Three ſubſiſtences.

G. W. utterly rejected his terms, as not to be found in ſcripture, nor deduceable from the place he inſtanced: wherefore he deſires their explanation of their terms, inaſmuch as God did not chuſe to wrap his truths up in heatheniſh metaphyſicks, but in plain language: notwithſtanding we could not obtain a better explanation, than perſon, or of perſon, than the mode of a ſubſtance; to all which G. W. and myſelf urged ſeveral ſcriptures, proving God's compleat unity: and when we queried how God was to be underſtood, if in an abſtractive ſenſe from his ſubſtance: they concluded it a point more fit for admiration then diſputation. But a little to review his ſyllogiſm; the manner of it ſhews him as little a ſcholar, as it's matter does a chriſtian; but I ſhall overlook the firſt, and ſo much of the ſecond, as might deſerve my objection to his major, and give in ſhort my reaſon, why I flatly deny his minor propoſition. No one ſubſtance can have three diſtinct ſubſiſtences, and preſerve its own unity: for granting them the moſt favourable definition, every ſubſiſtence will have its own ſubſtance; ſo that three diſtinct ſubſiſtences, or manners of being, will require three diſtinct ſubſtances, or beings; conſequently three Gods. For if the infinite God-head ſubſiſts in three ſeparate manners or forms, then is not any one of them a perfect and complete ſubſiſtence without the other two; ſo parts, and ſomething finite is in God: or if infinite, then three diſtinct infinite ſubſiſtences; and what's this but to aſſert three Gods, ſince none is infinite but God? and on the contrary, there being an inſeparability betwixt the ſubſtance and its ſubſiſtence, the unity of ſubſtance will not admit a trinity of incommunicable or diſtinct ſubſiſtences.

T. D. being aſked Of whom was Chriſt the expreſs image, from his alledging that ſcripture in the Hebrews; anſwered, Of God's ſubſiſtence, or manner of being: from whence two things in ſhort follow as my reply, It makes God a father only by ſubſiſtence, and Chriſt a ſon without a ſubſtance. Beſides 'tis falſly rendered in the Hebrews, ſince the greek does not ſay Χαρακτὴρ προσώπου, but Χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, the character of ſubſtance.

And if he will peruſe a farther diſcovery of his error, and explanation of the matter, let him read Col. i. 15. 'who is the image of the inviſible God.'

And becauſe G. W. willing to bring this ſtrange doctrine to the capacity of the people, compared their three perſons to three apoſtles, ſaying, he did not underſtand how Paul, Peter, and John could be three perſons, and one apoſtle, (a moſt apt compariſon to detect their doctrine) one---Maddocks, whoſe zeal out-ſtript his knowledge, buſtling hard, as one that had ſome neceſſary matter for the deciſion of our controverſy, inſtead thereof (perhaps to ſave his brethren, or ſhow himſelf) ſilences our farther controverting of the principle, by a ſyllogiſtical, but impertinent reflection upon G. W's. perſon. It runs thus, ‘ He that ſcornfully and reproachfully compares our doctrine of the bleſſed trinity ‘ of father, ſon, and ſpirit, one in eſſence, but three in perſons, to three finite men, as ‘ Paul, Peter, and John, is a blaſphemer. But you G. W. have ſo done. Ergo.’

A ſtrange way of argumentation, to beg what cannot be granted him, and take for granted what ſtill remains a queſtion, viz. that there are three diſtinct and ſeparate perſons in one eſſence: let them firſt prove their trinity, and then charge their blaſphemy: but I muſt not forget this perſon's ſelf-confutation, who, to be plainer, called them three He's, and if he can find an He without a ſubſtance, or prove that a ſubſiſtence is any other than the form of an He, he would do well to juſtify himſelf from the imputation of ignorance.

And till their hypotheſis be of better authority, G. W. neither did, nor does by that compariſon deſign mens invention ſo much honour.

For 'tis to be remarked, that G. W. is no otherwiſe a blaſphemer, than by drawing direct conſequences from their own principles, and re-charging them upon themſelves: ſo that he did not ſpeak his own apprehenſions by his compariſon, but the ſenſe of their aſſertion; therefore blaſphemer and blaſphemy are their own.

The trinity of diſtinct and ſeparate perſons, in the unity of eſſence, refuted from ſcripture.

‘ AND he ſaid, Lord God, there is no god like unto thee, to whom then will ye liken ‘ me? or ſhall I be equal, ſaith the Holy One?---I am the Lord, and there is ‘ none elſe, there is no God beſides me. Thus ſaith the Lord thy redeemer, the ‘ Holy One of Iſrael, I will alſo praiſe thee, O my God; unto thee will I ſing, O Holy ‘ One of Iſrael, Jehovah ſhall be One, and his name One.’ Which with a cloud of other teſtimonies that might be urged, evidently demonſtrate, that in the days of the firſt covenant, and prophets, but One was the Holy God, and God but that Holy One.---Again, ‘ and Jeſus ſaid unto him, why calleſt thou me good? there is none ‘ good but One, and that is God. And this is life eternal, that they might know ‘ Thee (father) the Only true God. Seeing it is One God that ſhall juſtify. There ‘ be gods many, --- but unto us there is but One God, the father, of whom are ‘ all things. One God and father who is above all things. For there is One God. ‘ To the Only-wiſe God be glory now and ever.’ From all which I ſhall lay down this one aſſertion, that the teſtimonies of ſcripture, both under the law, and ſince the goſpel diſpenſation, declare One to be God, and God to be One, on which I ſhall raiſe this argument:

1. Kings. viii. 23.
Iſa. xl. 25.
c. xlv. 5, 6.
c. xlviii, 17.
Pſal. xxi. 22.
Zac. xiv. 9.

Mat. xix. 17.
John xvii. 3.
Rom. iii. 30.
1 Cor. viii. 6.
Eph. iv 6.
1 Tim. ii 5.
Jude, ver 25.

If God, as the ſcriptures teſtify, hath never been declared or believed, but as the Holy One, then will it follow, that God is not an Holy Three, nor doth ſubſiſt in Three diſtinct and ſeparate Holy Ones: but the before-cited ſcriptures undeniably prove that One is God, and God only is that Holy One; therefore he cannot be divided into, or ſubſiſt in an Holy Three, or Three diſtinct and ſeparate Holy Ones.---Neither can this receive the leaſt prejudice from that frequent but impertinent diſtinction, that he is One in ſubſtance, but Three in perſons or ſubſiſtences; ſince God was not declared or believed incompletely, or without his ſubſiſtences: nor did he require homage from his creatures, as an incomplete or abſtracted being, but as God the Holy One: for ſo he ſhould be manifeſted and worſhipped without that which was abſolutely neceſſary to himſelf:-------------ſo that either the teſtimonies of the aforementioned ſcriptures are to be believed concerning God, that he is intirely and completely, not abſtractly and diſtinctly, the Holy One, or elſe their authority to be denied by theſe trinitarians: and on the contrary, if they pretend to credit thoſe holy teſtimonies, they muſt neceſſarily conclude their kind of trinity a fiction.

Refuted from right reaſon.

1. If there be three diſtinct and ſeparate perſons, then three diſtinct and ſeparate ſubſtances, becauſe every perſon is inſeparable from its own ſubſtance; and as there is no perſon that is not a ſubſtance in common acceptation among men, ſo do the ſcriptures plentifully agree herein: and ſince the father is God, the ſon is God, and the ſpirit is God (which their opinion neceſſitates them to confeſs) then unleſs the father, ſon, and ſpirit, are three diſtinct nothings, they muſt be three diſtinct ſubſtances, and conſequently three diſtinct gods.

2. It is farther proved, if it be conſidered, that either the divine perſons are finite or infinite; if the firſt, then ſomething finite is inſeparable to the infinite ſubſtance, whereby ſomething finite is in God; if the laſt, then three diſtinct infinites, three omnipotents, three eternals, and ſo three gods.

1668. 3. If each perſon be God, and that God ſubſiſts in three perſons, then in each perſon are three perſons or gods, and from three, they will encreaſe to nine, and ſo ad infinitum.

4. But if they ſhall deny the three perſons, or ſubſiſtences to be infinite, (for ſo there would unavoidably be three gods) it will follow that they muſt be finite, and ſo the abſurdity is not abated from what it was; for that of one ſubſtance having three ſubſiſtences, is not greater, than that an infinite being ſhould have three finite modes of ſubſiſting. But though that mode which is finite cannot anſwer to a ſubſtance that is infinite; yet to try if we can make their principle to conſiſt, let us conceive that three perſons, which may be finite ſeparately, make up an infinite conjunctly; however this will follow, that they are no more incommunicable or ſeparate, nor properly ſubſiſtences, but a ſubſiſtence; for the infinite ſubſtance cannot find a bottom or ſubſiſtence in any one or two, therefore jointly. And here I am alſo willing to overlook finiteneſs in the father, ſon, and ſpirit, which this doctrine muſt ſuppoſe.

5. Again, if theſe three diſtinct perſons are one, with ſome one thing, as they ſay they are with the God-head, then are not they incommunicable among themſelves; but ſo much the contrary, as to be one in the place of another: for if that the only God is the father, and Chriſt be that only God, then is Chriſt the father. So if that one God be the ſon, and the ſpirit that one God, then is the ſpirit the ſon, and ſo round. Nor is it poſſible to ſtop, or that it ſhould be otherwiſe, ſince if the divine nature be inſeparable from the three perſons, or communicated to each, and each perſon have the whole divine nature, then is the ſon in the father, and the ſpirit in the ſon, unleſs that the God-head be as incommunicable to the perſons, as they are reported to be amongſt themſelves; or that the three perſons have diſtinctly allotted them ſuch a proportion of the divine nature, as is not communicable to each other; which is alike abſurd. Much more might be ſaid to manifeſt the groſs contradiction of this trinitarian doctrine, as vulgarly received; but I muſt be brief.

Information and caution.

Before I ſhall conclude this head, it is requiſite I ſhould inform thee, reader, concerning its original: thou mayeſt aſſure thyſelf, it is not from the ſcriptures, nor reaſon, ſince ſo expreſly repugnant; although all broachers of their own inventions ſtrongly endeavour to reconcile them with that holy record. Know then, my friend, it was born above three hundred years after the ancient goſpel was declared; and that through the nice diſtinctions, and too daring curioſity of the biſhop of Alexandria, who being as hotly oppoſed by Arius, their zeal ſo reciprocally blew the fire of contention, animoſity, and perſecution, till at laſt they ſacrificed each other to their mutual revenge.

Thus it was conceived in ignorance, brought forth and maintained by cruelty; for though he that was ſtrongeſt impoſed his opinion, perſecuting the contrary, yet the ſcale turning on the trinitarian ſide, it has there continued through all the Romiſh generations: and notwithſtanding it hath obtained the name of Athanaſian from Athanaſius, (a ſtiff man, witneſs his carriage towards Conſtantine the emperor) becauſe ſuppoſed to have been moſt concerned in the framing that creed in which this doctrine is aſſerted; yet have I never ſeen one copy void of a ſuſpicion, rather to have been the reſults of popiſh ſchool-men; which I could render more perſpicuous, did not brevity neceſſitate me to an omiſſion.

Be therefore cautioned, reader, not to embrace the determination of prejudiced councils, for evangelical doctrine; which the ſcriptures bear no certain teſtimony to; neither was believed by the primitive ſaints, or thus ſtated by any I have read of in the firſt, ſecond, or third centuries; particularly Ireneus, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, with many others who appear wholly foreign to the matter in controverſy.---But ſeeing that private ſpirits, and thoſe none of the moſt ingenious, have been the parents and guardians of this ſo generally received doctrine; let the time paſt ſuffice, and be admoniſhed to apply thy mind unto that light and grace which brings ſalvation; that by obedience thereunto, thoſe miſts tradition hath caſt before thy eyes may be expelled, and thou receive a certain knowledge of that God, whom to know is life eternal, not to be divided, but One pure intire and eternal being; who in the fulneſs of time ſent forth his Son, as the true light which enlightneth every man; that whoſoever followed him (the light) might be tranſlated from the dark notions, and vain converſations of men, to this holy light, in which only ſound judgment and eternal life are obtainable: who ſo may hundred years ſince, in perſon, teſtified the virtue of it, and has communicated unto all ſuch a proportion, as may enable them to follow his example.

The vulgar doctrine of ſatisfaction, being dependent on the ſecond perſon of the trinity, refuted from ſcripture.

Doctr.

'THAT man having tranſgreſſed the righteous law of God, and ſo expoſed to the penalty of eternal wrath, it is altogether impoſſible for God to remit or forgive without a plenary ſatisfaction; and that there was no other way by which God could obtain ſatisfaction, or ſave men, than by inflicting the penalty of infinite wrath and vengeance on Jeſus Chriſt the ſecond perſon of the trinity, who for ſins paſt, preſent and to come, hath wholly borne and paid it, (whether for all, or but ſome) to the offended infinite juſtice of his father.'

Exod. xxxiv. 6. 7.

1. 'And the Lord paſſed by before him, (Moſes) and proclaimed, the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity, tranſgreſſion and ſin.' [From whence I ſhall draw this poſition, that ſince God has proclaimed himſelf a gracious, merciful, and forgiving God, 'tis not inconſiſtent with his nature to remit, without any other conſideration than his own love: otherwiſe he could not juſtly come under the imputation of ſo many gracious attributes, with whom it is impoſſible to pardon, and neceſſary to exact the payment of the utmoſt farthing.]

2 Chron. xxx. 9.

2. 'For if ye turn again to the Lord, the Lord your God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn away his face from you.' [Where how natural is it to obſerve that God's remiſſion is grounded on their repentance; and not that it is impoſſible for God to pardon, without plenary ſatisfaction, ſince the poſſibility, nay, certainty of the contrary, viz. his grace and mercy, is the great motive or reaſon, of that loving invitation to return.]

Neh. ix. 16, 17.

3. 'They hardened their necks, and hearkened not to thy commandments; but thou art a God ready to pardon, gracious and merciful.' [Can the honeſt-hearted reader conceive, that God ſhould thus be mercifully qualified, whilſt executing the rigor of the law tranſgreſſed, or not acquitting without the debt be paid him by another? I ſuppoſe not.]

Iſa. lv. 7.

4. 'Let the wicked forſake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.' [Come, let the unprejudiced judge, if this ſcripture doctrine is not very remote from ſaying, his nature cannot forgive ſin, therefore let Chriſt pay him full ſatisfaction, or he will certainly be avenged; which is the ſubſtance of that ſtrange opinion.

Jer. xxxi. 31, 33. 34.

5. 'Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the Houſe of Iſrael; I will put my law in their inward parts; I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their ſin no more. [Here is God's meer grace aſſerted, againſt the pretended neceſſity of a ſatisfaction to procure his remiſſion; and this Paul acknowledgeth to be the diſpenſation of the goſpel, in his eighth chapter to the Hebrews: ſo that this new doctrine doth not only contradict the nature and deſign of the ſecond covenant, but ſeems, in ſhort, to diſcharge God, both from his mercy and omnipotence.]

Micah, vii. 18.

6. 'Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and paſſeth by the tranſgreſſion of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, becauſe he delighteth in mercy.' [Can there be a more expreſs paſſage to clear, not only the poſſibility, but real inclinations in God to pardon ſin, and 'not retain his anger for ever;' ſince the prophet ſeems to challenge all other gods, to try their excellency by his God: herein deſcribing the ſupremacy of his power, and ſuperexcellency of his nature, 'that he pardoneth iniquity, and retaineth not his anger for ever:' ſo that if the ſatisfactioniſts ſhould aſk the queſtion, who is a God like unto ours, that cannot pardon iniquity, nor paſs by tranſgreſſion, but retaineth his anger until ſome body make him ſatisfaction? I anſwer, many amongſt the harſh and ſevere rulers of the nation; but as for my God, he is exalted above them all, upon the throne of his mercy, 'who pardoneth iniquity, and retaineth not his anger for ever, but will have compaſſion upon us.'

Mat. vi. 12.

7. 'And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.' [Where nothing can be more obvious, than that that which is forgiven, is not paid: and if it is our duty to forgive our debtors, without a ſatisfaction received, and that God is to forgive us, as we forgive them, then is a ſatisfaction totally excluded: Chriſt farther paraphraſes upon that part of his prayer, V. 14. 'For if ye forgive their treſpaſſes, your heavenly father will alſo forgive you.' Where he as well argues the equity of God's forgiving them, from their forgiving others, as he encourages them to forgive others, from the example of God's mercy, in forgiving them: which is more amply expreſſed, cap. xviii. where the kingdom of heaven (that conſiſts in righteouſneſs) is repreſented by a king; 'who upon his debtor's petition, had compaſſion, and forgave him; but the ſame treating his fellow-ſervant without the leaſt forbearance, the king condemned his unrighteouſneſs, and delivered him over to the tormentors.' But how had this been a

fault in the ſervant, if his king's mercy had not been propoſed for his example? how moſt unworthy therefore is it of God, and blaſphemous, may I juſtly term it, for any to dare to aſſert that forgiveneſs impoſſible to God, which is not only poſſible, but enjoined to men.]

John iii. 16. 8. ‘ For God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten ſon, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life.’ [By which it appears, that God's love is not the effect of Chriſt's ſatisfaction, but Chriſt is the proper gift and effect of God's love.]

Acts, x. 43. 9. ‘ To him give all the prophets witneſs, that through his name, whoſoever believeth in him, ſhall receive remiſſion of ſins.’ [So that remiſſion came by believing his teſtimony, and obeying his precepts, and not by a ſtrict ſatisfaction.]

Rom. viii. 31, 32. 10. ‘ If God be for us, who can be againſt us? he that ſpared not his own ſon, but delivered him up for us all.’ [Which evidently declares it to be God's act of love, otherwiſe, if he muſt be paid, he ſhould be at the charge of his own ſatisfaction, for he delivered up the ſon.]

2 Cor. v. 18, 19. 11. ‘ And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt, and hath given to us the miniſtry of reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Chriſt, reconciling the world to himſelf, not imputing their treſpaſſes unto them.’ [How undeniably apparent is it, that God is ſo far from ſtanding off in high diſpleaſure, and upon his own terms, contracting with his ſon for a ſatisfaction, as being otherwiſe uncapable to be reconciled, that he became himſelf the reconciler by Chriſt, and afterwards by the apoſtles, his ambaſſadors, to whom was committed the miniſtry of reconciliation.]

Eph. i. 7. 12. ‘ In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveneſs of ſins, according to the riches of his grace.’ [Now what relation ſatisfaction has to forgiveneſs of ſins, or how any can conſtrue grace to be ſtrict juſtice, the meaneſt underſtanding may determine.]

1 Pet. v. 10. 13. ‘ But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory, by Chriſt Jeſus.’ [He does not ſay that God's juſtice, in conſideration of Chriſt's ſatiſfaction, acquitted us from ſins paſt, preſent, and to come, and therefore hath called us to his eternal glory; but from his grace.]

1 John iv. 9. 14. ‘ In this was manifeſt the love of God towards us, becauſe that God ſent his only-begotten ſon, into the world, that we might live through him.’ [Which plainly attributes Chriſt, in his doctrine, life, miracles, death, and ſufferings, to God, as the gift and expreſſion of his eternal love, for the ſalvation of men.]

1. In aboliſhing that other covenant, which conſiſted in external and ſhadowy ordinances, and that made none clean as concerning the conſcience.

2. In promulgating his meſſage, of a moſt free and univerſal tender of life and ſalvation, unto all that believed and followed him, (the light) in all his righteouſneſs, the very end of his appearance being to deſtroy the works of the devil, and which every man only comes to experience, as he walks in an holy ſubjection, to that meaſure of light and grace, wherewith the fulneſs hath enlightened him.

3. In ſeconding his doctrines with ſigns, miracles, and a moſt innocent ſelf-denying life.

4. In ratifying and confirming all (with great love and holy reſignation) by the offering up of his body, to be crucified by wicked hands: who is now aſcended far above all heavens, and is thereby become a moſt complete captain, and perfect example.

So that I can by no means conclude, but openly declare, that the ſcriptures of truth are not only ſilent in reference to this doctrine of rigid ſatisfaction, but that it is altogether inconſiſtent with the dignity of God, and very repugnant to the conditions, nature, and tendency of that ſecond covenant, concerning which their teſtimony is ſo clear.

The abſurdities, that unavoidably follow the compariſon of this doctrine with the ſenſe of ſcripture.

1. THAT God is gracious to forgive, and yet 'tis impoſſible for him, unleſs the debt be fully ſatisfied.

2. That the finite and impotent creature is more capable of extending mercy and forgiveneſs, than the infinite and omnipotent creator.

3. ‘ That God ſo loved the world, he gave his only ſon to ſave it; and yet that God ſtood off in high diſpleaſure, and Chriſt gave himſelf to God as a complete ſatisfaction to his offended juſtice: with many more ſuch like groſs conſequences that might be drawn.

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Refuted from right reaſon.

But if we ſhould grant a ſcripture ſilence, as to the neceſſity of Chriſt's ſo ſatisfying his father's juſtice; yet ſo manifeſt would be the contradictions, and foul the repugnancies to right reaſon, that who had not vailed his underſtanding with the dark ſuggeſtions of unwarrantable tradition, or contracted his judgment to the implicit apprehenſions of ſome over-valued acquaintance, might with great facility diſcriminate to a full reſolution in this point: for admitting God to be a creditor, or he to whom the debt ſhould be paid, and Chriſt, he that ſatisfies or pays it on the behalf of man, the debtor, this queſtion will ariſe, Whether he paid that debt, as God, or man, or both? (to uſe their own terms.)

Not as God.

1. In that it divides the unity of the God-head, by two diſtinct acts, of being offended, and not offended; of condemning juſtice and redeeming mercy; of requiring a ſatisfaction, and then making of it.

2. Becauſe if Chriſt pays the debt as God, then the father and the ſpirit being God, they alſo pay the debt.

3. Since God is to be ſatisfied, and that Chriſt is God, he conſequently is to be ſatisfied; and who ſhall ſatisfy his infinite juſtice?

4. But if Chriſt has ſatisfied God the father, Chriſt being alſo God, it will follow then that he has ſatisfied himſelf, (which cannot be.)

5. But ſince God the father was once to be ſatisfied, and that it is impoſſible he ſhould do it himſelf, nor yet the ſon or ſpirit, becauſe the ſame God; it naturally follows, that the debt remains unpaid, and theſe ſatisfactioniſts thus far are ſtill at a loſs.

Not as man.

6. The juſtice offended being infinite, his ſatisfaction ought to bear a proportion therewith, which Jeſus Chriſt, as man, could never pay, he being finite, and from a finite cauſe could not proceed an infinite effect; for ſo man may be ſaid to bring forth God, ſince nothing below the divinity itſelf, can rightly be ſtiled infinite.

Not as God and man.

7. For where two mediums, or middle propoſitions, are ſingly inconſiſtent with the nature of the end, for which they were at firſt propounded, their conjunction does rather augment than leſſen the difficulty of its accompliſhment; and this I am perſwaded muſt be obvious to every unbiaſſed underſtanding.

But admitting one of theſe three mediums poſſible for the payment of an infinite debt; yet, pray obſerve the moſt unworthy and ridiculous conſequences, that will unavoidably attend the impoſſibility of God's pardoning ſinners without a ſatisfaction.

Conſequences irreligious and irrational.

1. That 'tis unlawful and impoſſible for God almighty to be gracious and merciful, or to pardon tranſgreſſors; than which, what is more unworthy of God?

2. That God was inevitably compelled to this way of ſaving men; the higheſt affront to his incontroulable nature.

3. That it was unworthy of God to pardon, but not to inflict puniſhment on the innocent, or require a ſatisfaction where there was nothing due.

4. It doth not only diſ-acknowledge the true virtue and real intent of Chriſt's life and death, but intirely deprives God of that praiſe which is owing to his greateſt love and goodneſs.

5. It repreſents the ſon more kind and compaſſionate than the father; whereas if both be the ſame God, then either the father is as loving as the ſon, or the ſon as angry as the father.

6. It robs God of the gift of his ſon for our redemption (which the ſcriptures attribute to the unmerited love he had for the world) in affirming the ſon purchaſed that redemption from the father, by the gift of himſelf to God, as our complete ſatisfaction.

7. Since Chriſt could not pay what was not his own, it follows, that in the payment of his own, the caſe ſtill remains equally grievous; ſince the debt is not hereby abſolved or forgiven, but transferred only; and by conſequence we are no better provided for ſalvation than before, owing that now to the ſon, which was once owing to the father.

8. It no way renders man beholding, or in the leaſt obliged to God; ſince by their doctrine he would not have abated us, nor did he Chriſt the laſt farthing; ſo that the acknowledgments are peculiarly the ſon's; which deſtroys the whole current of ſcripture-teſtimony, for his good-will towards men.-----O the infamous portraiture this doctrine draws of the infinite goodneſs! Is this your retribution, O injurious ſatisfactioniſts?

9. That God's juſtice is ſatisfied for ſins paſt, preſent, and to come; whereby God and Chriſt have loſt both their power of enjoining godlineſs, and prerogative of puniſhing diſobedience; for what is once paid is not revokeable; and if puniſhment ſhould arreſt any for their debts, it either argues a breach on God's or Chriſt's part, or elſe that it has not been ſufficiently ſolved, and the penalty completely ſuſtained by another; for- Rom. xiv. 12. 2 Cor. xv. 10. getting, 'that every one muſt appear before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, to receive according to the things done in the body: yea, every one muſt give an account of himſelf to God.' But many more are the groſs abſurdities and blaſphemies that are the genuine fruits of this ſo-confidently-believed doctrine of ſatisfaction.

A Caution.

Let me adviſe, nay warn thee, reader, by no means to admit an entertainment of this principle, by whomſoever recommended; ſince it does not only diveſt the glorious God of his ſovereign power, both to pardon and puniſh, but as certainly inſinuates a licentiouſneſs, at leaſt a liberty, that unbecomes the nature of that ancient goſpel once preached amongſt the primitive ſaints, and that from an apprehenſion of a ſatisfaction once paid for all. Whereas I muſt tell thee, that unleſs thou ſeriouſly repent, and no more grieve God's holy Spirit, placed in thy inmoſt parts, but art thereby taught to deny all ungodlineſs, and led into all righteouſneſs; at the tribunal of the great judge, thy plea ſhall prove invalid, and thou receive thy reward without reſpect to any other thing than the Gal. vi. 7. deeds done in the body: 'be not deceived, God will not be mocked; ſuch as thou ſoweſt, ſuch ſhalt thou reap:' which leads me to the conſideration of my third head, viz. 'juſtification by an imputative righteouſneſs.'

The juſtification of impure perſons, by an imputative righteouſneſs, refuted from ſcripture.

Doctrine. 'THAT there is no other way for ſinners to be juſtified in the ſight of God, than 'by the imputation of that righteouſneſs of Chriſt, long ſince performed perſonally; and that ſanctification is conſequential, not antecedent.'

Exod. xxiii. 7. 1. Keep thee far from a falſe matter; and the innocent and righteous ſlay thou not; for I will not juſtify the wicked. [Whereon I ground this argument, that ſince God has preſcribed an inoffenſive life, as that which can only give acceptance with him, and on the contrary hath determined never to juſtify the wicked, then will it neceſſarily follow, that unleſs this ſo-much-believed imputative righteouſneſs had that effectual influence, as to regenerate and redeem the ſoul from ſin, on which the malediction lies, he is as far to ſeek for juſtification as before; for whilſt a perſon is really guilty of a falſe matter, I poſitively aſſert, from the authority and force of this ſcripture, he cannot be in a ſtate of juſtification; and as God will not juſtify the wicked, ſo, by the acknowledged reaſon of contraries, the juſt he will never condemn, but they, and they only, are the juſtified of God.]

Prov. xvii. 15. 2. 'He that juſtifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the juſt, even they both 'are an abomination to the Lord.' [It would very opportunely be obſerved, that if it is ſo great an abomination in men to juſtify the wicked, and condemn the juſt, how much greater would it be in God, which this doctrine of imputative righteouſneſs neceſſarily does imply, that ſo far diſengages God from the perſon juſtified, as that his guilt ſhall not condemn him, nor his innocency juſtify him? But will not the abomination appear greateſt of all, when God ſhall be found condemning of the juſt, on purpoſe to juſtify the wicked, and that he is thereto compelled, or elſe no ſalvation, which is the tendency of their doctrine, 'who imagine the righteous and merciful God, to condemn 'and puniſh his innocent ſon, that he having ſatisfied for our ſins, we might be juſtified '(whilſt unſanctified) by the imputation of his perfect righteouſneſs.' O! why ſhould this horrible thing be contended for by chriſtians?]

Ezek. xviii. 20, 26, 27, 28. 3. 'The ſon ſhall not bear the iniquity of his father; the righteouſneſs of the righteous ſhall be upon him, and the wickedneſs of the wicked ſhall be upon him. When 'a righteous man turneth away from his righteouſneſs, for his iniquity that he hath 'done ſhall he die. Again, when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedneſs, 'and doth that which is lawful and right, he ſhall ſave his ſoul alive; yet ſaith the houſe 'of Iſrael, the ways of the Lord are not equal: Are not my ways equal?' If this was once equal, 'tis ſo ſtill, for God is unchangeable; and therefore I ſhall draw this argument, that the condemnation or juſtification of perſons is not from the imputation of another's righteouſneſs, but the actual performance and keeping of God's righteous ſtatutes or commandments, otherwiſe God ſhould forget to be equal: therefore how wickedly unequal are thoſe, who, not from ſcripture evidences but their own dark conjectures and interpretations of obſcure paſſages, would frame a doctrine ſo manifeſtly inconſiſtent with God's moſt pure and equal nature; making him to condemn the righteous to death, and juſtify the wicked to life, from the imputation of another's righteouſneſs:---A moſt unequal way indeed!]

Mat. vii. 21, 24, 25.

4. ‘ Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of ‘ heaven, but he that doth the will of my father. Whoſoever heareth theſe ſayings of ‘ mine, and doth them, I will liken him unto a wiſe man which built his houſe upon ‘ a rock, &c.’ [How very fruitful are the ſcriptures of truth, in teſtimonies againſt this abſurd and dangerous doctrine! theſe words ſeem to import a twofold righteouſneſs; the firſt conſiſts in ſacrifice, the laſt in obedience; the one makes a talking, the other a doing chriſtian. I in ſhort argue thus: If none can enter into the kingdom of heaven, but they that do the father's will, then none are juſtified, but they who do the father's will, becauſe none can enter into the kingdom but ſuch as are juſtified; ſince therefore there can be no admittance had, without performing that righteous will, and doing thoſe holy and perfect ſayings; alas! to what value will an imputative righteouſneſs amount, when a poor ſoul ſhall awake polluted in his ſin, by the haſty calls of death, to make its appearance before the judgment-ſeat, where 'tis impoſſible to juſtify the wicked, or that any ſhould eſcape uncondemned, but ſuch as do the will of God?]

John xv. 10.

5. ‘ If ye keep my commandments, ye ſhall abide in my love, even as I have kept ‘ my father's commandments, and abide in his love.’ [From whence this argument doth naturally ariſe; If none are truly juſtified that abide not in Chriſt's love, and that none abide in his love who keep not his commandments; then conſequently none are juſtified but ſuch as keep his commandments. Beſides, here is the moſt palpable oppoſition to an imputative righteouſneſs that may be; for Chriſt is ſo far from telling them of ſuch a way of being juſtified, as that he informs them the reaſon why he abode in his father's love was, his obedience; and is ſo far from telling them of their being juſtified, whilſt not abiding in his love, by virtue of his obedience imputed unto them, that unleſs they keep his commands, and obey for themſelves, they ſhall be ſo remote from an acceptance, as wholly to be caſt out; in all which Chriſt is our example.]

John xv. 14.

6. ‘ Ye are my friends, if you do whatſoever I command you.’ [We have almoſt here the very words, but altogether the ſame matter, which affords us thus much, that without being Chriſt's friends there is no being juſtified; but unleſs we keep his commandments, it is impoſſible we ſhould be his friends: it therefore neceſſarily follows, that except we keep his commandments, there is no being juſtified: or, in ſhort thus; if the way to be a friend is, to keep the commandments; then the way to be juſtified is, to keep the commandments, becauſe none can obtain the quality of a friend, and remain unjuſtified, or be truly juſtified whilſt an enemy; which he certainly is that keeps not the commandments.]

Rom. ii. 13.

7. ‘ For not the hearers of the law are juſt before God, but the doers of the law ſhall ‘ be juſtified.’ [From whence how unanſwerably may I obſerve, unleſs we become doers of that law, which Chriſt came not to deſtroy, but, as our example to fulfil, we can never be juſtified before God; wherefore obedience is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that ſhort of it there can be no acceptance; nor let any fancy that Chriſt hath ſo fulfilled it for them, as to exclude their obedience from being requiſite to their acceptance, but as their pattern: ‘ for unleſs ye follow me, ſaith Chriſt, ye cannot be my diſciples’: and it is not only repugnant to reaſon, but in this place particularly refuted; for if Chriſt had fulfilled it on our behalf, and we not enabled to follow his example, there would not be doers, but one doer only, of the law juſtified before God. In ſhort, if without obedience to the righteous law none can be juſtified, then all our hearing of the law, with but the meer imputation of another's righteouſneſs, whilſt we are actually breakers of it, is excluded, as not juſtifying before God. ‘ If you fulfil the royal law, ye do well; ſo ſpeak ‘ ye, and ſo do ye, as they that ſhall be judged thereby.’]

Rom. viii. 13.

8. ‘ If ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall die; but if ye through the ſpirit, do mortify ‘ the deeds of the body, ye ſhall live.’ [No man can be dead, and juſtified before God, for ſo he may be juſtified that lives after the fleſh; therefore they only can be juſtified that are alive; from whence this follows, if the living are juſtified and not the dead, and that none can live to God, but ſuch as have mortified the deeds of the body through the ſpirit, then none can be juſtified but they who have mortified the deeds of the body through the ſpirit; ſo that juſtification does not go before, but is ſubſequential to the mortification of luſts, and ſanctification of the ſoul, through the ſpirit's operation.]

Rom. viii. 14.

9. ‘ For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the ſons of God.’ [How clearly will it appear to any but a cavilling and tenacious ſpirit, that man can be no farther juſtified, than as he becomes obedient to the ſpirit's leadings; for if none can be a ſon of God, but he that is led by the Spirit of God, then none can be juſtified without being led by the Spirit of God, becauſe none can be juſtified but he that is a ſon of God: ſo that the way to juſtification and ſon-ſhip, is through the obedience to the ſpirit's leadings, that is, manifeſting the holy fruits thereof by an innocent life and converſation.]

Gal. vi. 4, 7.

10. ‘ But let every man prove his own work, and then ſhall he have rejoicing in him‘ ſelf alone, and not in another. Be not deceived, for whatſoever a man ſoweth that ‘ ſhall he reap.’ [If rejoicing and acceptance with God, or the contrary, are to be reaped from the work that a man ſoweth, either to the fleſh or to the ſpirit, then is the doctrine of acceptance, and ground of rejoicing, from the works of another, utterly

excluded, every man reaping according to what he hath ſown, and bearing his own burden.]

1 Jam. ii. 21, 24. 11. ‘Was not Abraham our father juſtified by works, when he had offered Iſaac his ‘ſon upon the altar? Ye ſee then how that by works a man is juſtified, and not by faith ‘only.’ He that will ſeriouſly peruſe this chapter, ſhall doubtleſs find ſome, to whom this epiſtle was wrote, of the ſame ſpirit with the ſatisfactioniſts and imputarians of our time, they fain would have found out a juſtification from faith in the imputation of another's righteouſneſs; but James, an apoſtle of the moſt high God, who experimentally knew what true faith and juſtification meant, gave them to underſtand from Abraham's ſelf-denying example, that unleſs their faith, in the purity and power of God's grace, had that effectual operation to ſubdue every beloved luſt, wean from every Delilah, and intirely to reſign and ſacrifice Iſaac himſelf, their faith was a fable, or as a body without a ſpirit: and as righteouſneſs therefore in one perſon cannot juſtify another from unrighteouſneſs; ſo whoever now pretend to be juſtified by faith, whilſt not led and guided by the ſpirit into all the ways of truth, and works of righteouſneſs, their faith they will find at laſt a fiction.]

1 John ii. 7, 8. 12. ‘Little children, let no man deceive you, he that doth righteouſneſs is righte-‘ous, as God is righteous, (but) he that committeth ſin is of the devil.’ [From whence it may be very clearly argued, that none can be in a ſtate of juſtification, from the righteouſneſs performed by another imputed unto them, but as they are actually redeemed, from the commiſſion of ſin: ‘for if he that committeth ſin is of the devil,’ then cannot any be juſtified completely before God, who is ſo incompletely redeemed, as yet to be under the captivity of luſt, ſince then the devil's ſeed or offſpring may be juſtified; but that is impoſſible: it therefore follows, that as he who doth righteouſneſs is righteous as God is righteous, ſo no farther is he like God, or juſtifiable; for in whatſoever he derogates from the works of that faith, which is held in a pure conſcience, he is no longer righteous or juſtified, but under condemnation as a trangreſſor, or diſobedient perſon to the righteous commandment; and if any would obtain the true ſtate of juſtification, let them circumſpectly obſerve the holy guidings and inſtructions of that unction, to which the apoſtle recommended the ancient churches, that thereby they may be led out of all ungodlineſs, into truth and holineſs; ſo ſhall they find acceptance with the Lord, who has determined, never to juſtify the wicked.]

Refuted from right reaſon.

1. Becauſe it is impoſſible for God to juſtify that which is both oppoſite and deſtructive to the purity of his own nature, as this doctrine neceſſarily obliges him to do, in accepting the wicked, as not ſuch, from the imputation of another's righteouſneſs.

2. Since man was juſtified before God, whilſt in his native innocency, and never condemned till he had erred from that pure ſtate; he never can be juſtified, whilſt in the frequent commiſſion of that for which the condemnation came; therefore, to be juſtified, his redemption muſt be as intire as his fall.

3. Becauſe ſin came not by imputation, but actual tranſgreſſion; for God did not condemn his creature for what he did not, but what he did; therefore muſt the righteouſneſs be as perſonal for acceptance, otherwiſe theſe two things will neceſſarily follow: firſt, that he may be actually a ſinner, and yet not under the curſe. Secondly, that the power of the firſt Adam to death, was more prevalent than the power of the ſecond Adam unto life.

4. It is therefore contrary to ſound reaſon, that if actual ſinning brought death and condemnation, any thing beſides actual obedience unto righteouſneſs, ſhould bring life and juſtification; for death and life, condemnation and juſtification, being vaſtly oppoſite, no man can be actually dead and imputatively alive; therefore this doctrine ſo much contended for carries this groſs abſurdity with it, that a man may be actually ſinful, yet imputatively righteous; actually judged and condemned, yet imputatively juſtified and glorified. In ſhort, he may be actually damned, and yet imputatively ſaved; otherwiſe it muſt be acknowledged, that obedience to juſtification ought to be as perſonally extenſive, as was diſobedience to condemnation: in which real, not imputative ſenſe, thoſe various terms of ſanctification, righteouſneſs, reſurrection, life, redemption, juſtification, &c. are moſt infallibly to be underſtood.

5. Nor are thoſe words, impute, imputed, imputeth, imputing, uſed in ſcripture by way of oppoſition to that which is actual and inherent, as the aſſertors of an imputative righteouſneſs do by their doctrine plainly intimate; but ſo much the contrary, as that they are never mentioned, but to expreſs men really and perſonally to be that which is
Lev. xvii. 4. imputed to them, whether as guilty, as remitted, or as righteous: for inſtance: ‘What ‘man ſoever of the houſe of Iſrael, that killeth an Ox, and bringeth it not to the door ‘of the tabernacle, to offer unto the Lord, blood ſhall be imputed unto that man,’ or
2 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 20. charged upon him as guilty thereof. ‘And Shimei ſaid unto the King, let not my Lord ‘impute iniquity unto me, for thy ſervant doth know that I have ſinned.

Rom. v. 13. 6. ‘But ſin is not imputed where there is no law.’ From whence it is apparent that

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there could be no imputation, or charging of guilt upon any, but ſuch as really were guilty. Next, it is uſed about remiſſion: 'Bleſſed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity;' or, as the foregoing words have it, 'whoſe tranſgreſſion is forgiven.' Pſal. xxxii. 2. Where the non-imputation doth not argue a non-reality of ſin, but the reality of God's pardon; for otherwiſe there would be nothing to forgive, nor yet a real pardon, but only imputative, which, according to the ſenſe of this doctrine, I call imaginary. Again, 'God was in Chriſt reconciling the world unto himſelf, not imputing 2 Cor. v. 19. their treſpaſſes unto them.' Where alſo non-imputation, being a real diſcharge for actual treſpaſſes, argues an imputation, by the reaſon of contraries, to be a real charging of actual guilt. Laſtly, 'tis uſed in relation to righteouſneſs, 'was not Abraham juſtified Jam. ii. 21, 22, 23. by works, when he offered Iſaac? and by works was faith made perfect, and the ſcripture was fulfilled, which ſaith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs.' By which we muſt not conceive, as do the dark imputarians of this age, that Abraham's offering perſonally was not a juſtifying righteouſneſs, but that God was pleaſed to account it ſo; ſince God never accounts a thing that which it is not; nor was there any imputation of another's righteouſneſs to Abraham, but on the contrary, his perſonal obedience was the ground of that juſt imputation; and therefore, that any ſhould be juſtified from the imputation of another's righteouſneſs, not inherent, or actually poſſeſſed by them, is both ridiculous and dangerous---Ridiculous, ſince it is to ſay a man is rich to the value of a thouſand pounds, whilſt he is not really or perſonally worth a groat, from the imputation of another who has it all in his poſſeſſion. Dangerous, becauſe it begets a confident perſwaſion in many people of their being juſtified, whilſt in captivity to thoſe luſts, whoſe reward is condemnation; whence came that uſual ſaying amongſt many profeſſors of religion, 'that God looks not on them as they are in themſelves, but as they are in Chriſt;' not conſidering that none can be in Chriſt, who are not new creatures, which thoſe cannot be reputed, who have not diſrobed themſelves of their old garments, but are ſtill inmantled with the corruptions of the old man.

Conſequences irreligious and irrational.

1. It makes God guilty of what the ſcriptures ſay is an abomination, to wit, that he juſtifieth the wicked.
2. It makes him look upon perſons as they are not, or with reſpect, which is unworthy of his moſt equal nature.
3. He is hereby at peace with the wicked, (if juſtified whilſt ſinners) who ſaid 'there is no peace to the wicked.'
4. It does not only imply communion with them here, in an imperfect ſtate, but ſo to Rom. viii. 30. all eternity, 'for whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified.' Therefore whom he juſtified, whilſt ſinners, them he alſo glorified, whilſt ſinners.
5. It only ſecures from the wages, not the dominion of ſin, whereby ſomething that is ſinful comes to be juſtified, and that which defileth, to enter God's kingdom.
6. It renders a man juſtified and condemned, dead and alive, redeemed and not redeemed at the ſame time, the one by an imputative righteouſneſs, the other a perſonal unrighteouſneſs.
7. It flatters men, whilſt ſubject to the world's luſt, with a ſtate of juſtification, and thereby invalidates the very end of Chriſt's appearance, which was to deſtroy the works of the devil, and take away the ſins of the world; a quite contrary purpoſe than what the ſatisfactioniſts, and imputarians of our times have imagined, viz. to ſatisfy for their ſins, and by his imputed righteouſneſs, to repreſent them holy in him, whilſt unholy in themſelves; therefore ſince it was to take away ſin, and deſtroy the devil's works, which were not in himſelf, for that Holy One ſaw no corruption, conſequently in mankind; what can therefore be concluded more evidently true, than that ſuch in whom ſin is taken away, and the devil's works undeſtroyed, are ſtrangers (notwithſtanding their conceits) to the very end and purpoſe of Chriſt's manifeſtation.

Concluſion, by way of caution.

THUS, reader, have I led thee through thoſe three ſo generally applauded doctrines, whoſe confutation I hope, though thou haſt run, thou haſt read; and now I call the righteous God of heaven to bear me record, that I have herein ſought nothing below the defence of his unity, mercy, and purity, againſt the rude and impetuous aſſaults of tradition, preſs and pulpit, from whence I daily hear, what rationally induceth me to believe, a conſpiracy is held by counter-plots, to obſtruct the exaltation of truth, and to betray evangelical doctrines, to idle traditions: but God will rebuke the winds, and deſtruction ſhall attend the enemies of his anointed.----Miſtake me not, we never have diſowned a Father, Word, and Spirit, which are One, but mens inventions: for, 1. Their trinity has not ſo much as a foundation in the ſcriptures. 2. Its original was three hundred years after chriſtianity was in the world. 3. It having coſt much blood; in the council of Sirmium, anno 355, it was decreed, 'that thenceforth the controverſy ſhould not be Socrat. Schol. An. 355.

Conc. Sirm. cap. xxv. pag. 275.

'remembered, becauſe the ſcriptures of God made no mention thereof.' Why then ſhould it be mentioned now, with a maranatha on all that will not bow to this abſtruſe opinion. 4. And it doubtleſs hath occaſioned idolatry, witneſs the popiſh images of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. 5. It ſcandalizeth turks, jews, and infidels, and palpably obſtructs their reception of the chriſtian doctrine.----Nor is there more to be ſaid on the behalf of the other two; for I can boldly challenge any perſon to give me one ſcripture phraſe which does approach the doctrine of ſatisfaction, (much leſs the name,) conſidering to what degree it is ſtretched; not that we do deny, but really confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt, in life, doctrine, and death, fulfilled his father's will, and offered up a moſt ſatisfactory ſacrifice, but not to pay God, or help him, (as otherwiſe being unable) to ſave men; and for a juſtification by an imputative righteouſneſs, whilſt not real, 'tis meerly an imagination, not a reality, and therefore rejected; otherwiſe confeſſed and known to be juſtifying before God, becauſe 'there is no abiding in Chriſt's love without keeping his commandments.' I therefore caution thee in love, of whatſoever tribe, or family of religion thou mayeſt be, not longer to deceive thyſelf, by the over-fond embraces of human apprehenſions, for divine myſteries; but rather be informed that God hath beſtowed 'a meaſure of his grace on thee and me, to ſhew us what is good, that we may obey and do it;' which if thou diligently wilt obſerve, thou ſhalt be led out of all unrighteouſneſs, and in thy obedience ſhalt thou 'receive power to become a ſon of God;' in which happy eſtate God only can be known by men, and they know themſelves to be juſtified before him, whom experimentally to know, by Jeſus Chriſt, is life eternal.

A poſtſcript of animadverſions, upon T. V's contradictions, delivered in his ſermon from 1 John v. 4. at the evening lecture in Spittle-yard: 'For whatſoever is born of God, overcometh the world.'

Doctrine. 'WHATSOEVER perſon is born of God overcometh the world.

'There is a twofold victory; the firſt complete, the ſecond incomplete.'

Animad. This is as well a contradiction to his text and doctrine, as to common ſenſe; for beſides that they neither of them ſay, 'he that is born of God, cannot perfectly overcome the world,' but much the contrary; I fain would underſtand his intention by an incomplete victory: if he means not ſuch a one as is obtained by the ſlaughter of every individual, but that which only does ſubdue the force, and lead captive their enemies, yet will the victory prove complete; for if they be ſo far overcome as to be diſarmed of farther power to miſchieve, the diſpute is properly determined: but whatſoever is incomplete is but overcoming, or in the way to victory, and victory is the completing of what was before imperfect.

Contradict. 'Such overcome as are born again, who are in Chriſt, that have caſt off the old man, and know a change altogether new.

'Worldly luſts cannot be extirpated out of God's people in this world.'

Animad. If ſin muſt have a place in them, how can they be born of God, and have a place in Chriſt, or caſt off the old man, and know a change altogether new?

Contradict. 'God's children are the greateſt conquerors; Alexander and Cæſar were conquerors, but theſe overcome their luſts.

'God's children cannot perfectly overcome the luſts of this world, they ſometimes take them captive.'

Animad. What ſtrange divinity is this! that God's people ſhould be conquerors, and yet captives; overcome the world, and yet be overcome thereby.

Contradict. 'Sin may tyrannize over believers.

'But not have dominion; it is in captivity; it is in chains.'

Animad. Who is ſo abſolutely injurious, and incontroulable, as a tyrant? and notwithſtanding that he ſhould have no dominion, but be in captivity, and in chains, at beſt are Bedlam-diſtinctions, and conſequently unworthy of any man's mouth that has a ſhare of common ſenſe.

Contradict. 'You muſt kill, or be killed; either you muſt overcome the world, or the world you.

'If ye fight ye ſhall overcome.

'Incompletely; he overcomes, when he breaks their force, leads them captive, and puts them into chains; but they are not at all ſlain, they ſometimes take him captive.'

Animad. To kill, or be killed, admits no middle way to eſcape; yet that both ſin and God's children ſhould lead one another captive; and that he which fights ſhall overcome, and yet be in danger of being led captive, becauſe completely a conqueror; to me ſeems very ſtrange doctrine.

However, he goes on to tell them, 'whoſoever is born of God, overcometh the luſts of the world, and he that overcometh the luſts of the world, overcomes the devils of hell; God's children have to do with a conquered enemy.' Yet he would all this while be underſtood in an incomplete ſenſe; and to excite all to fight for this incomplete victory, he recommended to their conſideration, the excellent rewards of conquerors, that is 'to him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life, the hidden 'manna. I will give him a white ſtone, a new name, power over nations, white 'raiment: yea, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God; he ſhall go no 'more out, and I will grant him to ſit with me in my throne.' Admirable privileges, I acknowledge! but are they promiſed to incomplete conquerors? I judge not.

Reader, by this thou mayeſt be able to give a probable conjecture of the reſt; and as I have begun with him and his co-diſputants, with them I will end; who, notwithſtanding all their boaſts and calumnies againſt us, have ſo evaded thoſe many opportunities we have offered them by letters, verbal meſſages, and perſonal viſits, that had they any zeal for their principles, love for their reputation, or conſcience in their promiſes, they would have been induced to a more direct and candid treaty.

But as it hath occaſioned the publication of this little treatiſe, ſo I am credibly informed, through the too buſy and malicious inquiſition of ſome concerning it, (which have amounted to no leſs than poſitive reports) it is currently diſcourſed, how that a certain Quaker hath lately eſpouſed the controverſy againſt R. F. and therein has perverted the chriſtian religion, to that degree, as plainly to deny Chriſt's coming in the fleſh; with much more than was fit to be ſaid, or is fit to be anſwered.

But, reader, I ſhall aſk no other judge to clear me from that moſt uncharitable accuſation; ſince firſt, I am altogether unacquainted with R. F. nor ever did deſign directly ſuch a thing, being unwilling to ſeek more adverſaries than what more nearly ſeek the overthrow of truth, although I doubt not but this plain and ſimple treatiſe may prove ſome confutation of his ſentiments.

And laſtly, as concerning Chriſt; although the ſlander is not new, yet neverthelefs falſe: For I declare on the behalf of that deſpiſed people, vulgarly called Quakers, the grace, of which we teſtify, hath never taught us to acknowledge another God than he that is the 'father of all things, who fills heaven and earth:' neither to confeſs another Lord Jeſus Chriſt, than he that appeared ſo many hundred years ago, 'made of a virgin, 'like unto us in all things, ſin excepted;' or any other doctrine than was by him declared and practiſed: therefore let every mouth be ſtopt for ever opening more, in blaſphemy againſt God's innocent heritage, who in principle, life and death, bear an unanimous teſtimony for the only true God, true Chriſt, and heavenly doctrine, which in their vindication is openly atteſted by

WILLIAM PENN, jun.

INNOCENCY with Her open Face.

Preſented by way of Apology for the Book entituled,

THE SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN,

TO

All ſerious and enquiring perſons, particularly the Inhabitants of the City of LONDON.

By WILLIAM PENN, jun.

He that uttereth a ſlander is a fool, Prov. x. 18.
A falſe ballance is an abomination to the Lord, Prov. xi. 1.

1668. RELIGION, although there can be nothing of greater concernment, nor which doth more eſſentially import the immortal happineſs of men; yet ſuch is the calamity of the age, that there is not any thing they are leſs ſolicitous about, or ſerious in the proſecution of, vainly imagining it to conſiſt in the implicit ſubſcription to, and verbal confeſſion of mens invented traditions and precepts, whilſt they neglect that more Jam. i. 17. orthodox definition of the apoſtle James, (viz.) ‘ pure religion and undefiled, before ‘ God is, to viſit the fatherleſs, and to keep himſelf unſpotted from the world;’ and inſtead thereof, believe they are performing the beſt of ſervices, in ſacrificing the reputation, liberty, eſtate, if not life itſelf, of others to their own tenacious conceptions; becauſe perhaps, though perſons of more virtue, they cannot in all punctillios correſpond therewith; how much I have been made an inſtance muſt needs be too notorious to any that hold the leaſt intelligence with common fame, that ſcarce ever took more pains to make the proverb good, by proving herſelf a lyar, than in my concern; who have been moſt egregiouſly ſlandered, reviled and defamed by pulpit, preſs and talk, terming me a blaſphemer, ſeducer, ſocinian, denying the divinity of Chriſt the ſaviour, and what not? and all this about my late anſwer to a diſputation with ſome preſbyterians; but how unjuſtly, it is the buſineſs of this ſhort apology to ſhew, which had not been thus long retarded, if an expectation firſt to have been brought upon my examination had not required a ſuſpence; and if I ſhall acquit myſelf from the injurious imputations of my adverſaries, I hope the cry will have an end; to which purpoſe, let but my innocency have your hearing in her own defence, who, as ſhe never can detract from her intentions in what ſhe really hath done; ſo will ſhe as eaſily diſprove her enemies, in manifeſting their accuſations to be fictitious: judge not before you read, neither believe any farther than you ſee.

I. That which I am credibly informed to be the greateſt reaſon for my impriſonment, and that noiſe of blaſphemy, which hath pierced ſo many ears of late, is, my denying the divinity of Chriſt, and diveſting him of his eternal God-head, which moſt buſily hath been ſuggeſted as well to thoſe in authority, as maliciouſly inſinuated amongſt the people; wherefore let me beſeech you to be impartial and conſiderate, in the peruſal of my vindication, which being in the fear of the almighty God, and the ſimplicity of ſcripture dialect preſented to you, I hope my innocency will appear beyond a ſcruple. The proverbs, which, as moſt agree, intend Chriſt the ſaviour, ſpeak in this Prov. 8. 15, 20, 23. manner; ‘ by me kings reign, and princes decree juſtice; I (wiſdom) lead in the midſt ‘ of the paths of judgment: I was ſet up from everlaſting;’ to which Paul's words al- 1 Cor. i. 24. lude, ‘ unto them which are called (we preach) Chriſt the power of God, and the wiſ‘ dom of God;’ from whence I conclude Chriſt the ſaviour to be God; for otherwiſe God would not be himſelf; ſince if Chriſt be diſtinct from God, and yet God's power and wiſdom; God would be without his own power and wiſdom; but in as much as it is impoſſible God's power and wiſdom ſhould be diſtinct or divided from himſelf, it reaſonably follows, that Chriſt, who is that power and wiſdom, is not diſtinct from God, but intirely that very ſame God.

Next, the prophets, David and Iſaiah ſpeak thus: ‘ The Lord is my light and my Pſal. xxvii. 1. ‘ ſalvation. I will give thee for a light unto the gentiles;’ and ſpeaking to the church, Iſa. xlix. 6. and c. lx. 20. ‘ for the Lord ſhall be thine everlaſting light;’ to which the evangeliſt adds, concerning

ing Chriſt, ‘ that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into ‘ the world. God is light, and in him is no darkneſs at all;’ from whence I aſſert the unity of God and Chriſt, becauſe though nominally diſtinguiſhed, yet eſſentially the ſame divine light; for if Chriſt be that light, and that light be God, then is Chriſt God; or if God be that light, and that light be Chriſt, then is God Chriſt. Again, ‘ and the city had no need of the ſun, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the ‘ lamb (Chriſt) is the light thereof,’ by which the Oneneſs of the nature of theſe lights plainly appears; for ſince God is not God without his own glory, and that his glory lightens, (which it could never do if it were not light) and that the lamb, or Chriſt, is that very ſame light, what can follow, but that Chriſt the light and God the light are One pure and eternal light?

John i. 9.
1 John i. 5.
Rev. xxi. 23.

Next, from the word Saviour, it is manifeſt, ‘ I even I am the Lord, and beſides ‘ me there is no Saviour: and thou ſhalt know no God but me, for there is no Sa- ‘ viour beſides me. And Mary ſaid, my ſpirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour: and ‘ the Samaritans ſaid unto the woman, now we know that this is indeed the Chriſt the ‘ Saviour of the world. According to his grace made manifeſt by the appearing of our ‘ Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Simon Peter to them that have obtained like precious faith ‘ with us, through the righteouſneſs of God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. For there- ‘ fore we ſuffer reproach, becauſe we truſt in the living God, who is the Saviour of all ‘ men: to the only wiſe God our Saviour be glory,’ &c.

Iſa. xliii. 11.
Hoſ. xiii. 4.
Luke i. 47.
John iv. 42.
2 Tim. i. 9, 10.
2 Pet. i. 1.
1 Tim. iv. 10.
Jude ver. xxv.

From which I conclude Chriſt to be God; for if none can ſave, or be ſtiled properly a Saviour but God, and yet that Chriſt is ſaid to ſave, and properly called a Saviour, it muſt needs follow, that Chriſt the Saviour is God.

Laſtly, ‘ in the beginning was the (ΛΟΓΟΣ) Word, (which the Greeks ſometimes un- ‘ derſtood for wiſdom and divine reaſon) and the Word was with God, and the Word ‘ was God: all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made ‘ that was made. For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are ‘ in earth. He is before all things, and by him all things conſiſt. Upholding all things ‘ by the Word of his power,’ &c. Wherefore I am ſtill confirmed in the belief of Chriſt the Saviour's divinity; for he that made all things, and by whom they conſiſt and are upheld, becauſe before all things; he was not made nor upheld by another, and conſequently is God: now that this ΛΟΓΟΣ, or Word that was made fleſh, or Chriſt the light, power and wiſdom of God, and Saviour of men, hath made all things, and is he by whom they only conſiſt and are upheld, becauſe he was before them, is moſt evident from the recited paſſages of ſcripture; therefore he was not made, nor is he upheld by any other power than his own, and conſequently is truly God. in ſhort, this concluſive argument for the proof of Chriſt the Saviour's being God, ſhould certainly perſwade all ſober perſons of my innocency, and my adverſaries malice; He that is the ‘ everlaſting wiſdom, the divine power, the true light, the only Saviour, the creating ‘ word of all things, (whether viſible or inviſible) and their upholder by his own power, ‘ is without contradiction God;’ but all theſe qualifications and divine properties are by the concurrent teſtimonies of ſcripture aſcribed to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; therefore, without a ſcruple, I call and believe him really to be the mighty God. And for more ample ſatisfaction, let but my * reply to J. Clapham be peruſed, in which Chriſt's divinity and eternity are very fully aſſerted.

John i. 1. 3.
Col. i. 16, 17.
Heb. i. 3, 10.
John i. 14.
* See Guide Miſtaken.

Judge then, impartial readers, (to whom I appeal in this concern) whether my chriſtian reputation hath not been unworthily traduced; and that thoſe ſeveral perſons who have been poſting out their books againſt me (whilſt a cloſe priſoner) have not been beating the air, and fighting with their own ſhadows, in ſuppoſing what I never thought, much leſs writ of, to be the intention of my book; and then as furiouſly have faſtened on me their own conceits, expecting I ſhould feel the ſmart of every blow, who thus far am no ways intereſted in their heat.

As for my being a Socinian, I muſt confeſs I have read of one Socinus, of (what they call) a noble family in Sene in Italy, who about the year 1574, being a young man, voluntarily did abandon the glories, pleaſures and honours of the great duke of Tuſcany's court at Florence, (that noted place for all worldly delicacies) and became a perpetual exile for his conſcience, whoſe parts, wiſdom, gravity and juſt behaviour made him the moſt famous with the Polonian and Tanſilvanian churches; but I was never baptiſed into his name, and therefore deny that reproachful epithet; and if in any thing I acknowledge the verity of his doctrine, it is for the truth's ſake, of which, in many things, he had a clearer proſpect than moſt of his contemporaries; but not therefore a Socinian, any more than a ſon of the Engliſh-church, whilſt eſteemed a Quaker, becauſe I juſtify many of her principles, ſince the reformation, againſt the Roman church.

II. As for the buſineſs of ſatisfaction, I am prevented by a perſon whoſe reputation is generally great amongſt the proteſtants of theſe nations; for ſince the doctrine againſt which I moſtly levelled my arguments, was, ‘ the impoſſibility of God's forgiving ſin ‘ upon repentance, without Chriſt's paying his juſtice, by ſuffering infinite vengeance ‘ and eternal death for ſins paſt, preſent and to come,’ he plainly in his late * diſcourſe

* Stillingfleet contra Crell.

1668. about Chriſt's ſufferings, againſt Crellius, acknowledges me no leſs, by granting, upon a new ſtate of the controverſy, 'both the poſſibility of God's pardoning ſins, as debts, with- pag. 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274. 'out ſuch a rigid ſatisfaction, and the impoſſibility of Chriſt's ſo ſuffering for the world;' reflecting cloſely upon thoſe perſons, as 'giving ſo juſt an occaſion to the church's adverſaries to think they triumph over her faith, whilſt it is only over their miſtakes who 'argue with more zeal than judgment:' nay, one of the main ends which firſt induced me to that diſcourſe, I find thus delivered by him, namely, If they did believe Chriſt p. 160. came into the world to reform it, 'that the wrath of God is now revealed from heaven againſt all unrighteouſneſs; that his love, which is ſhown to the world, is to deliver them from the hand of their enemies, that they might ſerve him in righteouſneſs 'and holineſs all the days of their lives; they could never imagine that ſalvation is entailed by the goſpel upon a mighty confidence, or vehement perſwaſion of what Chriſt 'hath done and ſuffered for them:' thus doth he confeſs, upon my hypotheſis or propoſition, what I mainly contend for: and however poſitively I may reject or deny my adverſaries unſcriptural and imaginary ſatisfaction, let all know this, that I pretend to know no other name by which remiſſion, atonement and ſalvation can be obtained, but Jeſus Chriſt the Saviour, who is the power and wiſdom of God, what apprehenſions ſoever people may have entertained concerning me.

III. As for juſtification by an imputed righteouſneſs, I ſtill ſay, that whoſoever belives in Chriſt ſhall have remiſſion and juſtification: but then it muſt be ſuch a faith as Jam. ii. 26. can no more live without works, than a body without a ſpirit; wherefore I conclude, that true faith comprehends evangelical obedience; and here the ſame * Dr. Stillingfleet comes in to my relief (tho' it is not wanting) by a plain aſſertion of the neceſſity of obe- * Id. p. 164, 165, 166. dience, (viz.) 'ſuch who make no other condition of the goſpel but believing, ought to 'have a great care to keep their hearts ſounder than their heads;' thereby intimating the grand imperfection and danger of ſuch a notion; and therefore (God almighty bears me record) my deſign was nothing leſs, or more, than to wreſt thoſe beloved and ſinpleaſing principles out of the hands, heads and hearts of people, that by the fond perſwaſion of being juſtified from the perſonal righteouſneſs of another, without relation to their own obedience, they might not ſin on upon truſt, till the arreſt of eternal vengeance ſhould irrecoverably overtake them; that all might be induced to an earneſt purſuit after holineſs, by a circumſpect obſervance to God's Holy Spirit, without which none ſhall ever ſee the Lord. And (to ſhut up my apology for religious matters) that all may ſee the ſimplicity, ſcripture-doctrine, and phraſe of my faith, in the moſt important matters of eternal life, I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort confeſſion.

I ſincerely own, and unfeignedly believe (by virtue of the ſound knowledge and expe- 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6. rience received from the gift of that holy unction, and divine grace inſpired from on Heb. i. 1. high) in one holy, juſt, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who is the father of all 1 Cor. viii. 6. things; that appeared to the holy patriarchs and prophets of old, at ſundry times, and in divers manners; And in One Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the everlaſting wiſdom, divine power, true light, only Saviour and preſerver of all, the ſame one, holy, juſt, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who in the fulneſs of time took, and was manifeſted in the John. i. 14. 1 Tim. iii. 16. fleſh, at which time he preached (and his diſciples after him) the everlaſting goſpel of Mat. iv. 17. repentance, and promiſe of remiſſion of ſins and eternal life, to all that heard and obey- Luke xxiv. 47. ed; who ſaid, he that is with you (in the fleſh) ſhall be in you, (by the ſpirit) and John xiv. 17, 18. though he left them (as to the fleſh) yet not comfortleſs, for he would come to them again, (in the ſpirit:) 'for a little while, and they ſhould not ſee him (as to the fleſh;) ch. xvi. 16. 'again, a little while and they ſhould ſee him (in the ſpirit;') for the Lord (Jeſus Chriſt) 2 Cor. iii. 17. 1 Cor. i. 7. is that ſpirit a manifeſtation whereof is given to every one to profit withal; In which Rom. viii. 14, 17. Holy Spirit I believe, as the ſame almighty and eternal God, who, as in thoſe times he ended all ſhadows, and became the infallible guide to them that walked therein, by which they were adopted heirs and co-heirs of glory; ſo am I a living witneſs, that the ſame holy, juſt, merciful, almighty and eternal God, is now, as then, (after this tedious night of idolatry, ſuperſtition and human inventions, that hath overſpread the Rev. xxi. 3. world) glorioufly manifeſted to diſcover and ſave from all iniquity, and to conduct unto Prov. xxviii. 13. the holy land of pure and endleſs peace; in a word, to tabernacle in men: And I alſo Luke xiv. 33. firmly believe, that without repenting and forſaking of paſt ſins, and walking in obedi- Rev. xxi. 27. ch. xxii. 14. ence to this heavenly voice, which would guide into all truth, and eſtabliſh there, remiſſion and eternal life can never be obtained; but unto them that fear his name, and keep his commandments, they, and they only ſhall have right unto the tree of life; for whoſe Mat. x. 37, 38, 39. name's ſake I have been made willing to relinquiſh and forſake all the vain faſhions, enticing pleaſures, alluring honours and glittering glories of this tranſitory world, and readily to accept the portion of a fool, from this deriding generation, and become a man of ſorrow, and a perpetual reproach to my familiars; yea, and with the greateſt chearfulneſs can obſignate and confirm, (with no leſs ſeal, than the loſs of whatſoever 1 Pet. iv. 14. this doting world accounts dear) this faithful confeſſion, having my eye fixt upon a more enduring ſubſtance, and laſting inheritance; and being moſt infallibly aſſured, that when time ſhall be no more, I ſhall (if faithful hereunto) poſſeſs the manſions of eternal life, and be received into his everlaſting habitation of reſt and glory.

IV. Laſtly, it may not be unreaſonable to obſerve, that however induſtrious ſome (and thoſe diſſenters too) have been to repreſent me as a perſon diſturbing the civil peace, I have not violated any truly fundamental law which relates to external property and good behaviour, and not to religious apprehenſions, it being the conſtant principle of myſelf and friends, to maintain good works, and keep our conſciences void of offence, paying active or paſſive obedience, ſuitable to the meek example of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; nor would I have any ignorant, how forward I was by meſſages, letters and viſits, to have determined this debate in a ſober and ſelect aſſembly, notwithſtanding the rude entertainment we had met with before; but contrary to their own appointments our adverſaries failed us, which neceſſitated me to that defence; and finding the truth ſo preſt with ſlander, I cannot but ſay I ſaw my juſt call to her relief: but, alas! how have thoſe two or three extemporary ſheets been toſt, tumbled, and torn on all hands, yea, aggravated to a monſtrous deſign, even the ſubverſion of the chriſtian religion, than which there could be nothing more repugnant to my principle and purpoſe; wherefore how very intemperate as well as unjuſt have all my adverſaries been in their revilings, ſlanders and defamations? uſing the moſt opprobrious terms of * 'ſeducer, heretick, 'blaſphemer, deceiver, Socinian, Pelagian, Simon Magus, impiouſly robbing Chriſt of 'his divinity, for whom the vengeance of the great day is reſerved,' &c. Nor have theſe things been whiſpered, but, in one book and pulpit after another, have more or leſs been thundred out againſt me, as if ſome bull had lately been arrived from Rome; and all this acted under the foul pretence of zeal and love to Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe meek and gentle example always taught it for a principal mark of true chriſtianity, to ſuffer the moſt outrageous injuries, but never to return any; nay, if my adverſaries would but be juſt and conſtant to themſelves, how can they offer to conſpire my deſtruction upon a religious ground, who either are themſelves under a preſent limitation, or have been formerly by the papiſts: tell me, I pray, did Luther, that grand reformer, whom you ſo much reverence, juſtly demand from the emperor at the diet of Worms (where he was ſummoned to appear) that none ſhould ſit judge upon his doctrines but the ſcripture, and in caſe they ſhould be caſt, that no other ſentence ſhould be paſt upon him, than what Gamaliel offered to the Jewiſh council, If it were not of God it would not ſtand; and if you will not cenſure him who firſt of all arraigned the chriſtian world (ſo called) at the bar of his private judgment, (that had ſo many hundred years ſoundly ſlept, without ſo much as giving one conſiderable ſhrug or turn, during that tedious winter-night of dark apoſtacy, but juſtify his proceedings) can you ſo furiouſly aſſault others? But above all, you, who refuſe conformity to others, and that have been writing theſe eight years for liberty of conſcience, and take it at this very ſeaſon by an indulgent connivance; what pregnant teſtimonies do you give of your unwillingneſs to grant that to others you ſo earneſtly beg for yourſelves? Doth it not diſcover your injuſtice, and plainly expreſs what only want of power hinders you to act? But of all proteſtants in general I demand, do you believe that perſecution to be chriſtian in yourſelves, that you condemned for antichriſtian in the papiſt? You judged it a weakneſs in their religion, and is it a cogent argument in yours? Nay, is it not the readieſt way to enhance and propagate the reputation of what you would depreſs? If you were diſpleaſed at their aſſuming an infallibility, will you believe it impoſſible in yourſelves to err? Have Whitaker, Reynolds, Laud, Owen, Baxter, Stillingfleet, Poole, &c. diſarmed the Romaniſts of theſe inhuman weapons, that you might employ them againſt your inoffenſive countrymen? Let the example and holy precepts of Chriſt diſſuade you, who came not to deſtroy, but ſave; and ſoberly reflect upon his equal law of doing as you would be done unto. Remember I have not dethroned a divinity, ſubverted faith, made void obedience, nor fruſtrated the hope of an eternal recompence; much leſs have I injured your perſons, or in any thing deviated from that θεὸς ἔνθετος and συντήρησις, or holy principle, ſo much inſiſted on by philoſophers and lawyers as the original of good laws, and life: no, your own conſciences ſhall advocate on my behalf. Let it ſuffice then, that we who are nick-named Quakers have under every revolution of power and religion been the moſt reviled, contemned and perſecuted, as if God indeed 'had ſet us forth in theſe laſt days as a 'ſpectacle to the world, to angels and to men;' and treated as if, by being what we are, our common right and intereſt in human ſocieties were forfeited; neither accept that for a true meaſure of our life and doctrines, which hath been taken by the ill-will or ignorance of others; but rather make an impartial examination, that what you judge may be from what you know, and not from what you hear at ſecond-hand; and then we ſhall as little queſtion your juſt opinion of our innocency, as we have too much been made ſenſible of the ſad effects that follow an ignorant and unadviſed zeal; for ſo monſtrouſly fond are ſome of their perſwaſions, and doting on the patrons of them, that they ſeldom have diſcretion, much leſs religious deſires, to conſider how true or falſe another religion is, or what may be the conſequence of its toleration; but with a fury, not inferior to their ignorance, cry, crucify, crucify; and phariſee-like, out of pretence of honour and ſervice done to God almighty, and the memory of his holy prophets, ſtick not to perſecute his beloved Son, and righteous ſervants; ſo cruel, blind, and obſtinate is perſecution: be

* See T. Vincent's late railing piece againſt the Quakers, alſo T. Danſon's and Dr. Owen's.

Mat. v. 39, 40.

Coun. Trent. p. 14.

1 Cor. iv. 9.

1668. be therefore adviſed in the words of that meek example Jeſus Chriſt; call not for fire any more; let the tares grow with the wheat; neither employ that ſword any more, which was commanded to be ſheathed ſo many hundred years ago (ſuppoſe we were enemies to the true religion; but have a care you are not upon one of Saul's errands to Damaſcus, and helping the mighty againſt God and his anointed;) and rather chuſe by fair and moderate debates (not penalties ratified by imperial decrees) to determine religious differences; ſo will you at leaſt obtain tranquillity, which may be called a civil-unity. But if you are reſolved ſeverity ſhall take its courſe, in this; our caſe can never change, nor happineſs abate; for no human edict can poſſibly deprive us of his glorious preſence, who is able to make the diſmalleſt priſons ſo many receptacles of pleaſure, and whoſe heavenly fellowſhip doth unſpeakably repleniſh our ſolitary ſouls with divine conſolation; by whoſe holy, meek, and harmleſs ſpirit I have been taught moſt freely to forgive, and not leſs earneſtly to ſolicit the temporal and eternal good of all my adverſaries. Farewel.

WILLIAM PENN, jun.

A queſtionary POSTSCRIPT.

WHERE doth the ſcripture ſay, that Chriſt ſuffered an eternal death, and infinite vengeance? For did not Chriſt riſe the third day? And is not infinite vengeance and eternal death without end? And doth not God ſay he was well-pleaſed with his Son before his death? And was not his offering acceptable? And did not the apoſtle ſay, that the ſaints were accepted in Chriſt that was God's beloved? And this was after Chriſt died and roſe; and God was ſaid to be well-pleaſed with his Son, both before he ſuffered, in his ſuffering, and after he ſuffered, though diſpleaſed with thoſe that cauſed him to ſuffer.

No Cross, No Crown.

A

DISCOURSE

SHOWING THE

NATURE AND DISCIPLINE

OF THE

HOLY CROSS of CHRIST:

AND THAT

The denial of ſelf, and daily bearing of Chriſt's croſs, is the alone way
to the reſt and kingdom of God.

To which are added,

The living and dying teſtimonies of many perſons of fame and learning, both of
ancient and modern times, in favour of this treatiſe.

In Two PARTS.

By WILLIAM PENN, jun.

And Jeſus ſaid unto his diſciples; if any man will come after me, let him deny himſelf,
and take up his croſs daily, and follow me, Luke ix. 23.

I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith: henceforth
there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, &c. 1 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

The PREFACE.

Reader,

THE great buſineſs of man's life is, to anſwer the end for which he lives; and that is, to glorify God, and ſave his own ſoul: this is the decree of heaven, as old as the world. But ſo it is, that man mindeth nothing leſs than what he ſhould moſt mind; and deſpiſeth to inquire into his own being, its original duty and end; chuſing rather to dedicate his days (the ſteps he ſhould make to bleſſedneſs) to gratify the pride, avarice, and luxury of his heart; as if he had been born for himſelf, or rather given himſelf being, and ſo not ſubject to the reckoning and judgment of a ſuperior power. To this wild and lamentable paſs, hath poor man brought himſelf, by his diſobedience to the law of God in his heart, by doing that which he knows he ſhould not do, and leaving undone what he knows he ſhould do. And as long as this diſeaſe continueth upon man, he will make his God his enemy, and himſelf uncapable of the love and ſalvation that he hath manifeſted by his Son, Jeſus Chriſt, to the world.

If, reader, thou art ſuch an one, my counſel to thee is, to retire into thyſelf, and take a view of the condition of thy ſoul; for Chriſt hath given thee light with which to do it: ſearch carefully and thoroughly; thy life is upon it; thy ſoul is at ſtake. 'Tis but once to be done; if thou abuſeth thyſelf in it, the loſs is irreparable; the world is not price enough to ranſom thee: wilt thou then, for ſuch a world, be-late thyſelf, over-ſtay the time of thy ſalvation, and loſe thy ſoul? Thou haſt to do (I grant thee) with great patience; but that alſo muſt have an end: therefore provoke not that God that made thee, to reject thee. Doſt thou know what it is? 'Tis Tophet, 'tis hell, the eternal anguiſh of the damned. Oh! reader, as one knowing the terrors of the Lord, I perſwade thee to be ſerious, diligent and fervent about thy ſalvation! aye, and as one knowing the comfort, peace, joy and pleaſure of the ways of righteouſneſs too, I exhort and invite thee, to embrace the reproofs and convictions of Chriſt's light and ſpirit in thine own conſcience, and bear the judgment, who haſt wrought the ſin. The fire burns but the ſtubble; the wind blows but the chaff: yield up thy body, ſoul and ſpirit, to him that maketh all things new; new heavens and new earth, new love, new joy, new peace, new works, a new life and converſation. Men are grown corrupt and droſſy by ſin, and they muſt be ſaved through fire, which purgeth it away; therefore the word of God is compared to a fire, and the day of ſalvation to an oven; and Chriſt himſelf to a refiner of gold, and purifier of ſilver.

Come, reader, hearken to me a while; I ſeek thy ſalvation; that is my plot; thou wilt forgive me. A refiner is come near thee, his grace hath appeared to thee: it ſhews thee the world's luſts, and teacheth thee to deny them. Receive his leaven, and it will change thee: his medicine, and it will cure thee: he is as infallible as free; without money, and with certainty. A touch of his garment did it of old; it will do it ſtill: his virtue is the ſame, it cannot be exhauſted; for in him the fulneſs dwells: bleſſed be God for his ſufficiency. He laid help upon him, that he might be mighty to ſave all that come to God through him: do thou ſo, and he will change thee: aye, thy vile body like unto his glorious body. He is the great philoſopher indeed, the wiſdom of God, that turns lead into gold, vile things into things precious: for he maketh ſaints out of ſinners, and almoſt gods of men. What reſts to us then, that we muſt do, to be thus witneſſes of his power and love? This is the Crown: but where is the Croſs? Where is the bitter cup and bloody baptiſm? Come, reader, be like him; for this tranſcendent joy, lift up thy head above the world; then thy ſalvation will draw nigh indeed.

Chriſt's Croſs, is Chriſt's way to Chriſt's Crown. This is the ſubject of the following diſcourſe; firſt writ during my confinement in the Tower of London, in the year 1668, now reprinted with great enlargements of matter and teſtimonies, that thou, reader, mayeſt be won to Chriſt; and if won already, brought nearer to him. It is a path, God in his everlaſting kindneſs guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age: then he took me by the hand, and led me out of the pleaſures, vanities, and hopes of the world. I have taſted of Chriſt's judgments, and of his mercies, and of the world's frowns and reproaches: I rejoice in my experience, and dedicate it to thy ſervice in Chriſt. It is a debt I have long owed, and has been long expected: I have now paid it, and delivered my ſoul. To my country, and to the world of chriſtians I leave it: may God, if he pleaſe, make it effectual to them all, and turn their hearts from that envy, hatred and bitterneſs, they have one againſt another, about worldly things; (ſacrificing humanity and charity to ambition and covetouſneſs, for which they fill the earth with trouble and oppreſſion) that receiving the ſpirit of Chriſt into their hearts, (the fruits of which are love, peace, joy, temperance and patience, brotherly kindneſs and charity) they may in body, ſoul and ſpirit, make a triple league

1668.

againſt the world, the fleſh and the devil, the only common enemies of mankind; and having conquered them through a life of ſelf-denial, by the power of the Croſs of Jeſus, they may at laſt attain to the eternal reſt and kingdom of God.

So deſireth, ſo prayeth,
friendly reader,
thy fervent chriſtian friend,
WILLIAM PENN.

No CROSS, no CROWN.

Life, p. 6.

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CHAP. I.

§. I. THO' the knowledge and obedience of the doctrine of the croſs of Chriſt, be of infinite moment to the ſouls of men; for that is the only door to true chriſtianity, and that path the ancients ever trod to bleſſedneſs: yet, with extreme affliction, let me ſay, it is ſo little underſtood, ſo much neglected, and what is worſe, ſo bitterly contradicted, by the vanity, ſuperſtition, and intemperance of profeſſed chriſtians, that we muſt either renounce to believe what the Lord Jeſus hath told us, Luke xiv. 27. 'That whoſoever doth not bear his croſs, and come after him, cannot be his diſciple:' or, admitting that for truth, conclude, that the generality of Chriſtendom do miſerably deceive and diſappoint themſelves in the great buſineſs of chriſtianity, and their own ſalvation.

§. II. For, let us be never ſo tender and charitable in the ſurvey of thoſe nations, that intitle themſelves to any intereſt in the holy name of Chriſt, if we will but be juſt too, we muſt needs acknowledge, that after all the gracious advantages of light, and obligations to fidelity, which theſe latter ages of the world have received, by the coming, life, doctrine, miracles, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Chriſt, with the gifts of his Holy Spirit; to which add, the writings, labours, and martyrdom of his dear followers in all times, there ſeems very little left of chriſtianity but the name: which being now uſurped by the old heathen nature and life, makes the profeſſors of it but true heathens in diſguiſe. For tho' they worſhip not the ſame idols, they worſhip Chriſt with the ſame heart: And they can never do otherwiſe, whilſt they live in the ſame luſts. So that the unmortified chriſtian and the heathen are of the ſame religion. For tho' they have different objects, to which they do direct their prayers, that adoration in both is but forced and ceremonious, and the deity they truly worſhip, is the god of the world, the great lord of luſts: to him they bow with the whole powers of ſoul and ſenſe. What ſhall we eat? What ſhall we drink? What ſhall we wear? And how ſhall we paſs away our time? Which way may we gather wealth, increaſe our power, enlarge our territories, and dignify and perpetuate our names and families in the earth? Which baſe ſenſuality is moſt pathetically expreſſed and comprized by the beloved apoſtle John, in theſe words:

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1 John ii. 16.

'the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, which (ſays he) are not of the Father, but of the world, that lieth in wickedneſs.'

§. III. It is a mournful reflection, but a truth no confidence can be great enough to deny, that theſe worldly luſts fill up the ſtudy, care and converſation of wretched Chriſtendom! and, which aggravates the miſery, they have grown with time. For as the world is older, it is worſe; and the examples of former lewd ages, and their miſerable concluſions, have not deterred, but excited ours; ſo that the people of this, ſeem improvers of the old ſtock of impiety, and have carried it ſo much farther than example, that inſtead of advancing in virtue, upon better times, they are ſcandalouſly fallen below the life of heathens. Their high-mindedneſs, laſciviouſneſs, uncleanneſs, drunkenneſs, ſwearing, lying, envy, backbiting, cruelty, treachery, covetouſneſs, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, are ſo common, and committed with ſuch invention and exceſs, that they have ſtumbled and embittered infidels to a degree of ſcorning that holy religion, to which their good example ſhould have won their affections.

Heb. vi. 6.
Rev. xi. 8.
Mat. xxvii.

§. IV. This miſerable defection from primitive times, when the glory of chriſtianity was the purity of its profeſſors, I cannot but call the ſecond and worſt part of the Jewiſh tragedy, upon the bleſſed Saviour of mankind. For the Jews, from the power of ignorance, and the extreme prejudice they were under to the unworldly way of his appearance, would not acknowledge him when he came, but for two, or three years perſecuted, and finally crucified him in one day. But the falſe chriſtians cruelty laſts longer: they have firſt, with Judas profeſſed him, and then, for theſe many ages, moſt baſely betrayed, perſecuted, and crucified him, by a perpetual apoſtacy in manners, from the ſelf-denial and holineſs of his doctrine; their lives giving the lye to their faith. Theſe are they that the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews tells us, 'crucify to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to open ſhame:' whoſe defiled hearts, John, in his Revelation, ſtiles, the ſtreets of Sodom and Egypt, ſpiritually ſo called, where he beheld the Lord Jeſus crucified, long after he had been aſcended. And as Chriſt ſaid of old, a man's enemies are thoſe of his own houſe; ſo Chriſt's enemies now, are chiefly thoſe of his own profeſſion: 'they ſpit upon him, they nail and pierce him, they crown him with thorns, and give him gall and vineagar to drink.' Nor is it hard to apprehend; for they that live in the ſame evil nature and principle the Jews did, that crucified him outwardly, muſt needs crucify him inwardly; ſince they that reject the grace now in their own hearts, are one in ſtock and generation with the heard-harted Jews, that reſiſted the grace that then appeared in and by Chriſt.

John viii. 34, to 45.
Rom. vi. 16.
1 John iii. 7. 8.
Mat. xxvi. 49.
Mat. xxv. 24.
Iſa. xliii. 24.

§. V. Sin is of one nature all the world over; for though a lyar is not a drunkard, nor a ſwearer a whoremonger, nor either properly a murderer; yet they are all of a church; all branches of the wicked root; all of kin. They have but one father the devil, as Chriſt ſaid to the profeſſing Jews, the viſible church of that age: he ſlighted their pretenſions to Abraham and Moſes, and plainly told them, that he that committeth ſin was the ſervant of ſin. They did the devil's works, and therefore were the devil's children. The argument will always hold upon the ſame reaſons, and therefore good ſtill: 'his ſervants you are, ſaith Paul, whom you obey:' and ſaith John to the church of old, 'let no man deceive you; he that committeth ſin is of the devil.' Was Judas ever the better chriſtian, for crying hail, maſter, and kiſſing Chriſt? By no means; they were the ſignal of his treachery; the token given, by which the bloody Jews ſhould know and take him. He called him maſter, but betrayed him; he kiſſed, but ſold him to be killed: this is the upſhot of the falſe chriſtians religion. If a man aſk them, Is Chriſt your Lord? They will cry, God forbid elſe: yes, he is our Lord. Very well; But do you keep his commandments? No. How ſhould we? How then are you his diſciples? It is impoſſible, ſay they; what! would you have us keep his commandments? No man can: What! impoſſible to do that, without which Chriſt hath made it impoſſible to be a chriſtian? Is Chriſt unreaſonable? Does he reap where he has not ſown; require where he has not enabled? Thus it is, that with Judas they call him maſter, but take part with the evil of the world to betray him; and kiſs and embrace him as far as ſpecious profeſſion goes; and then ſell him, to gratify the paſſion that they moſt indulge. Thus, as God ſaid of old, they make him ſerve with their ſins, and for their ſins too.

Mat. vii. 16.
Rev. xvii. 5.

§. VI. 'Let no man deceive his own ſoul; grapes are not gathered of thorns, nor figs of thiſtles:' a wolf is not a ſheep, nor is a vulture a dove. What form, people, or church ſoever thou art of, it is the truth of God to mankind, that they who have even the form of godlineſs, but (by their unmortified lives) deny the power thereof, make not the true, but falſe church: which though ſhe intitle herſelf the lamb's bride, or church of Chriſt, ſhe is that myſtery, or myſterious Babylon, fitly called by the Holy Ghoſt, the mother of harlots, and all abominations; becauſe degenerated from chriſtian chaſtity and purity, into all the enormities of heathen Babylon: a ſumptuous city of old time, much noted for the ſeat of the kings of Babylon, and at that time the place in the world of greateſt pride and luxury. As ſhe was then, ſo myſtical Babylon is now, the great enemy of God's people.

Gal. iv. 29.

§. VII. True it is, 'they that are born of the fleſh, hate and perſecute them that 'are born of the ſpirit,' who are the circumciſion in heart. It ſeems they cannot own, nor worſhip God after her inventions, methods and preſcriptions, nor receive for doctrine her vain traditions, any more than they can comply with her corrupt faſhions and cuſtoms in their converſation. The caſe being thus, from an apoſtate ſhe becomes a perſecutor. 'Tis not enough that ſhe herſelf declines from ancient purity, others muſt do ſo too. She will give them no reſt, that will not partake with her in that degeneracy, or receive her mark. Are any wiſer than ſhe, than mother church? No, no: nor can any make war with the beaſt ſhe rides upon, thoſe worldly powers that protect her, and vow her maintenance againſt the cries of her diſſenters. Apoſtacy and ſuperſtition are ever proud and impatient of diſſent: all muſt conform, or periſh. Therefore the ſlain Rev. vi. 9. witneſſes, and blood of the ſouls under the altar, are found within the walls of this myſtical Babylon, this great city of falſe chriſtians, and are charged upon her by the Holy Ghoſt, in the revelation. Nor is it ſtrange that ſhe ſhould ſlay the ſervants, who firſt crucified the Lord: but ſtrange and barbarous too, that ſhe ſhould kill her huſband, and murder her Saviour, titles ſhe ſeems ſo fond of, and that have been ſo profitable to her; and that ſhe would recommend herſelf by, though without all juſtice. But her children are reduced ſo entirely under the dominion of darkneſs, by means of their continued diſobedience to the manifeſtation of the divine light in their ſouls, that they forget what man once was, or they ſhould now be; and know not true and pure chriſtianity when they meet it, yet pride themſelves to profeſs it. Their meaſures are ſo carnal and falſe about ſalvation, they call good evil, and evil good: they make a devil a chriſtian, and a ſaint a devil. So that though the unrighteous latitude of their lives be matter of lamentation, as to themſelves it is of deſtruction; yet that common apprehenſion, that they may be children of God while in a ſtate of diſobedience to his holy commandments; and diſciples of Jeſus, though they revolt from his croſs; and members of his true church, which is without ſpot or wrinkle, notwithſtanding their lives are full of ſpots and wrinkles; is, of all other deceptions upon themſelves, the moſt pernicious to their eternal condition. For they are at peace in ſin, and under a ſecurity in their tranſgreſſion. Their vain hope ſilences their convictions, and over-lays all tender motions to repentance: ſo that their miſtake about their duty to God, is as miſchievous as their rebellion againſt him.

Thus they walk on precipices, and flatter themſelves, till the grave ſwallows them up, and the judgment of the great God breaks the lethargy, and undeceives their poor wretched ſouls with the anguiſh of the wicked, as the reward of their work.

§. VIII. This has been, is, and will be the doom of all worldly chriſtians: an end ſo dreadful, that if there were nothing of duty to God, or obligation to men, being a man, and one acquainted with the terrors of the Lord in the way and work of my own ſalvation, compaſſion alone were ſufficient to excite me to this diſſuaſive againſt the world's ſuperſtitions and luſts, and to invite the profeſſors of chriſtianity to the knowledge and obedience of the daily croſs of Chriſt, as the alone way, left by him, and appointed us to bleſſedneſs: that they who now do but uſurp the name, may have the thing; and by the power of the croſs, (to which they are now dead, inſtead of being dead to the world by it) may be made partakers of the reſurrection that is in Chriſt Jeſus, unto newneſs of life. For they that are truly in Chriſt, that is, redeemed by, and intereſted in him, are new creatures. Gal. vi. 15. They have received a new will, ſuch as does the will of God, not their own. They pray in truth, and do not mock God, when they ſay, 'thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.' Col. iii. 1, 2, 3. They have new affections, ſuch as are ſet on things above, and make Chriſt their eternal treaſure. New faith, ſuch as overcomes ſnares and temptations of the world's ſpirit in themſelves, or as it appears through others: 1 John v. 45. and laſtly, new works, not of ſuperſtitious contrivance, or of human invention, but the pure fruits of the ſpirit of Chriſt, working in them, as love, joy, peace, meekneſs, Gal. v. 22, 23. long-ſuffering, temperance, brotherly-kindneſs, faith, patience, gentleneſs and goodneſs, againſt which there is no law; and they that have not this ſpirit of Chriſt, and walk not in it, the apoſtle Paul has told us, are none of his; but the wrath of God, Rom. viii. and condemnation of the law, will lie upon them. For if 'there is no condemnation to 'them that are in Chriſt, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit,' which is Paul's doctrine; they that walk not according to that Holy Spirit, by his doctrine, are not in Chriſt: that is, have no intereſt in him, nor juſt claim to ſalvation by him: and conſequently there is condemnation to ſuch.

§. IX. And the truth is, the religion of the wicked is a lye: 'there is no peace, ſaith Iſa. xlviii. 22. the prophet, to the wicked.' Indeed there can be none, they are reproved in their own conſciences, and condemned in their own hearts, in all their diſobedience. Go where they will, rebukes go with them, and oftentimes terrors too: for it is an offended God that pricks them, and who, by his light, ſets their ſins in order before them. Sometimes they ſtrive to appeaſe him, by their corporal framed devotion and worſhip, but in vain; for true worſhipping of God, is doing his will, which they tranſgreſs. Mat. xxi. 30. The reſt is a falſe compliment, like him that ſaid, he would go, and did not. Sometimes they fly to ſports and company, to drown the reprover's voice, and blunt his arrows, to chaſe

away troubled thoughts, and ſecure themſelves out of the reach of the diſquieter of their pleaſures: but the Almighty firſt or laſt is ſure to overtake them. There is no flying his final juſtice, for thoſe that reject the terms of his mercy. Impenitent rebels to his law may then call to the mountains, and run to the caves of the earth for protection, but in vain: his all-ſearching eye will penetrate their thickeſt coverings, and ſtrike up a light in that obſcurity, which ſhall terrify their guilty ſouls; and which they ſhall never be able to extinguiſh. Indeed their accuſer is with them, they can no more be rid of him, than of themſelves; he is in the midſt of them, and will ſtick cloſe to them. That ſpirit which bears witneſs with the ſpirits of the juſt, will bear witneſs againſt
1 John iii. 20. theirs. Nay, their own hearts will abundantly come in againſt them; and, 'If our 'heart condemn us, ſays the apoſtle John, God is greater, and knows all things:' that is, there is no eſcaping the judgments of God, whoſe power is infinite, if a man is not able to eſcape the condemnation of himſelf. 'Tis at that day, proud and luxurious chriſtians ſhall learn, that God is no reſpecter of perſons; that all ſects and names ſhall be ſwallowed up in theſe two kinds, ſheep and goats, juſt and unjuſt: and the very righteous
1 Pet. iv. 18. muſt have a trial for it. Which made that holy man cry out, 'if the righteous ſcarcely 'are ſaved, where ſhall the wicked and ungodly appear?' If their thoughts, words and works muſt ſtand the teſt, and come under ſcrutiny before the impartial judge of heaven and earth, how then ſhould the ungodly be exempted? No, we are told by him that cannot lye, many ſhall then even cry, Lord, Lord; ſet forth their profeſſion, and recount the works that they have done in his name, to make him propitious, and yet be
Mat. vii. 23. rejected with this direful ſentence, 'depart from me, ye workers of iniquity, I know 'you not.' As if he had ſaid, get you gone, you evil doers; though you have profeſſed me, I will not know you: your vain and evil lives have made you unfit for my holy kingdom: get you hence, and go to the gods whom you have ſerved; your beloved luſts, which you have worſhipped, and the evil world that you have ſo much coveted and adored: let them ſave you now, if they can, from the wrath to come upon you, which is the wages of the deeds you have done. Here is the end of their work that build upon the ſand, the breath of the judge will blow it down; and woful will the fall thereof be. Oh, it is now, that the righteous have the better of the wicked! which made an
Numb. xxiii. 10. apoſtate cry in old time, 'let me die the death of the righteous, and let my laſt end be 'like unto his.' For the ſentence is changed, and the judge ſmiles: he caſts the eye of
Mat. xxv. 34. love upon his own ſheep, and invites them with a 'come ye bleſſed of my Father,' that through patient continuance in well-doing, have long waited for immortality: you have been the true companions of my tribulations and croſs, and with unwearied faithfulneſs, in obedience to my holy will, valiantly endured to the end, looking to me, the author of your precious faith, for the recompence of reward, that I have promiſed to them that love me, and faint not: 'O enter ye into the joy of your Lord, and inherit the 'kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.'

§. X. O Chriſtendom! my ſoul moſt fervently prays, that after all thy lofty profeſſions of Chriſt and his meek and holy religion, thy unſuitable and un-chriſt-like life may not caſt thee at that great aſſize of the world, and loſe thee ſo great ſalvation at laſt. Hear me once, I beſeech thee. Can Chriſt be thy Lord, and thou not obey
Gal. vi. 7. him? Or, can thou be his ſervant and never ſerve him? 'Be not deceived, ſuch as thou 'ſoweſt ſhalt thou reap:' he is none of thy Saviour, whilſt thou rejecteſt his grace in thy heart, by which he ſhould ſave thee. Come, what has he ſaved thee from? Has he ſaved thee from thy ſinful luſts, thy worldly affections and vain converſations? If not, then he is none of thy Saviour. For though he be offered a Saviour to all, yet he is actually a Saviour to thoſe only, that are ſaved by him; and none are ſaved by him, that live in thoſe evils, by which they are loſt from God, and which he came to ſave them from.

It is ſin that Chriſt is come to ſave man from, and death and wrath, as the wages of it: but thoſe that are not ſaved, that is, delivered, by the power of Chriſt in their ſouls, from the power that ſin has had over them, can never be ſaved from the death and wrath, that are the aſſured wages of the ſin they live in.

So that look, how far people obtain victory over thoſe evil diſpoſitions and fleſhly luſts they have been addicted to, ſo far they are truly ſaved, and are witneſſes of the redemp-
Mat. i. xxi. tion that comes by Jeſus Chriſt. His name ſhews this work: 'and thou ſhalt call his
John i. xxix. 'name Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins.' 'And lo (ſaid John of Chriſt) 'the lamb of God that takes away the ſin of the world!' that is, behold him, whom God hath given to enlighten people, and for ſalvation to as many as receive him, and his light and grace in their hearts, and take up their daily croſs, and follow him: ſuch as rather deny themſelves the pleaſure of fulfilling their luſts, than ſin againſt the knowledge he has given them of his will; or do that they know they ought not to do.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. By this Chriſtendom may ſee her lapſe, how foul it is; and next, the worſe for her pretence of chriſtianity, §. 2. But there is mercy with God upon repentance, and propitiation in the blood of Jeſus. §. 3. He is the light of the world, that reproves the darkneſs, that is, the evil of the world; and he is to be known within. §. 4. Chriſtendom, like the inn of old, is full of other gueſts: ſhe is adviſed to believe in, receive and apply to Chriſt. §. 5. Of the nature of true faith; it brings power to overcome every appearance of evil: this leads to conſider the croſs of Chriſt, which has been ſo much wanted. §. 6. The apoſtolick miniſtry, and end of it; its bleſſed effect; the character of apoſtolick times. §. 7. The glory of the croſs, and its triumph over the heathen world. A meaſure to Chriſtendom, what ſhe is not, and ſhould be. §. 8. Her declenſion, and cauſe of it. §. 9. The miſerable effects that followed. §. 10. From the conſideration of the cauſe, the cure may be more eaſily known, viz. not faithfully taking up the daily croſs; then faithfully taking it daily up, muſt be the remedy.

§. I. BY all which has been ſaid, O Chriſtendom! and by that better help, if thou wouldſt uſe it, the lamp the Lord has lighted in thee, not utterly extinct, it may evidently appear, firſt, how great and foul thy backſliding has been, who, from the temple of the Lord, art become a cage of unclean birds; and of an houſe of prayer, a den of thieves, a ſynagogue of Satan, and the receptacle of every defiled ſpirit. Next that, under all this manifeſt defection, thou haſt nevertheleſs valued thy corrupt ſelf upon thy profeſſion of chriſtianity, and fearfully deluded thyſelf with the hopes of ſalvation. The firſt makes thy diſeaſe dangerous, but the laſt almoſt incurable.

§. II. Yet becauſe there is mercy with the God of bowels, that he may be feared, and that he takes no delight in the eternal death of poor ſinners, no, though backſliders themſelves, but is willing all ſhould come to the knowledge and obedience of the truth, and be ſaved. He has ſet forth his Son a propitiation, and given him a Saviour to take away the ſins of the whole world, that thoſe that believe and follow him may feel the righteouſneſs of God in the remiſſion of their ſins, and blotting out their tranſgreſſions for ever. Now, behold the remedy! an infallible cure, one of God's appointing; a precious elixir indeed, that never failed; and that univerſal medicine which no malady could ever eſcape.

Ezek. xviii. 20, 23, 24.
Mat. i. 21.
Luke i. 77.
Rom. 3. 25,
Heb. ix. 24, to 28.
1 John ii. 1, 2.

§. III. But thou wilt ſay, what is Chriſt, and where is he to be found? And how received and applied in order to this mighty cure? I tell thee then: firſt, he is the great ſpiritual light of the world, that enlightens every one that comes into the world; by which he manifeſts to them their deeds of darkneſs and wickedneſs, and reproves them for committing them. Secondly, he is not far away from thee, as the apoſtle Paul ſaid of God to the Athenians: behold (ſays Chriſt himſelf) 'I ſtand at the door 'and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, 'and ſup with him, and he with me.' What door can this be, but that of the heart of man?

Acts xvii. 27.
Rev. iii. 20.

§. IV. Thou, like the inn of old, haſt been full of other gueſts: thy affections have entertained other lovers: there has been no room for thy Saviour in thy ſoul. Wherefore ſalvation is not yet come into thy houſe, tho' it is come to thy door, and thou haſt been often proffered it, and haſt profeſt it long. But if he calls, if he knocks ſtill, that is, if his light yet ſhines, if it reproves thee ſtill, there is hopes thy day is not over; and that repentance is not yet hid from thine eyes; but his love is after thee ſtill, and his holy invitation continues to ſave thee.

Wherefore, O Chriſtendom! believe, receive, and apply him rightly; this is of abſolute neceſſity, that thy ſoul may live for ever with him. He told the Jews, 'If you 'believe not that I am he, ye ſhall die in your ſins; and whither I go ye cannot come.' And becauſe they believed him not, they did not receive him, nor any benefit by him: but they that believed him, received him; 'and as many as received him,' his own beloved diſciple tells us, 'to them gave he power to become the ſons of God, which are 'born not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God.' That is, who are not children of God after the faſhions, preſcriptions, and traditions of men, that call themſelves his church and people (which is not after the will of fleſh and blood, and the invention of carnal man, unacquainted with the regeneration and power of the Holy Ghoſt) but of God; that is, according to his will, and the working and ſanctification of his ſpirit and word of life in them. And ſuch were ever well verſed in the right application of Chriſt, for he was made to them indeed propitiation, reconciliation, ſalvation, righteouſneſs, redemption and juſtification.

1 John viii. 22, 24.
John i. 12, 13.

So I ſay to thee, unleſs thou believeſt, that he that ſtands at the door of thy heart and knocks, and ſets thy ſins in order before thee, and calls thee to repentance, be the Saviour of the world, thou wilt die in thy ſins, and where he is gone, thou wilt never come. For if thou believeſt not in him, it is impoſſible that he ſhould do thee good, or effect thy ſalvation: Chriſt works not againſt faith, but by it. 'Tis ſaid of old, he did not many mighty works in ſome places, becauſe the people believed not in him. So Mark. vi. 5. that if thou truly believeſt in him, thine ear will be attentive to his voice in thee, and the door of thine heart open to his knocks. Thou wilt yield to the diſcoveries of his light, and the teachings of his grace will be very dear to thee.

§. V. It is the nature of true faith to beget an holy fear of offending God, a deep reverence to his precepts, and a moſt tender regard to the inward teſtimony of his ſpirit, as that, by which his children, in all ages, have been ſafely led to glory. For as they that truly believe, receive Chriſt in all his tenders to the ſoul, ſo, as true it is, that thoſe who receive him thus, with him, receive power to become the ſons of God: that is, an inward force and ability to do whatever he requires: ſtrength to mortify their luſts, controul their affections, reſiſt evil motions, deny themſelves, and overcome the world in its moſt inticing appearances. This is the life of the bleſſed Croſs of Chriſt, which is the ſubject of the following diſcourſe, and what thou, O man, muſt take up, if thou intendeſt to be the diſciple of Jeſus. Nor canſt thou be ſaid to receive Chriſt, or to believe in him, whilſt thou rejecteſt his croſs. For as receiving of Chriſt is the means appointed of God to ſalvation, ſo bearing thy daily croſs after him is the only true teſtimony of receiving him; and therefore it is enjoined by him, as the great token of diſ- Mat. xvi. 24. cipleſhip, 'whoſoever will be my diſciple, let him take up his daily croſs and follow 'me.'

This, Chriſtendom, is that thou haſt ſo much wanted, and the want of which has proved the only cauſe of thy miſerable declenſion from pure chriſtianity. To conſider which well (as it is thy duty) ſo it is of great uſe to thy reſtoration.

For as the knowledge of the cauſe of any diſtemper guides the phyſician to make a right and ſafe judgment in the application of his medicine, ſo it will much enlighten thee in the way of thy recovery, to know and weigh the firſt cauſe of this ſpiritual lapſe and malady that has befallen thee. To do which, a general view of thy primitive eſtate, and conſequently of their work that firſt laboured in the chriſtian vineyard, will be needful; and if therein ſomething be repeated, the weight and dignity of the ſubject will bear it without the need of an apology.

Acts xxvi. 18. §. VI. The work of apoſtleſhip, we are told by a prime labourer in it, was, to turn people from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. That is, inſtead of yielding to the temptations and motions of Satan, who is the prince of darkneſs, (or wickedneſs, the one being a metaphor to the other) by whoſe power their underſtandings were obſcured, and their ſouls held in the ſervice of ſin, they ſhould turn their minds to the appearance of Chriſt, the light and Saviour of the world; who by his light ſhines in their ſouls, and thereby gives them a ſight of their ſins, and diſcovers every temptation and motion in them unto evil, and reproves them when they give way thereunto; that ſo they might become the children of light, and walk in the path of righteouſneſs. And for this bleſſed work of reformation, did Chriſt endue his apoſtles with his ſpirit and power, that ſo men might not longer ſleep in a ſecurity of ſin and ignorance of God, but awake to righteouſneſs, that the Lord Jeſus might give them life: that is, that they might leave off ſinning, deny themſelves the pleaſure of wickedneſs, and by true repentance turn their hearts to God, in well-doing, in which is peace. And truly, God ſo bleſſed the faithful labours of theſe poor mechanicks, yet his great ambaſſadors to mankind, that in a few years many thouſands (that had lived without God in the world, without a ſenſe or fear of him, lawleſly, very ſtrangers to the work of his ſpirit in their hearts, being captivated by fleſhly luſts) were inwardly ſtruck and quickened by the word of life, and made ſenſible of the coming and power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as a judge and law-giver in their ſouls, by whoſe holy light and ſpirit, the hidden things of darkneſs were brought to light and condemned, and pure repentance from thoſe dead works begotten in them, that they might ſerve the living God in newneſs of ſpirit. So that thence-forward they lived not to themſelves, neither were they carried away of thoſe former divers luſts, by which they had been ſeduced Rom. viii. 2. from the true fear of God; but the law of the ſpirit of life, by which they overcame the law of ſin and death, was their delight; and therein did they meditate day and night. Iſa. xxix. 13. Their regard towards God, was not taught by the precepts of men any longer, but from the knowledge they had received by his own work and impreſſions in their ſouls. They had now quitted their old maſters, the world, the fleſh, and the devil, and delivered Tit. ii. 11. 12. up themſelves to the holy guidance of the grace of Chriſt, that taught them to deny ungodlineſs, and the world's luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent life; this is the Croſs of Chriſt indeed; and here is the victory it gives to them that take it up: by this croſs they died daily to the old life they had lived; and by holy watchfulneſs againſt the ſecret motions of evil in their hearts, they cruſhed ſin in its conceptions, yea, in its temptations. So that they (as the apoſtle John adviſed them) kept 1 John v. 18. themſelves, that the evil one touched them not.

For the light, which Satan cannot endure, and with which Chriſt had enlightened them, diſcovered him in all his approaches and aſſaults upon the mind, and the power they received through their inward obedience to the manifeſtations of that bleſſed light, enabled them to reſiſt and vanquiſh him in all his ſtratagems. And thus it was, that where once nothing was examined, nothing went unexamined. Every thought muſt come to judgment, and the riſe and tendency of it be alſo well approved, before they allowed it any room in their minds. There was no fear of entertaining enemies for friends, whilſt this ſtrict guard was kept upon the very wicket of the ſoul. Now the old heavens and earth, that is, the old earthly converſation, and old carnal, that is Jewiſh or ſhadowy worſhip paſſed away apace, and every day all things became new. ‘He Rom. ii. 28, 29. ‘was no more a Jew, that was one outwardly, nor that circumciſion that was in the ‘fleſh; but he was the Jew, that was one inwardly; and that circumciſion, which was ‘of the heart, in the ſpirit, and not in the letter, whoſe praiſe is not of man, but of ‘God.’

§. VII. Indeed the glory of the Croſs ſhined ſo conſpicuouſly through the ſelf-denial of their lives who daily bore it, that it ſtruck the heathen with aſtoniſhment, and in a ſmall time ſo ſhook their altars, diſcredited their oracles, ſtruck the multitude, invaded the court, and overcame their armies, that it led prieſts, magiſtrates, and generals, in triumph after it, as the trophies of its power and victory.

And while this integrity dwelt with chriſtians, mighty was the preſence and invincible that power that attended them: Heb. xi. 32, to the end. Iſa. lxiii. 2, Dan. iii. 12, to the end. it quenched fire, daunted lions, turned the edge of the ſword, out-faced inſtruments of cruelty, convicted judges, and converted executioners. In fine, the ways their enemies took to deſtroy, increaſed them; and by the deep wiſdom of God, they were made great promoters of the truth, who in all their deſigns endeavoured to extinguiſh it. Now not a vain thought, nor an idle word, nor an unſeemly action was permitted; chap. vi. 16, to the end. no, not an immodeſt look: no courtly dreſs, gay apparel, complimental reſpects, or perſonal honours; much leſs thoſe lewd immoralities, and ſcandalous vices, now in vogue with chriſtians, could find either example or connivance among them. Their care was not how to ſport away their precious time, but how to Eph. v. 15, 16. redeem it, that they might have enough to work out their great ſalvation (which they carefully did) with fear and trembling; not with balls and maſks, with play-houſes, dancing, feaſting, and gaming: no, no: to make ſure of their heavenly calling and election, was much dearer to them, than the poor and trifling joys of mortality. For they having with Moſes ſeen him that is inviſible, and found that his loving-kindneſs was better than life, the peace of his ſpirit than the favour of princes; as they feared not Cæſar's wrath, ſo they choſe rather to ſuſtain the afflictions of Chriſt's true pilgrims, than enjoy the pleaſures of ſin, that were but for a ſeaſon; eſteeming his reproaches of more value than the periſhing treaſures of the earth. And if the tribulations of chriſtianity were more eligible than the comforts of the world, and the reproaches of one than all the honour of the other; there was then ſurely no temptation in it, that could ſhake the integrity of Chriſtendom.

§. VIII. By this ſhort draught of what Chriſtendom was, thou mayeſt ſee, O Chriſtendom, what thou art not, and conſequently what thou oughteſt to be. But how comes it, that from a Chriſtendom that was thus meek, merciful, ſelf-denying, ſuffering, temperate, holy, juſt and good, ſo like to Chriſt, whoſe name ſhe bore, we find a Chriſtendom now, that is ſuperſtitious, idolatrous, perſecuting, proud, paſſionate, envious, malicious, ſelfiſh, drunken, laſcivious, unclean, lying, ſwearing, curſing, covetous, oppreſſing, defrauding, with all other abominations known in the earth, and that to an exceſs juſtly ſcandalous to the worſt of heathen-ages, ſurpaſſing them more in evil than in time: I ſay, how comes this lamentable defection?

I lay this down, as the undoubted reaſon of this degeneracy, to wit, the inward diſregard of thy mind to the light of Chriſt ſhining in thee; the firſt ſhewed thee thy ſins, and reproved them, and that taught and enabled thee to deny and reſiſt them. For as thy fear towards God, and holy abſtinence from unrighteouſneſs was, at firſt, not taught by the precepts of men, but by that light and grace, which revealed the moſt ſecret thoughts and purpoſes of thine heart, and ſearched the moſt inward parts of thy belly, (ſetting thy ſins in order before thee, and reproving thee for them, not ſuffering one unfruitful thought, word or work of darkneſs, to go unjudged) ſo when thou didſt begin to diſregard that light and grace, to be careleſs of that holy watch, that was once ſet up in thine heart, and didſt not keep centinel there, (as formerly) for God's glory, and thy own peace; the reſtleſs enemy of man's good quickly took advantage of this ſlackneſs, and often ſurprized thee with temptations, whoſe ſuitableneſs to thy inclinations made his conqueſt over thee not difficult.

In ſhort, thou didſt omit to take up Chriſt's holy yoak, to bear thy daily croſs; thou waſt careleſs of thy affections, and kept no journal or check upon thy actions; but didſt decline to audit accounts, in thy own conſcience, with Chriſt thy light, the great biſhop of thy ſoul, and judge of thy works, whereby the holy fear decayed, and love waxed cold; vanity abounded, and duty became burdenſom. Then up came formality, inſtead of the power of godlineſs; ſuperſtition, in place of Chriſt's inſtitution: and whereas Chriſt's buſineſs was, to draw off the minds of his diſciples from an outward temple, and carnal

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Chap. II.
Gen. vi. 2.

rites and ſervices, to the inward and ſpiritual worſhip of God, (ſuitable to the nature of divinity) a worldly, human, pompous worſhip is brought in again, and a worldly prieſthood, temple and altar are re-eſtabliſhed. Now it was that the ‘ſons of God once ‘more ſaw the daughters of men were fair:’ that is, the pure eye grew dim, which repentance had opened, that ſaw no comelineſs out of Chriſt; and the eye of luſt became uncloſed again, by the god of the world; and thoſe worldly pleaſures, that make ſuch as love them forget God, (though once deſpiſed for the ſake of Chriſt) began now to recover their old beauty, and intereſt in thy affections; and from liking them, to be the ſtudy, care, and pleaſure of thy life.

True, there ſtill remained the exterior forms of worſhip, and a nominal and oral reverence to God and Chriſt; but that was all; for the offence of the holy Croſs ceaſed, the power of godlineſs was denied, ſelf-denial loſt; and though fruitful in the invention of ceremonious ornaments, yet barren in the bleſſed fruits of the Spirit. And a thouſand ſhells cannot make one kernel, or many dead corps one living man.

§. IX. Thus religion fell from experience to tradition, and worſhip from power to form, from life to letter; that inſtead of putting up lively and powerful requeſts, animated by the deep ſenſe of want, and the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, by which the ancients prayed, wreſtled and prevailed with God; behold, a by-rote mumpſimus, a dull and inſipid formality, made up of corporal bowings, and cringings, garments and furnitures, perfumes, voices and muſick; fitter for the reception of ſome earthly prince, than the heavenly worſhip of the only true and immortal God, who is an eternal, inviſible ſpirit.

Prov. xv. 8.
James iv. 3.

But thy heart growing carnal, thy religion did ſo too; and not liking it as it was, thou faſhioned'ſt it to thy liking; forgetting what the holy prophet ſaid, ‘the ſacrifice of ‘the wicked is an abomination to the Lord,’ and what James ſaith, ‘ye aſk, and ye ‘receive not, (why?) becauſe ye aſk amiſs;’ that is, with an heart that is not right, but inſincere, unmortified, not in the faith that purifies the ſoul, and therefore can never receive what is aſked: ſo that a man may ſay with truth, thy condition is worſe by thy religion, becauſe thou art tempted to think thyſelf the better for it, and art not.

§. X. Well! by this proſpect, that is given thee, of thy ſoul fall from primitive chriſtianity, and the true cauſe of it, to wit, a neglect of the daily croſs of Chriſt, it may be eaſy for thee to inform thyſelf of the way of thy recovery.

Mat. xvi. 21.
Mark viii. 34.
Luke xiv. 27.
Hoſ. xiii, 14.
1 Cor. xv. 55.

For look, at what door thou wenteſt out, at that door thou muſt come in: and as letting fall, and forbearing the daily croſs loſt thee; ſo taking up, and enduring the daily croſs, muſt recover thee. It is the ſame way, by which the ſinners and apoſtates become the diſciples of Jeſus. ‘Whoſoever (ſays Chriſt) will come after me, and be my ‘diſciple, let him deny himſelf, and take up his daily croſs, and follow me.’ Nothing ſhort of this will do; mark that, for as it is ſufficient, ſo is it indiſpenſible: no Crown, but by the Croſs; no life eternal, but through death: and it is but juſt, that thoſe evil and barbarous affections, that crucified Chriſt afreſh, ſhould, by his holy croſs, be crucified. Blood requires blood; his croſs is the death of ſin, that cauſed his death; and he the death of death, according to that paſſage, O death! I will be thy death!

CHAP. III.

§. 1. *What the croſs of Chriſt is? A figurative ſpeech, but truly, the divine power, that mortifies the world.* §. 2. *It is ſo called by the apoſtle Paul to the Corinthians.* §. 3. *Where it is the croſs appears and muſt be borne? Within, where the luſts are, there they muſt be crucified.* §. 4. *Experience teaches every one this, to be ſure Chriſt aſſerts it, from within comes murder, &c. and that is the houſe where the ſtrong man muſt be bound.* §. 5. *How is the croſs to be borne? The way is ſpiritual, a denial of ſelf, the pleaſure of ſin, to pleaſe God and obey his will, as manifeſted to the ſoul by the light he gives it.* §. 6. *This ſhews the difficulty, yet the neceſſity of the croſs.*

Chap. III.

THE daily croſs being then, and ſtill, O Chriſtendom, the way to glory; that the ſucceeding matter, which wholly relates to the doctrine of it, may come with moſt evidence and advantage upon thy conſcience, it is moſt ſeriouſly to be conſidered by thee,

Firſt, What the croſs of Chriſt is?

Secondly, Where the croſs of Chriſt is to be taken up?

Thirdly, How, and after what manner it is to be borne?

Fourthly, What is the great work and buſineſs of the croſs? In which

The ſins it crucifies, with the miſchiefs that attend them, will be at large expreſſed.

Fifthly, and laſtly, I ſhall add many teſtimonies from living and dying perſons, of great reputation either for their quality, learning, or piety, as a general confirmation of the whole tract.

To the firſt, what is the croſs of Chriſt?

§. I. The croſs of Chriſt is a figurative ſpeech, borrowed from the outward tree, or wooden croſs, on which Chriſt ſubmitted to the will of God, in permitting him to ſuffer death at the hands of evil men. So that the croſs myſtical is that divine grace and power, which croſſeth the carnal wills of men, and gives a contradiction to their corrupt affections, and that conſtantly oppoſeth itſelf to the inordinate and fleſhly appetite of their minds, and ſo may be juſtly termed the inſtrument of man's holy dying to the world, and being made conformable to the will of God. For nothing elſe can mortify ſin, or make it eaſy for us to ſubmit to the divine will, in things otherwiſe very contrary to our own.

§. II. the preaching of the croſs therefore in primitive times was fitly called by Paul (that famous and ſkilful apoſtle in ſpiritual things) the power of God, tho' to them that periſh, then, as now, fooliſhneſs. That is, to thoſe that were truly weary and heavy laden, and needed a deliverer; to whom ſin was burdenſome and odious, the preaching of the croſs, by which ſin was to be mortified, was, as to them, the power of God, or a preaching of the divine power, by which they were made diſciples of Chriſt, and children of God: and it wrought ſo powerfully upon them, that no proud or licentious mockers could put them out of love with it. But to thoſe that walked in the broad way, in the full latitude of their luſts, and dedicated their time and care to the pleaſure of their corrupt appetites, to whom all yoke and bridle were and are intolerable, the preaching of the croſs was, and is, fooliſhneſs: to which I may add, in the name but of too many now-a-days, and the practice ridiculous; embraced by none, if they may be believed, but half-witted people, of ſtingy and ſingular tempers, affected with the hypochondry, and oppreſſed with the power of melancholy; for all this, and more, is beſtowed upon the life of the bleſſed croſs of Chriſt, by the very profeſſors and pretended admirers of it, in the perſons of thoſe that truly bear it.

§. III. Well, but then where does this croſs appear, and muſt it be taken up?

I anſwer, within: that is, in the heart and ſoul; for where the ſin is, the croſs muſt be. Now, all evil comes from within: this Chriſt taught. From within (ſaith Chriſt) 'out of the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, 'thefts, covetouſneſs, wickedneſs, deceit, laſciviouſneſs, an evil eye, blaſphemy, pride, 'fooliſhneſs: all theſe evils come from within, and defile the man.'

Mark vii. 11. 22, 23.

The heart of man is the ſeat of ſin, and where he is defiled, he muſt be ſanctified; and where ſin lives, there it muſt die: it muſt be crucified. Cuſtom in evil hath made it natural to men to do evil; and as the ſoul rules the body, ſo this corrupt nature ſways the whole man: but ſtill, it is all from within.

§. IV. Experience teaches every ſon and daughter of Adam an aſſent to this; for the enemies temptations are ever directed to the mind, which is within: if they take not, the ſoul ſins not; if they are embraced, luſt is preſently conceived, (that is, inordinate deſires) 'luſt conceived, brings forth ſin; and ſin finiſhed, (that is, acted) brings forth 'death.' Here is both the cauſe and the effect, the very genealogy of ſin, its riſe and end.

Jam. i. 15.

In all this, the heart of evil man is the devil's mint, his work-houſe, the place of his reſidence, where he exerciſes his power and art. And therefore the redemption of the ſoul is aptly called, the deſtruction of the works of the devil, and bringing in of everlaſting righteouſneſs, When the Jews would have defamed Chriſt's miracle of caſting out devils, by a blaſphemous imputation of it to the power of Beelzebub, he ſays, 'That 'no man can enter a ſtrong man's houſe, and ſpoil his goods, till he firſt bind the ſtrong 'man.' Which, as it ſhews the contrariety that was between Beelzebub, and the power by which he diſpoſſeſſed him; ſo it teaches us to know, that the ſouls of the wicked are the devil's houſe, and that his goods, his evil works, can never be deſtroyed, till firſt he that wrought them, and keeps the houſe, be bound. All which makes it eaſy to know, where the croſs muſt be taken up, by which alone the ſtrong man muſt be bound, his goods ſpoiled, and his temptations reſiſted: this is, within, in the heart of man.

1 John iii. 8.
Mark iii. 27.

§. V. But in the next place, how, and in what manner is the croſs to be daily borne?

The way, like the croſs, is ſpiritual: that is, an inward ſubmiſſion of the ſoul to the will of God, as it is manifeſted by the light of Chriſt in the conſciences of men: though it be contrary to their own inclinations. For example: when evil preſents, that which ſhews the evil does alſo tell them, they ſhould not yield to it; and if they cloſe with its counſel, it gives them power to eſcape it. But they that look and gaze upon the temptation, at laſt fall in with it, and are overcome by it; the conſequence of which is guilt and judgment. Therefore, as the croſs of Chriſt is that ſpirit and power in men, though not of men, but of God, which croſſeth and reproveth their fleſhly luſts and affections: ſo the way of taking up the croſs is, an intire reſignation of ſoul to the diſcoveries and requirings of it: not to conſult their worldly pleaſure, or carnal eaſe, or intereſt, (for ſuch are captivated in a moment) but continually to watch againſt the very appearances of evil, and by the obedience of faith, that is, of true love to and confidence in God, chearfully to offer up, to the death of the croſs, that evil part, that Judas in themſelves, which, not

enduring

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enduring the heat of the ſiege, and being impatient in the hour of temptation, would, by its near relation to the tempter, more eaſily betray their ſouls into his hands.

§. VI. O this ſhews to every experience, how hard it is to be a true diſciple of Jeſus! the way is narrow indeed, and the gate very ſtrait, where not a word, no not a thought muſt ſlip the watch, or eſcape judgment: ſuch circumſpection, ſuch caution, ſuch patience, ſuch conſtancy, ſuch holy fear and trembling. This gives an eaſy interpretation to that hard ſaying, 'fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God:' thoſe that are captivated with fleſhly luſts and affections; for they cannot bear the croſs; and they that cannot endure the croſs, muſt never have the crown. To reign, it is neceſſary firſt to ſuffer.

Mat. xxiv. 42. ch. xxv. 13. ch. xxvi. 38.--42. Phil. ii. 12. 1 Th. iii. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 50.

CHAP. IV.

§. 1. *What is the great work of the croſs? The anſwer to this of great moment.* §. 2. *The work of the croſs is ſelf-denial.* §. 3. *What was the cup and croſs of Chriſt?* §. 4. *What is our cup and croſs?* §. 5. *Our duty is to follow Chriſt as our captain.* §. 6. *Of the diſtinction upon ſelf, a lawful and unlawful ſelf.* §. 7. *What the lawful ſelf is.* §. 8. *That it is to be denied in ſome caſes, by Chriſt's doctrine and example.* §. 9. *By the apoſtles pattern.* §. 10. *The danger of preferring lawful ſelf, above our duty to God.* §. 11. *The reward of ſelf-denial an excitement to it.* §. 12. *This doctrine as old as Abraham.* §. 13. *His obedience of faith memorable.* §. 14. *Job a great inſtance of ſelf-denial, his contentment.* §. 15. *Moſes alſo a mighty example, his neglect of Pharaoh's court.* §. 16. *His choice.* §. 17. *The reaſon of it, viz. the recompence of reward.* §. 18. *Iſaiah no inconſiderable inſtance, who of a courtier became an holy prophet.* §. 19. *Theſe inſtances concluded with that of holy Daniel, his patience and integrity, and the ſucceſs they had upon the king.* §. 20. *There might be many mentioned to confirm this bleſſed doctrine.* §. 21. *All muſt be left for Chriſt, as men would be ſaved.* §. 22. *The way of God is a way of faith and ſelf-denial.* §. 23. *An earneſt ſupplication and exhortation to all to attend upon theſe things.*

Chap. IV. Q. BUT fourthly, what is the great work and buſineſs of the croſs reſpecting man?

Anſw. §. I. This indeed is of that mighty moment to be truly, plainly and throughly anſwered, that all that went before ſeems only to ſerve for preface to it; and miſcarrying in it, to be no leſs than a miſguidance of the ſoul about its way to bleſſedneſs. I ſhall therefore purſue the queſtion, with God's help, and the beſt knowledge he hath given me, in the experience of ſeveral years diſcipleſhip.

The great work and buſineſs of the croſs of Chriſt, in man, is ſelf-denial; a word, as of much depth in itſelf, ſo of ſore contradiction to the world; little underſtood, but leſs embraced by it; yet it muſt be borne for all that. The Son of God is gone before us, and by the bitter cup he drank, and baptiſm he ſuffered, has left us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps. Which made him put that hard queſtion to the wife of Zebedee and her two ſons, upon her ſolliciting that one might ſit at his right, and the other at his left hand in his kingdom; 'are ye able to drink of the cup that I ſhall drink 'of, and to be baptized with the baptiſm I am baptized with?' It ſeems their faith was ſtrong; they anſwered, we are able. Upon which he replied, 'ye ſhall drink indeed 'of my cup, and be baptized with the baptiſm I am baptized with;' but their reward he left to his Father.

Mat. xx. 21, 22, 23

§. III. What was his cup he drank, and baptiſm he ſuffered? I anſwer; they were the denial and offering up of himſelf by the eternal ſpirit to the will of God, undergoing the tribulations of his life, and agonies of his death upon the croſs, for man's ſalvation.

§. IV. What is our cup and croſs that we ſhould drink and ſuffer? They are the denial and offering up of ourſelves, by the ſame ſpirit, to do or ſuffer the will of God for his ſervice and glory: which is the true life and obedience of the croſs of Jeſus: narrow ſtill, but before, an unbeaten way. For when there was none to help, not one to open the ſeals, to give knowledge, to direct the courſe of poor man's recovery, he came in the greatneſs of his love and ſtrength; and though clothed with the infirmities of a mortal man, being within fortified by the almightineſs of an immortal God, he travelled through all the ſtraits and difficulties of humanity; and firſt, of all others, trod the untrodden path to bleſſedneſs.

§. V. O come let us follow him, the moſt unwearied, the moſt victorious captain of our ſalvation! to whom all the great Alexanders and mighty Cæſars of the world are leſs than the pooreſt ſoldier of their camps could be to them. True, they were all great princes of their kind, and conquerors too, but on very differing principles. For Chriſt made himſelf of no reputation to ſave mankind; but theſe plentifully ruined people, to augment theirs. They vanquiſhed others, not themſelves; Chriſt conquered ſelf, that ever vanquiſhed them: of merit therefore the moſt excellent prince and conqueror.

queror. beſides, they advanced their empire by rapine and blood, but he by ſuffering and perſuaſion: he never by compulſion, they always by force, prevailed. Miſery and ſlavery followed all their victories; his brought greater freedom and felicity to thoſe he overcame. In all they did, they ſought to pleaſe themſelves; in all he did, he aimed to pleaſe his Father, who is God of gods, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

It is this moſt perfect pattern of ſelf-denial we muſt follow, if ever we will come to glory: to do which, let us conſider ſelf-denial in its true diſtinction and extent.

§. VI. There is a lawful and unlawful ſelf, and both muſt be denied for the ſake of him, that in ſubmiſſion to the will of God counted nothing dear, that he might ſave us. And tho' the world be ſcarcely in any part of it at that paſs, as yet to need that leſſon of the denial of lawful ſelf, that every day moſt greedily ſacrifices to the pleaſure of unlawful ſelf: yet to take the whole thing before me, and for that it may poſſibly meet with ſome that are ſo far advanced in this ſpiritual warfare, as to receive ſome ſervice from it, I ſhall at leaſt touch upon it.

§. VII. The lawful ſelf, which we are to deny, is that conveniency, eaſe, enjoyment and plenty, which in themſelves are ſo far from being evil, that they are the bounty and bleſſings of God to us: as huſband, wife, child, houſe, land, reputation, liberty, and life itſelf: theſe are God's favours, which we may enjoy with lawful pleaſure, and juſtly improve as our honeſt intereſt. But when God requires them, at what time ſoever the lender calls for them, or is pleaſed to try our affections by our parting with them; I ſay, when they are brought in competition with him, they muſt not be preferred, they muſt be denied. Chriſt himſelf deſcended from the glory of his Father, and willingly made himſelf of no reputation among men, that he might make us of ſome with God; and from the quality of thinking it no robbery to be equal with God, he humbled himſelf to the poor form of a ſervant; yea, the ignominious death of the croſs, that he might deliver us an example of pure humility, and entire ſubmiſſion to the will of our heavenly Father.

Phil. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8.

§. VIII. It is the doctrine he teaches us in theſe words: 'he that loveth father or 'mother, ſon or daughter, more than me, he is not worthy of me.' Again, 'who-'ſoever he be of you, that forſaketh not all that he hath, cannot be my diſciple.' And he plainly told the young rich man, that if he would have eternal life, he ſhould ſell all, and follow him: a doctrine ſad to him, as it is to thoſe, that like him (for all their high pretences to religion) in truth love their poſſeſſions more than Chriſt. This doctrine of ſelf-denial is the condition to eternal happineſs: 'he that will come after me, let 'him deny himſelf, and take up his croſs, and follow me.' Let him do as I do: as if he had ſaid, he muſt do as I do, or he cannot be as I am, the ſon of God.

Mat. x. 37.
Luke xiv. 33.
Mark x. 21, 22.
Mat. xvi. 24.

§. IX. This made thoſe honeſt fiſhermen quit their lawful trades, and follow him, when he called them to it; and others, that waited for the conſolation of Iſrael, to offer up their eſtates, reputations, liberties, and alſo lives, to the diſpleaſure and fury of their kindred, and the government they lived under, for the ſpiritual advantage that accrued to them, by their faithful adherence to his holy doctrine. True, many would have excuſed their following of him in that parable of the feaſt: ſome had bought land, ſome had married wives, and others had bought yokes of oxen, and could not come; that is, an immoderate love of the world hindered them: their lawful enjoyments, from ſervants, became their idols; they worſhipped them more than God, and would not quit them, to come to God. But this is recorded to their reproach: and we may herein ſee the power of ſelf upon the worldly man, and the danger that comes to him by the abuſe of lawful things. What, thy wife dearer to thee than thy Saviour! and thy land and oxen preferred before thy ſoul's ſalvation! O beware, that thy comforts prove not ſnares firſt, and then curſes: to over-rate them, is to provoke him that gave them to take them away again: come and follow him that giveth life eternal to the ſoul.

Luke xiv. 18, 19, 20.

§. X. Wo to them that have their hearts in their earthly poſſeſſions! for when they are gone, their heaven is gone with them. It is too much the ſin of the beſt part of the world, that they ſtick in the comforts of it: and it is lamentable to behold how their affections are bemired, and entangled with their conveniencies and accommodations in it. The true ſelf-denying man is a pilgrim; but the ſelfiſh man is an inhabitant of the world: the one uſes it, as men do ſhips, to tranſport themſelves or tackle in a journey, that is, to get home; the other looks no farther, whatever he prates, than to be fixed in fulneſs and eaſe here, and likes it ſo well, that if he could, he would not exchange. However, he will not trouble himſelf to think of the other world, till he is ſure he muſt live no longer in this: but then, alas! it will prove too late; not to Abraham, but to Dives, he muſt go; the ſtory is as true as ſad.

§. XI. But on the other hand, it is not for nought, that the diſciples of Jeſus deny themſelves; and indeed, Chriſt himſelf had the eternal joy in his eye: for the joy that was ſet before him (ſays the author to the Hebrews) he endured the croſs; that is, he denied himſelf, and bore the reproaches and death of the wicked: and deſpiſed the ſhame, to wit, the diſhonour and deriſion of the world. It made him not afraid or ſhrink, he contemned it: and is ſet down on the right hand of the throne of God. And to

Heb. xii. 2.

1668. Chap. IV. Mat. xix. 27, 28, 29. to their encouragement, and great conſolation, when Peter aſked him, what they ſhould have that had forſaken all to follow him? he anſwered them, ‘ verily I ſay unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man ſhall ſit on the throne of his glory, ye alſo ſhall ſit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael,’ that were then in an apoſtacy from the life and power of godlineſs. This was the lot of his diſciples; the more immediate companions of his tribulations, and firſt meſſengers of his kingdom. But the next that follows is to all: ‘ and every one that hath forſaken houſes, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's ſake, ſhall receive an hundred fold, and ſhall inherit everlaſting life.’ It was this recompence of reward, this eternal crown of righteouſneſs, that in every age has raiſed, in the ſouls of the juſt, an holy neglect, yea, contempt of the world. To this is owing the conſtancy of the martyrs, as to their blood the triumph of the truth.

Gen. xii. §. XII. Nor is this a new doctrine; it is as old as Abraham. In ſeveral moſt remarkable inſtances, his life was made up of ſelf-denial. Firſt, in quitting his own land, where we may well ſuppoſe him ſettled in the midſt of plenty, at leaſt ſufficiency: and why? Becauſe God called him. Indeed this ſhould be reaſon enough; but ſuch is the world's degeneracy, that in fact it is not: and the ſame act, upon the ſame inducement, in any now, though praiſed in Abraham, would be derided. So apt are people not to underſtand what they commend; nay, to deſpiſe thoſe actions, when they meet them in the people of their own times, which they pretend to admire in their anceſtors.

§. XIII. But he obeyed: the conſequence was, that God gave him a mighty land. This was the firſt reward of his obedience. The next was, a ſon in his old age; and Gen. xviii. which greatened the bleſſing, after it had been in nature, paſt the time of his wife's bearing of children. Yet God called for his darling, their only child, the joy of their age, the ſon of a miracle, and he upon whom the fulfilling of the promiſe made to Abraham did depend. For this ſon, I ſay, God called: a mighty trial, that which, one would have thought, might very well have overturned his faith, and ſtumbled his integrity; at leaſt have put him upon this diſpute in himſelf: this command is unreaſonable and cruel; it is the tempter's, it cannot be God's. For, is it to be thought that God gave me a ſon to make a ſacrifice of him? That the father ſhould be butcher of his only child? Again, that he ſhould require me to offer up the ſon of his own promiſe, by whom his covenant is to be performed? this is incredible. I ſay, thus Abraham might naturally enough have argued, to withſtand the voice of God, and indulge chap. xxi. his great affections to his beloved Iſaac. But good old Abraham, that knew the voice that had promiſed him a ſon, had not forgot to know it, when it required him back again: he diſputes not, tho' it looked ſtrange, and perhaps with ſome ſurprize and horror, as a man. He had learned to believe, that God that gave him a child by a miracle, could work another to preſerve or reſtore him. His affections could not balance his duty, much leſs overcome his faith; for he received him in a way that would let him doubt of nothing that God had promiſed of him.

To the voice of this Almightineſs he bows, builds an altar, binds his only ſon upon it, kindles the fire, and ſtretches forth his hand to take the knife: but the angel ſtopped the ſtroke. ‘Hold, Abraham, thy integrity is proved.’ What followed? A ram ſerved, and Iſaac was his again. This ſhews how little ſerves, where all is reſigned, and how mean a ſacrifice contents the Almighty, where the heart is approved. So that 'tis not the ſacrifice that recommends the heart, but the heart that gives the ſacrifice acceptance.

God often touches our beſt comforts, and calls for that which we moſt love, and are leaſt willing to part with. Not that he always takes it utterly away, but to prove the ſoul's integrity, to caution us from exceſſes, and that we may remember God, the author of thoſe bleſſings we poſſeſs, and live looſe to them. I ſpeak my experience: the way to keep our enjoyments, is to reſign them; and tho' that be hard, 'tis ſweet to ſee them returned, as Iſaac was to his father Abraham, with more love and bleſſing than before. O ſtupid world! O worldly chriſtians! Not only ſtrangers, but enemies to this excellent faith! and whilſt ſo, the reward of it you can never know.

§. XIV. But Job preſſed hard upon Abraham: his ſelf-denial alſo was very ſignal. For when the meſſengers of his afflictions came thick upon him, one doleful ſtory after another, till he was left as naked as when he was born; the firſt thing he did, he fell to the ground, and worſhipped that power, and kiſſed that hand that ſtripped him: ſo far from murmuring, that he concludes his loſſes of eſtate and children with theſe words: Job. i. 21. ‘ naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked ſhall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.’ O the deep faith, patience, and contentment of this excellent man! one would have thought, this repeated news of ruin had been enough to have overſet his confidence in God: but it did not; that ſtay'd him. But indeed he tells us why: his Redeemer lived; ‘ I know (ſays he) Job xix. 25, 26. that my Redeemer lives.’ And it appeared he did; for he had redeemed him from the world: his heart was not in his worldly comforts; his hope lived above the joys of time, and troubles of mortality; not tempted by the one, nor ſhaken by the other; but firmly believed, ‘ that when after his ſkin worms ſhould have conſumed his body, yet ‘ with his eyes he ſhould ſee God.’ Thus was the heart of Job both ſubmitted to, and comforted in, the will of God.

§. XV. Moſes is the next great example in ſacred ſtory for remarkable ſelf-denial, before the times of Chriſt’s appearance in the fleſh. He had been ſaved, when an infant, by an extraordinary providence, and it ſeems, by what followed, for an extraordinary ſervice: Pharoah’s daughter (whoſe compaſſion was the means of his preſervation when the king decreed the ſlaughter of the Hebrew males) took him for her ſon, and gave him the education of her father’s court. His own graceful preſence and extraordinary abilities, joined with her love for him and intereſt in her father to promote him, muſt have rendered him, if not capable of ſucceſſion, at leaſt of being chief miniſter of affairs under that wealthy and powerful prince. For Egypt was then what Athens and Rome were after, the moſt famous for learning, arts and glory.

Exod. ii. 1--11.

§. XVI. But Moſes, ordained for other work, and guided by a better ſtar, an higher principle, no ſooner came to years of diſcretion, than the impiety of Egypt, and the oppreſſions of his brethren there, grew a burthen too heavy for him to bear. And though ſo wiſe and good a man could not want thoſe generous and grateful reſentments, that became the kindneſs of the king’s daughter to him; yet he had alſo ‘ ſeen that God that ‘ was inviſible,’ and did not dare to live in the eaſe and plenty of Pharoah’s houſe, whilſt his poor brethren were required ‘ to make brick without ſtraw.’

Heb. xi. 24, 27.
Exod. v. 7, 16.

Thus the fear of the Almighty taking deep hold of his heart, he nobly refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharoah’s daughter, and choſe rather a life of affliction with the moſt deſpiſed and oppreſſed Iſraelites, and to be the companion of their temptations and jeopardies, ‘ than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon;’ eſteeming the reproaches of Chriſt (which he ſuffered for making that unworldly choice) greater riches than all the treaſures of that kingdom.

§. XVII. Nor was he ſo fooliſh as they thought him; he had reaſon on his ſide: for it is ſaid, ‘ He had an eye to the recompence of reward:’ he did but refuſe a leſſer benefit for a greater. In this his wiſdom tranſcended that of the Egyptians; for they made the preſent world their choice (as uncertain as the weather) and ſo loſt that which has no end. Moſes looked deeper, and weighed the enjoyments of this life in the ſcales of eternity, and found they made no weight there. He governed himſelf not by the immediate poſſeſſion, but the nature and duration of the reward. His faith corrected his affections, and taught him to ſacrifice the pleaſure of ſelf to the hope he had of a future more excellent recompence.

§. XVIII. Iſaiah was no inconſiderable inſtance of this bleſſed ſelf-denial; who of a courtier became a prophet, and left the worldly intereſts of the one for the faith, patience and ſufferings of the other. For his choice did not only loſe him the favour of men; but their wickedneſs, enraged at his integrity to God, in his fervent and bold reproofs of them, made a martyr of him in the end. For they barbarouſly ſaw’d him aſunder in the reign of king Manaſſes. Thus died that excellent man, and commonly call’d the Evangelical prophet.

Dorotheus in his lives of the prophets.

§. XIX. I ſhall add, of many, one example more, and that is from the fidelity of Daniel; an holy and wiſe young man, that when his external advantages came in competition with his duty to Almighty God, he relinquiſhed them all: and inſtead of being ſollicitous how to ſecure himſelf, as one minding nothing leſs, he was, with utmoſt hazard of himſelf, moſt careful how to preſerve the honour of God, by his fidelity to his will. And though at the firſt it expoſed him to ruin, yet, as an inſtance of great encouragement to all, that like him will chuſe to keep a good conſcience in an evil time, at laſt it advanced him greatly in the world; and the God of Daniel was made famous and terrible through his perſeverance, even in the eyes of heathen kings.

§. XX. What ſhall I ſay of all the reſt, who, counting nothing dear that they might do the will of God, abandoned their worldly comforts, and expoſed their eaſe and ſafety, as often as the heavenly viſion called them, to the wrath and malice of degenerate princes and an apoſtate church? More eſpecially Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Micah, that after they had denied themſelves in obedience to the divine voice, ſealed up their teſtimony with their blood.

Dorotheus, ib.

Thus was ſelf-denial the practice and glory of the antients, that were predeceſſors to the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh: and ſhall we hope to go to heaven without it now, when our Saviour himſelf is become the moſt excellent example of it? And that not as ſome would fain have it, viz. ‘ for us, that we need not;’ but for us, that we might deny ourſelves, and ſo be the true followers of his bleſſed example.

1 Pet. ii. 20, 21, 22.

§ XXI. Whoever therefore thou art, that wouldeſt do the will of God, but fainteſt in thy deſires from the oppoſition of worldly conſiderations; remember I tell thee, in the name of Chriſt, that he that prefers father or mother, ſiſter or brother, wiſe or child, houſe or land, reputation, honour, office, liberty or life, before the teſtimony of the light of Jeſus in his own conſcience, ſhall be rejected of him, in the ſolemn and general inqueſt upon the world, when all ſhall be judged, and receive according to the deeds done, not the profeſſion made, in this life. It was the doctrine of Jeſus, 'that if thy Mat. v. 29, 30. 'right hand offend thee, thou muſt cut it off; and if thy right eye offend thee, thou 'muſt pluck it out:' that is, if the moſt dear, the moſt uſeful and tender comforts thou enjoyeſt, ſtand in thy ſoul's way, and interrupt thy obedience to the voice of God, and thy conformity to his holy will revealed in thy ſoul, thou art engaged under the penalty of damnation to part with them.

§. XXII. The way of God is a way of faith, as dark to ſenſe, as mortal to ſelf. 'Tis the children of obedience, who count with holy Paul, all things droſs and dung, that they may win Chriſt, and know and walk in this narrow way. Speculation will not do, Iſa. i. 19. nor can refined notions enter, 'the obedient only eat the good of this land:' 'They that John vii. 17. 'do his will' (ſays the bleſſed Jeſus) ſhall know of my doctrine; them he will inſtruct. There is no room for inſtruction, where lawful ſelf is lord, and not ſervant. For ſelf cannot receive it: that which ſhould, is oppreſſed by ſelf; fearful, and dares not. O what will my father or mother ſay? How will my huſband uſe me? Or, finally, what will the magiſtrate do with me? For though I have a moſt powerful perſuaſion, and clear conviction upon my ſoul, of this or that thing, yet conſidering how unmodiſh it is, what enemies it has, and how ſtrange and ſingular I ſhall ſeem to them, I hope God will pity my weakneſs: if I ſink, I am but fleſh and blood; it may be hereafter he may better enable me; and there is time enough. Thus ſelfiſh, fearful man.

But deliberating is ever worſt; for the ſoul loſes in parly: the manifeſtation brings power with it. Never did God convince people, but, upon ſubmiſſion, he impowered them. He requires nothing without ability to perform it: that were mocking, not ſaving of men. It is enough for thee to do thy duty, that God ſhews thee thy duty; provided thou cloſeſt with that light and ſpirit, by which he gives thee that knowledge. They that want power, are ſuch as do not receive Chriſt in his convictions upon the ſoul; and ſuch will always want it: but ſuch as do, they receive power (like thoſe of old) to become the children of God, through the pure obedience of faith.

§. XXIII. Wherefore, let me beſeech you, by the love and mercy of God, by the life and death of Chriſt, by the power of his ſpirit, and the hope of immortality, that you, whoſe hearts are eſtabliſhed in your temporal comforts, and ſo lovers of ſelf more than of theſe heavenly things, would 'let the time paſt ſuffice:' that you would not think it enough to be clear of ſuch impieties, as too many are found in, whilſt your inordinate love of lawful things has defiled your enjoyment of them, and drawn your hearts from the fear, love, obedience, and ſelf-denial of a true diſciple of Jeſus. Tack about then, and hearken to the ſtill voice in thy conſcience; it tells thee thy ſins, and of miſery in them. It gives a lively diſcovery of the very vanity of the world, and opens to thy ſoul ſome proſpect of eternity, and the comforts of the juſt that are at reſt. If thou adhereſt to this, it will divorce thee from ſin and ſelf: thou wilt ſoon find, that the power of its charms exceed that of the wealth, honour, and beauty of the world, and finally will give thee that tranquillity, which the ſtorms of time can never ſhipwreck nor diſorder. Here all thine enjoyments are bleſt; though ſmall, yet great by that preſence that is within them.

Even in this world the righteous have the better of it, for they uſe the world without rebuke, becauſe they do not abuſe it. They ſee and bleſs the hand that feeds, and cloaths, and preſerves them. And as by beholding him in all his gifts, they do not adore them, but him, ſo the ſweetneſs of his bleſſings that gives them, is an advantage ſuch have upon thoſe that ſee him not. Beſides, in their increaſe they are not lifted up, nor in their adverſities are they caſt down: and why? Becauſe they are moderated in the one, and comforted in the other, by his divine preſence.

In ſhort, heaven is the throne, and the earth but the footſtool, of that man, that hath ſelf under foot. And thoſe that know that ſtation will not eaſily be moved; ſuch learn Eph. v. 15, 16. to number their days, that they may not be ſurprized with their diſſolution; and to 're'deem their time, becauſe the days are evil;' remembering, that they are but ſtewards, and muſt deliver up their accompts to an impartial judge. Therefore, not to ſelf, but to him they live, and in him die, and are bleſſed with them that die in the Lord. And thus I conclude my diſcourſe of the right uſe of lawful ſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§. 1. Of unlawful ſelf, 'tis twofold, 1. In Religion, 2. In Morality. §. 2. Of thoſe that are moſt formal, ſuperſtitious and pompous in worſhip. §. 3. God's rebuke of carnal apprehenſions. §. 4. Chriſt drew off his diſciples from the Jewiſh exterior worſhip, and inſtituted a more ſpiritual one. §. 5. Stephen is plain and full in this matter. §. 6. Paul refers the temple of God twice to man. §. 7. Of the croſs of theſe worldly worſhippers. §. 8. Fleſh and blood make their croſs, therefore cannot be crucified by it. §. 9. They are yokes without reſtraint. §. 10. Of the gawdineſs of their croſs, and their reſpect to it. §. 11. A recluſe life no true goſpel abnegation. §. 12. A compariſon between Chriſt's ſelf-denial and theirs: his leads to purity in the world, theirs to voluntary impriſonment, that they might not be tempted of the world. The miſchief which that example, followed, would do to the world. It deſtroys uſeful ſociety, honeſt labour. A lazy life the uſual refuge of idleneſs, poverty and guilty age. §. 13. Of Chriſt's croſs in this caſe. The impoſſibility that ſuch an external application can remove an internal cauſe. §. 14. An exhortation to the men of this belief, not to deceive themſelves.

§. I. I Am now come to unlawful ſelf, which, more or leſs, is the immediate concernment of much the greater part of mankind. This unlawful ſelf is twofold. Chap. V. 1ſt. That which relates to religious worſhip: 2dly, That which concerns moral and civil converſation in the world. And they are both of infinite conſequence to be conſidered by us. In which I ſhall be as brief as I may, with eaſe to my conſcience, and no injury to the matter.

§. II. That unlawful ſelf in religion, that ought to be mortified by the croſs of Chriſt, is man's invention and performance of worſhip to God, as divine, which is not ſo, either in its inſtitution or performance. In this great error, thoſe people have the van, of all, that attribute to themſelves the name of Chriſtians, that are moſt exterior, pompous, and ſuperſtitious in their worſhip: For they do not only miſs exceedingly, by a ſpiritual unpreparedneſs, in the way of their performing worſhip to God Almighty, who is an eternal ſpirit; but the worſhip itſelf is compoſed of what is utterly inconſiſtent with the very form and practice of Chriſt's doctrine, and the apoſtolical example. For whereas that was plain and ſpiritual, this is gawdy and worldly: Chriſt's moſt inward and mental; their's moſt outward and corporal: that ſuited to the nature of God, who is a ſpirit; this accommodated to the moſt carnal part. So that inſtead of excluding fleſh and blood, behold a worſhip calculated to gratify them: as if the buſineſs were not to preſent God with a worſhip to pleaſe him, but to make one to pleaſe themſelves. A worſhip dreſſed with ſuch ſtately buildings, and imagery, rich furniture and garments, rare voices and muſic, coſtly lamps, wax-candles and perfumes; and all acted with that moſt pleaſing variety, to the external ſenſes, that art can invent, or coſt procure: as if the world were to turn Jew or Egyptian again; or that God was an old man, indeed, and Chriſt a little boy, to be treated with a kind of religious maſk, for ſo they picture him in their temples; and too many in their minds. And the truth is, ſuch a worſhip may very well ſuit ſuch an idea of God: For when men can think him ſuch an one as themſelves, it is not to be wondered, if they addreſs to him, and entertain him in a way that would be moſt pleaſing from others to themſelves.

§. III. But what ſaid the Almighty to ſuch a ſenſual people of old, much upon the like occaſion? 'Thou thoughteſt I was ſuch an one as thyſelf, but I will reprove thee, Pſal. l. 21, 22, 'and ſet thy ſins in order before thee. Now conſider this, ye that forget God, leſt I 23. 'tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver. But to him that ordereth his converſation aright, will I ſhew the ſalvation of God.' This is the worſhip acceptable to him, 'To do juſtice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God,' For he that 'ſearch- Mic. vi. 8. 'eth the heart and tries the reins of man, and ſets his ſins in order before him, who is 'the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh,' looks not to the external fabrick, but internal frame of the ſoul, and inclination of the heart. Nor is it to be ſoberly thought, that he, who is 'cloathed with divine honour and majeſty, who covers himſelf with light, as with a 'garment, who ſtretches out the heavens like a curtain, who layeth the beams of his 'chambers in the deep, who maketh the clouds his chariots, and who walks upon the 'wings of the wind, who maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flaming fire, who 'laid the foundation of the earth, that it ſhould not be moved for ever,' can be adequately worſhipped by thoſe human inventions, the refuge of an apoſtate people, from the primitive power of religion, and ſpirituality of chriſtian worſhip.

§. IV. Chriſt drew off his diſciples from the glory and worſhip of the outward temple, and inſtituted a more inward and ſpiritual worſhip, in which he inſtructed his followers, 'Ye ſhall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jeruſalem (ſays Chriſt to the John iv. 21, Samaritan woman) 'worſhip the Father. God is a ſpirit, and they that worſhip him, muſt 24. 'worſhip him in ſpirit and in truth.' As if he had ſaid: for the ſake of the weakneſs of ~~the people~~, God condeſcended in old time, to limit himſelf to an outward time, place, temple and ſervice, in and by which he would be worſhipped: but this was during mens ignorance of his omnipreſence, and that they conſidered not what God is, nor where he is. But I am come to reveal him, to as many as receive me. And I tell you that God is a ſpirit, and he will be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth. People muſt be acquainted with him as a ſpirit, conſider him, and worſhip him as ſuch. 'Tis not that bodily worſhip, nor theſe ceremonious ſervices, in uſe among you now, that will ſerve, or give acceptance with this God that is a ſpirit: no, you muſt obey his ſpirit that ſtrives with you, to gather you out of the evil of the world; that by bowing to the inſtructions and commands of his ſpirit in your own ſouls, you may know what it is to worſhip him as a ſpirit; then you will underſtand, that 'tis not going to this mountain, nor Jeruſalem, but to do the will of God, to keep his commandments; and commune with thine own heart, and ſin not, take up thy croſs, meditate in his holy law, and follow the example of him whom the Father hath ſent.

Acts vii. 47—51.
Iſa. lxvi. 1, 2.

§. V. Wherefore Stephen, that bold and conſtant martyr of Jeſus, thus told the Jews, when a priſoner at their bar for diſputing about the end of their beloved temple, and its ſervices, (but falſly accuſed of blaſphemy) 'Solomon (ſaid Stephen) built God an houſe; howbeit, God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as ſaith the prophet, Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footſtool; what houſe will ye build me, ſaith the Lord? Or what is the place of my reſt? Hath not my hand made all theſe things?' Behold a total overthrow to all worldly temples, and their ceremonious appendencies! The martyr follows his blow upon thoſe apoſtate Jews, who were of thoſe times, the pompous, ceremonious, worldly worſhippers: 'Ye ſtiff-necked and uncircumciſed in heart and ears, ye do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt; as did your fathers, ſo do ye.' As if he had told them: no matter for your outward temple, rites, and ſhadowy ſervices, your pretenſions to ſucceſſion in nature from Abraham, and by religion from Moſes; you are reſiſters of the ſpirit, gainſayers of its inſtructions: You will not bow to its counſel, nor are your hearts right towards God: You are the ſucceſſors of your father's iniquity; and though verbal admirers, yet none of the ſucceſſors of the prophets in faith and life.

Iſa. lxvi. 2.

But the prophet Iſaiah carries it a little farther than is cited by Stephen. For after having declared what is not God's houſe, 'the place where his honour dwells,' immediately follow theſe words: 'But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite ſpirit, and trembleth at my word.' Behold, O carnal and ſuperſtitious man, the true worſhipper, and the place of God's reſt! This is the houſe and temple of Him whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain; an houſe ſelf cannot build, nor the art nor power of man prepare or conſecrate.

1 Cor. vi. 9.
2 Cor. vi. 16.
Prov. viii. 22, 23, 25, 31.
Hag. ii. 9.

§ VI. Paul, that great apoſtle of the Gentiles, twice expreſly refers the word temple to man: once in his firſt epiſtle to the church at Corinth; 'Know ye not (ſays he) that you are the temples of the Holy Ghoſt, which is in you, which ye have of God?' &c. and not the building of man's hand and art. Again, he tells the ſame people (in his Second epiſtle) 'For ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath ſaid;' (and then cites God's words by the prophet) 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people.' This is the evangelical temple, the chriſtian church, whoſe ornaments are not the embroideries and furnitures of worldly art and wealth, but the graces of the ſpirit; 'meekneſs, love, faith, patience, ſelf-denial, and charity.' Here it is, that the eternal Wiſdom, that was with God from everlaſting, before the hills were brought forth, or the mountains laid, chuſes to dwell, 'rejoicing (ſays Wiſdom) in the habitable part of the earth, and my delights were with the ſons of men;' not in houſes built of wood and ſtone. This living houſe is more glorious than Solomon's dead houſe; and of which his was but a figure, as he, the builder, was of Chriſt, who 'builds us up an holy temple to God.' 'Twas promis'd of old, that 'the glory of the latter houſe ſhould tranſcend the glory of the former;' which may be applied to this: not one outward temple or houſe to excel another in outward luſtre; for where is the benefit of that? but the divine glory, the beauty of holineſs in the goſpel-houſe or church, made up of renewed believers, ſhould exceed the outward glory of Solomon's temple, which in compariſon of the latter days, was but fleſh to ſpirit, fading reſemblances to the eternal ſubſtance.

But for all this, chriſtians have meeting-places, yet not in Jewiſh or Heathen ſtate, but plain; void of pomp and ceremony; ſuiting the ſimplicity of their bleſſed Lord's life and doctrine. For God's preſence is not with the houſe, but with them that are in it, who are the goſpel-church, and not the houſe. O! that ſuch as call themſelves chriſtians, knew but a real ſanctity in themſelves, by the waſhing of God's regenerating grace; inſtead of that imaginary ſanctity aſcribed to places, they would then know what the church is, and where, in theſe evangelical days, is the place of God's appearance. This made the prophet David ſay, 'The King's daughter is all glorious within, her cloathing is of wrought gold.' What is the glory that is within the true church, and that gold that makes up that inward glory? Tell me, O ſuperſtitious man! is it thy ſtately temples, altars, carpets, tables, tapeſtries; thy veſtments, organs, voices, candles, lamps, cenſers, plate and jewels, with the like furniture of thy wordly temples? No ſuch matter; they bear no proportion with the divine adornment of the King of heaven's daughter, the bleſſed and redeemed church of Chriſt. Miſerable apoſtacy that it is! and a wretched ſupplement in the loſs and abſence of the apoſtolick life, the ſpiritual glory of the primitive church.

§ VII. But yet ſome of theſe admirers of external pomp and glory in worſhip, would be thought lovers of the Croſs, and to that end have made to themſelves many. But alas! what hopes can there be of reconciling that to chriſtianity, that the nearer it comes to its reſemblance, the farther off it is in reality? For their very croſs and ſelf-denial, are moſt unlawful ſelf: and whilſt they fancy to worſhip God thereby, they moſt dangerouſly err from the true croſs of Chriſt, and that holy abnegation that was of his bleſſed appointment. 'Tis true, they have got a croſs, but it ſeems to be in the room of the true one; and ſo mannerly, that it will do as they will have it that wear it: for inſtead of mortifying their wills by it, they made it, and uſe it according to them. So that the croſs is become their enſign, that do nothing but what they liſt. Yet by that they would be thought his diſciples, that never did his own will, but the will of his heavenly Father.

§. VIII. This is ſuch a croſs as fleſh and blood can carry, for fleſh and blood invented it; therefore not the croſs of Chriſt, that is to crucify fleſh and blood. Thouſands of them have no more virtue than a chip; poor empty ſhadows, not ſo much as images of the true one. Some carry them for charms about them, but never repel one evil with them. They ſin with them upon their backs; and though they put them in their boſoms, their beloved luſts lie there too without the leaſt diſquiet. They are as dumb as Elijah's mock-gods; no life nor power in them: and how ſhould they, whoſe matter is earthly, and whoſe figure and workmanſhip are but the invention and labour of worldly artiſts? Is it poſſible that ſuch croſſes ſhould mend their makers? Surely not. 1 Kings xviii. 27.

§. IX. Theſe are yokes without reſtraint, and croſſes that never contradict: a whole cart-load of them would leave a man as unmortified as they find him. Men may ſooner knock their brains out with them, than their ſins: and that, I fear, too many of them know in their very conſciences that uſe them, indeed, adore them, and (which can only happen to the falſe croſs) are proud of them too, ſince the true one leaves no pride where it is truly borne.

§. X. For as their religion, ſo their croſs is very gawdy and triumphant: but in what? In precious metals and gems, the ſpoil of ſuperſtition upon the people's pockets. Theſe croſſes are made of earthly treaſure, inſtead of learning their hearts that wear them to deny it: and like men, they are reſpected by their finery. A rich croſs ſhall have many gazers and admirers; the mean, in this, as other things, are more neglected. I could appeal to themſelves of this great vanity and ſuperſtition. O! how very ſhort is this of the bleſſed croſs of Jeſus, that takes away the ſins of the world!

§. XI. Nor is a recluſe life, (the boaſted righteouſneſs of ſome) much more commendable, or one whit nearer to the nature of the true croſs: for if it be not unlawful as other things are, it is unnatural, which true religion teaches not. The chriſtian convent and monaſtery are within, where the ſoul is encloiſtered from ſin. And this religious houſe the true followers of Chriſt carry about with them, who exempt not themſelves from the converſation of the world, though they keep themſelves from the evil of the world in their converſation. That is a lazy, ruſty, unprofitable ſelf-denial, burdenſome to others, to feed their idleneſs; religious bedlams, where people are kept up, leſt they ſhould do miſchief abroad; patience per force; ſelf-denial againſt their will, rather ignorant than virtuous; and out of the way of temptation, than conſtant in it. No thanks if they commit not, what they are not tempted to commit. What the eye views not, the heart craves not, as well as rues not.

§. XII. The croſs of Chriſt is of another nature: it truly overcomes the world, and leads a life of purity in the face of its allurements: they that bear it, are not thus chained up, for fear they ſhould bite; nor locked up, leſt they ſhould be ſtole away: no, they receive power from Chriſt their captain, to reſiſt the evil, and do that which is good in the ſight of God; to deſpiſe the world, and love its reproach above its praiſe: and not only not to offend others, but love thoſe that offend them, though not for offending them. What a world ſhould we have, if every body, for fear of tranſgreſſing, ſhould mew himſelf up within four walls! No ſuch matter; the perfection of chriſtian life extends to every honeſt labour or traffick uſed among men. This ſeverity is not the effect of Chriſt's free ſpirit, but a voluntary, fleſhly humility; meer trammels of their own making and putting on, without preſcription or reaſon. In all which, it is plain, they are their own law-givers, and ſet their own rule, mulct and ranſom: a conſtrained harſhneſs, out of joint to the reſt of the creation: for ſociety is one great end of it, and not to be deſtroyed for fear of evil; but ſin baniſhed that ſpoils it, by ſteady reproof, and a conſpicuous example of tried virtue. True godlineſs does not turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavours to mend it: ‘not hide ‘their candle under a buſhel, but ſet it upon a table in a candleſtick.’ Beſides, it is a ſelfiſh invention; and that can never be the way of taking up the croſs, which the true croſs is therefore taken up to ſubject. But again, this humour runs away by itſelf, and leaves the world behind to be loſt; chriſtians ſhould keep the helm, and guide the veſſel to its port; not meanly ſteal out at the ſtern of the world, and leave thoſe that are in it without a pilot, to be driven by the fury of evil times, upon the rock or ſand of ruin. In fine, this ſort of life, if taken up by young people, is commonly to cover idleneſs, or to pay portions; to ſave the lazy from the pain of puniſhment, or quality from the diſgrace of poverty: one will not work and the other ſcorns it. If aged, a long life of guilt ſometimes flies to ſuperſtition for refuge; and after having had its own will in other things, would finiſh it in a wilful religion to make God amends.

§. XIII. But taking up the croſs of Jeſus is a more interior exerciſe: it is the circumſpection and diſcipline of the ſoul, in conformity to the divine mind therein revealed. Does not the body follow the ſoul, and not the ſoul the body? Do not ſuch conſider, that no outward cell can ſhut up the ſoul from luſt, the mind from an infinity of unrighteous imaginations? The thoughts of man's heart are evil, and that continually. Evil comes from within, and not from without: how then can an external application remove an internal cauſe; or a reſtraint upon the body, work a confinement of the mind? Leſs much than without doors: for where there is leaſt of action, there is moſt time to think; and if thoſe thoughts are not guided by an higher principle, convents are more miſchievous to the world than exchanges. And yet a retirement is both an excellent and needful thing: crowds and throngs were not much frequented by the ancient holy pilgrims.

§. XIV. But then examine, O man, thy bottom, what it is, and who placed thee there; leſt in the end it ſhould appear, thou haſt put an eternal cheat upon thy own ſoul. I muſt confeſs I am jealous of the ſalvation of my own kind, having found mercy with my heavenly Father: I would have none deceive themſelves to perdition, eſpecially about religion, where people are moſt apt to take all for granted, and loſe infinitely by their own flatteries and neglect. The inward ſteady righteouſneſs of Jeſus is another thing, than all the contrived devotion of poor ſuperſtitious man: and to ſtand approved in the eye of God, excels that bodily exerciſe in religion, reſulting from the invention of men. And the ſoul that is awakened and preſerved by his holy power and ſpirit, lives to him in the way of his own inſtitution, and worſhips him in his own ſpirit, that is, in the holy ſenſe, life, and leadings of it; which indeed is the evangelical worſhip. Not that I would be thought to ſlight a true retirement: for I do not only acknowledge, but admire ſolitude. Chriſt himſelf was an example of it: he loved and choſe to frequent mountains, gardens, ſea-ſides. They are requiſite to the growth of piety; and I reverence the virtue that ſeeks and uſes it; wiſhing there were more of it in the world: but then it ſhould be free, not conſtrained. What benefit to the mind, to have it for a puniſhment, and not a pleaſure? Nay, I have long thought it an error among all ſorts, that uſe not monaſtick lives, that they have no retreats for the afflicted, the tempted, the ſolitary, and the devout; where they might undiſturbedly wait upon God, paſs through their religious exerciſes; and, being thereby ſtrengthened, may, with more power over their own ſpirits, enter into the buſineſs of the world again; tho' the leſs the better to be ſure. For divine pleaſures are found in a free ſolitude.

CHAP. VI.

§. 1. *But men of more refined belief and practice are yet concerned in this unlawful ſelf about religion.* §. 2. *It is the riſe of the performance of worſhip God regards.* §. 3. *True worſhip is only from an heart prepared by God's ſpirit.* §. 4. *The ſoul of man dead, without the divine breath of life, and ſo not capable of worſhipping the living God.* §. 5. *We are not to ſtudy what to pray for. How chriſtians ſhould pray. The aid they have from God.* §. 6. *The way of obtaining this preparation: it is by waiting, as David and others did of old, in holy ſilence, that their wants and ſupplies are beſt ſeen.* §. 7. *The whole and the full think they need not this waiting, and ſo uſe it not: but the poor in ſpirit are of another mind; wherefore the Lord hears and fills them with his good things.* §. 8. *If there were not this preparation, the Jewiſh times would have been more holy and ſpiritual than the goſpel; for even then it was required, and much more now.* §. 9. *As ſin, ſo formality cannot worſhip God: thus David, Iſaiah, &c.* §. 10. *God's own forms and inſtitutions hateful to him, unleſs his own ſpirit uſe them; much more thoſe of man's contriving.* §. 11. *God's children ever met God in his way, not their own; and in his way they always found help and comfort. In Jeremiah's time it was the ſame; his goodneſs was manifeſted to his children that waited truly upon him: it was an inward ſenſe and enjoyment of him they thirſted after. Chriſt charged his diſciples alſo to wait for the ſpirit.* §. 12. *This doctrine of waiting farther opened, and ended with an alluſion to the pool of Betheſda; a lively figure of inward waiting, and its bleſſed effects.* §. 13. *Four things neceſſary to worſhip; the ſanctification of the worſhipper, and the conſecration of* *of the offering, and the thing to be prayed for: and laſtly, faith to pray in: and all muſt be right, that is, of God's giving. §. 14. The great power of faith in prayer; witneſs the importunate widow. The wicked and formal aſk, and receive not; the reaſon why. But Jacob and his true offſpring, the followers of his faith, prevail. §. 15. This ſhews, why Chriſt upbraided his diſciples with their little faith. The neceſſity of faith. Chriſt works no good on men without it. §. 16. This faith is not only poſſible now, but neceſſary. §. 17. What it is, farther unfolded. §. 18. Who the heirs of this faith are; and what were the noble works of it in the former ages of the juſt.*

§. I. BUT there be others, of a more refined ſpeculation, and reformed practice, who dare not uſe, and leſs adore, a piece of wood or ſtone, an image of ſilver or gold; nor yet allow of that Jewiſh, or rather Pagan pomp in worſhip, practiſed by others, as if Chriſt's worſhip were of this world, tho' his kingdom be of the other; but are doctrinally averſe to ſuch ſuperſtition, and yet refrain not to bow to their own religious duties, and eſteem their formal performance of ſeveral parts of worſhip, that go againſt the grain of their fleſhly eaſe, and a preciſeneſs therein, no ſmall croſs unto them; and that if they abſtain from groſs and ſcandalous ſins, or if the act be not committed, though the thoughts of it are embraced, and that it has a full career in the mind, they hold themſelves ſafe enough, within the pale of diſcipleſhip, and wall of chriſtianity. But this alſo is too mean a character of the diſcipline of Chriſt's croſs: and thoſe that flatter themſelves with ſuch a ſort of taking it up, will in the end be deceived with a ſandy foundation, and a midnight cry. For ſaid Chriſt, 'but I ſay unto you, that every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give an account thereof in the day of 'judgment.' Mat. xii. 36.

§. II. For firſt, it is not performing duties of religion, but the riſe of the performance, that God looks at. Men may, and ſome do, croſs their own wills, in their own wills; voluntary omiſſion, or commiſſion: 'who has required this at your hands?' ſaid the Lord of old to the Jews, when they ſeemed induſtrious to have ſerved him; but it was in a way of their own contriving or inventing, and in their own time and will; not with the ſoul truly touched and prepared by the divine power of God; but bodily worſhip only, that the apoſtle tells us, profits little. Not keeping to the manner of taking up the croſs in worſhip, as well as other things, has been a great cauſe of the troubleſome ſuperſtition that is yet in the world. For men have no more brought their worſhip to the teſt, than their ſins: nay, leſs; for they have ignorantly thought the one a ſort of excuſe for the other; and not that their religious performances ſhould need a croſs, or an apology. Iſa. i. 12.

§. III. But true worſhip can only come from an heart prepared by the Lord. This preparation is by the ſanctification of the Spirit; by which, if God's children are led in the general courſe of their lives, (as Paul teaches) much more in their worſhip to their Creator and Redeemer. And whatever prayer be made, or doctrine be uttered, and not from the preparation of the Holy Spirit, it is not acceptable with God: Nor can it be the true evangelical worſhip, which is in ſpirit and truth; that is, by the preparation and aid of the Spirit. For what is an heap of the moſt pathetical words to God Almighty; or the dedication of any place or time to him? He is a ſpirit, to whom words, places and times (ſtrictly conſidered) are improper or inadequate. And tho' they be the inſtruments of public worſhip, they are but bodily and viſible, and cannot carry our requeſts any farther, much leſs recommend them to the inviſible God; by no means: they are for the ſake of the congregation: it is the language of the ſoul God hears; nor can that ſpeak, but by the Spirit; or groan aright to Almighty God, without the aſſiſtance of it. Prov. xvi. 1. Rom. 8. 14.

§. IV. The ſoul of man, however lively in other things, is dead to God, till he breathe the ſpirit of life into it: it cannot live to him, much leſs worſhip him without it. Thus God by Ezekiel tells us, when in a viſion of the reſtoration of mankind, in the perſon of Iſrael, (an uſual way of ſpeaking among the prophets, and as often miſtaken) 'I will 'open your graves (ſaith the Lord) and put my ſpirit in you, and ye ſhall live.' So, tho' Chriſt taught his diſciples to pray, they were, in ſome ſort, diſciples before he taught them; not worldly men, whoſe prayers are an abomination to God. And his teaching them is not an argument that every body muſt ſay that prayer, whether he can ſay it with the ſame heart, and under the ſame qualifications, as his poor diſciples and followers did, or not, as is now too ſuperſtitiouſly and preſumptuouſly practiſed. But rather, that as they then, ſo we now, are not to pray our own prayers, but his; that is, ſuch as he enables us to make, as he enabled them then. Ezek. xxxvii. 12, 13, 14.

§. V. For if we are not to take thought what we ſhall ſay when we come before worldly princes, becauſe it ſhall then be given us; and that it is not we that ſpeak, but the ſpirit of our heavenly Father that ſpeaketh in us; much leſs can our ability be needed, or ought we to ſtudy to ourſelves forms of ſpeech in our approaches to the great Prince of princes, King of kings, and Lord of lords. For be it his greatneſs, we ought not by Chriſt's command: be it our relation to him, as children, we need not: he will Mat. x. 19, 20. Mat. vi.

help us, he is our father; that is, if he be ſo indeed. Thus not only the mouth of the body, but of the ſoul is ſhut, till God opens it; and then he loves to hear the language of it. In which the body ought never to go before the ſoul: his ear is open to ſuch requeſts, and his ſpirit ſtrongly intercedes for thoſe that offer them.

§. VI. But it may be aſked, how ſhall this preparation be obtained?

Pſal. x. 17. I anſwer: by waiting patiently, yet watchfully and intently upon God: ‘ Lord (ſays ‘ the Pſalmiſt) thou haſt heard the deſire of the humble; thou wilt prepare their heart, Prov. xvi. 1. ‘ thou wilt cauſe thine ear to hear:’ and, (ſays Wiſdom) ‘ the preparation of the heart ‘ in man is from the Lord.’ Here it is thou muſt not think thy own thoughts, nor ſpeak thy own words, (which indeed is the ſilence of the holy croſs) but be ſequeſtered from all the confuſed imaginations, that are apt to throng and preſs upon the mind in thoſe holy retirements. It is not for thee to think to overcome the Almighty by the moſt compoſed matter, caſt into the apteſt phraſe: no, no; one groan, one ſigh, from a wounded ſoul, an heart touched with true remorſe, a ſincere and godly ſorrow, which is the work of God's ſpirit, excels and prevails with God. Wherefore ſtand ſtill in thy mind, wait to feel ſomething that is divine, to prepare and diſpoſe thee to worſhip God truly and acceptably. And thus taking up the croſs, and ſhutting the doors and windows of the ſoul againſt every thing that would interrupt this attendance upon God, how pleaſant ſoever the object be in itſelf, how lawful or needful at another ſeaſon, the power of the Almighty will break in, his ſpirit will work and prepare the heart, that it may offer up an acceptable ſacrifice. It is he that diſcovers and preſſes wants upon the ſoul; and when it cries, it is he alone that ſupplies them. Petitions, not ſpringing from ſuch a ſenſe and preparation, are formal and fictitious: they are not true; for men pray in their own blind deſires, and not in the will of God; and his ear is ſtopped to them: but Pſal. xii. 5. for the very ſighing of the poor, and crying of the needy, God has ſaid, he will ariſe; that is, the poor in ſpirit, the needy ſoul, thoſe that want his aſſiſtance, who are ready to be overwhelmed, that feel a need, and cry aloud for a deliverer, and that have none on earth to help, ‘ none in heaven but him, nor in the earth in compariſon of him: he Pſal. lxxii. 12, 14. ‘ will deliver (ſaid David) the needy, when he cries, and the poor, and him that has no ‘ helper. He ſhall redeem their ſoul from deceit and violence, and precious ſhall their Pſal. xxxiv. 6, 7, 8. ‘ blood be in his ſight. This poor man (ſays he) cried, and the Lord heard him, and ‘ ſaved him out of all his troubles. The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them ‘ that fear him, and delivers them:’ and then invites all to come and taſte how good the Pſal. cxv. 13. Lord is. Yea, ‘ he will bleſs them that fear the Lord, both ſmall and great.’

Mat. ix. 12. §. VII. But what is that to them that are not hungry? The whole need not the phyſician: the full have no need to ſigh, nor the rich to cry for help. Thoſe that are not ſenſible of their inward wants, that have not fears and terrors upon them, who feel no need of God's power to help them, nor of the light of his countenance to comfort them; what have ſuch to do with prayer? Their devotion is but, at beſt, a ſerious mockery of the Almighty. They know not, they want not, they deſire not what they pray for. They pray the will of God may be done, and do conſtantly their own: for, tho' it be ſoon ſaid, it is a moſt terrible thing to them. They aſk for grace, and abuſe that they have: they pray for the ſpirit, but reſiſt it in themſelves, and ſcorn at it in others: they requeſt the mercies and goodneſs of God, and feel no real want of them. And in this inward inſenſibility, they are as unable to praiſe God for what they have, as to pray for what they have not. Pſal. xxii. 26. Pſal. cvii. 9. ‘ They ſhall praiſe the Lord (ſays David) that ſeek him: for he ſatisfieth the longing ‘ ſoul, and filleth the hungry with good things.’ This alſo he reſerves for the poor and Pſal. lxxiv. 21. needy, and thoſe that fear God. ‘ Let the (ſpiritually) poor and the needy praiſe thy Pſal. xxii. 23. ‘ name: ye that fear the Lord, praiſe him; and ye the ſeed of Jacob, glorify him.’ Jacob was a plain man, of an upright heart; and they that are ſo, are his ſeed. And tho' (with him) they may be as poor as worms in their own eyes, yet they receive power to wreſtle with God, and prevail as he did.

Numb. viii. and ch. xix. 2 Chron. xxix. 36. & ch. xxx. 16, 17. §. VIII. But without the preparation and conſecration of this power, no man is fit to come before God; elſe it were matter of leſs holineſs and reverence to worſhip God under the goſpel, than it was in the times of the law, when all ſacrifices were ſprinkled, before offered; the people conſecrated, that offered them, before they preſented themſelves before the Lord. If the touching of a dead or unclean beaſt then made people unfit for temple or ſacrifice, yea, ſociety with the clean, till firſt ſprinkled and ſanctified, how can we think ſo meanly of the worſhip that is inſtituted by Chriſt in goſpel-times, as that it ſhall admit of unprepared and unſanctified offerings? or, allow that thoſe who either in thoughts, words, or deeds, do daily touch that which is morally unclean, can (without coming to the blood of Jeſus, that ſprinkles the conſcience from dead works) acceptably worſhip the pure God: it is a downright contradiction to good ſenſe: the unclean cannot acceptably worſhip that which is holy; the impure that which is perfect. There is an holy intercourſe and communion betwixt Chriſt and his fol- 2 Cor. vi. 15, 16. lowers; but none at all betwixt Chriſt and Belial; between him and thoſe that diſobey his commandments, and live not the life of his bleſſed croſs and ſelf-denial.

§. IX. But as ſin, ſo formality cannot worſhip God; no, though the manner were

of his own ordination. Which made the prophet, perſonating one in a great ſtreight,
cry out, ‘ wherewith ſhall I come before the Lord, and bow myſelf before the high
‘ God? ſhall I come before him with burnt-offerings? With calves of a year old? Will Mic. vi. 6, 7,
‘ the Lord be pleaſed with thouſands of rams, or with ten thouſands of rivers of oil? Shall 8.
‘ I give my firſt-born for my tranſgreſſions, the fruit of my body for the ſin of my ſoul?
‘ He hath ſhewed thee, O man what is good. And what doth the Lord require of
‘ thee, but to do juſtly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?’ The royal
prophet, ſenſible of this, calls thus alſo upon God; ‘ O Lord, open thou my lips, and Pſal. li. 15,
‘ my mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe.’ He did not dare open his own lips, he knew 16, 17.
that could not praiſe God; and why? ‘ For thou deſireſt not ſacrifice, elſe would I give
‘ it:’ (if my formal offerings would ſerve, thou ſhouldſt not want them) ‘ thou delighteſt
‘ not in burnt-offerings. The ſacrifices of God are a broken ſpirit, a broken
‘ and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe:’ and why? Becauſe this is God’s
work, the effect of his power; and his own works praiſe him. To the ſame purpoſe
doth God himſelf ſpeak, by the mouth of Iſaiah, in oppoſition to the formalities and
lip-worſhip of the degenerate Jews: ‘ thus ſaith the Lord, the heaven is my throne, Pſal. lxvi. 1,
‘ and the earth is my foot-ſtool, where is the houſe that ye build to me? And where is 2, 3.
‘ the place of my reſt? For all theſe things hath my hand made. But to this man
‘ will I look, even him that is poor, and of a contrite ſpirit, and trembleth at my
‘ word.’ O behold the true worſhipper! one of God’s preparing, circumciſed in heart
and ear, that reſiſts not the Holy Spirit, as thoſe lofty profeſſing Jews did. Was this
ſo then, even in the time of the law, which was the diſpenſation of external and ſhadowy
performances, and can we now expect acceptance without the preparation of the Spirit of
the Lord in theſe goſpel-times, which are the proper times for the effuſion of the Spirit?
By no means: God is what he was; and none elſe are his true worſhippers, but ſuch
as worſhip him in his own ſpirit: theſe he tenders as the apple of his eye: the reſt do
but mock him, and he deſpiſes them. Hear what follows to that people, for it is the
ſtate and portion of Chriſtendom at this day: ‘ he that killeth an ox, is as if he ſlew a
‘ man; he that ſacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog’s neck; he that offereth an oblation,
‘ as if he offered ſwines blood; he that burneth incenſe, as if he bleſſed an idol.
‘ Yea, they have choſen their own ways, and their ſoul delighteth in their abominations.’
‘ Let none ſay, we offer not theſe kinds of oblations, for that is not the matter;
God was not offended with the offerings, but offerers. Theſe were the legal
forms of ſacrifice by God appointed; but they not preſenting them in that frame of ſpirit,
and under that right diſpoſition of ſoul that was required, God declares his abhorrence,
and that with great aggravation; and elſewhere, by the ſame prophet, forbids them
to ‘ bring any more vain oblations before him: incenſe (ſays God) is an abomination to Iſa. i. 13, to
‘ me: your ſabbaths and calling of aſſemblies I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even 18.
‘ the ſolemn meeting. And when you ſpread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes
‘ from you; when you make many prayers, I will not hear you.’ A moſt terrible renunciation
of their worſhip; and why? Becauſe their hearts were polluted; they loved
not the Lord with their whole hearts, but broke his law, and rebelled againſt his
ſpirit, and did not that which was right in his ſight. The cauſe is plain, by the
amendments he requires: ‘ waſh you, (ſays the Lord) make you clean, put away the
‘ evil of your doings from before mine eyes: ceaſe to do evil, learn to do well: ſeek
‘ judgment, relieve the oppreſſed, judge the fatherleſs, plead for the widow.’ Upon
theſe terms (and nothing ſhort) he bids them come to him, and tells them, that though
their ‘ ſins be as ſcarlet, they ſhall be white as ſnow; and though they be as crimſon,
‘ they ſhall be white as wool.’

So true is that notable paſſage of the Pſalmiſt: ‘ Come and hear, all ye that fear God, Pſal. lxvi. 16,
‘ and I will declare what he hath done for my ſoul: I cried to him with my mouth, 20.
‘ and he was extolled with my tongue. If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord
‘ will not hear me. But verily God hath heard me, he hath attended to the voice of
‘ my prayer. Bleſſed be God which hath not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy
‘ from me.’

§. X. Much of this kind might be cited, to ſhew the diſpleaſure of God againſt
even his own forms of worſhip, when performed without his own ſpirit, and that neceſſary
preparation of the heart in man, that nothing elſe can work or give: which
above all other penmen of ſacred writ, is moſt frequently and emphatically recommended
to us by the example of the Pſalmiſt, who, ever and anon calling to mind his
own great ſlips, and the cauſe of them, and the way by which he came to be accepted
of God, and obtain ſtrength and comfort from him, reminds himſelf to wait upon God.
‘ Lead me in thy truth and teach me, for thou art the God of my ſalvation; on thee do Pſal. xxv. 5.
‘ I wait all the day long.’ His ſoul looked to God for ſalvation, to be delivered from
the ſnares and evils of the world. This ſhews an inward exerciſe, a ſpiritual attendance,
that ſtood not in external forms, but an inward divine aid.

And truly, David had great encouragement ſo to do, the goodneſs of God invited him
to it, and ſtrengthened him in it. For, ſays he, ‘ I waited patiently upon the Lord, Pſal. xl. 1, 2,

‘ and 3.

‘ and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. He brought me out of the miry clay,
‘ and ſet my feet upon a rock.’ That is, the Lord appeared inwardly to conſolate David's
ſoul, that waited for his help, and to deliver it from the temptations and afflictions that
were ready to overwhelm it, and gave him ſecurity and peace. Therefore he ſays, ‘the
‘ Lord hath eſtabliſh'd my going;’ that is, fixed his mind in righteouſneſs. Before,
every ſtep he took bemired him, and he was ſcarce able to go without falling: temptations
on all hands; but he waited patiently upon God; his mind retired watchful and intent
to his law and ſpirit; and he felt the Lord to incline to him. His needy and ſenſible
cry entered heaven, and prevailed; then came reſcue and deliverance to David, (in God's
time, not David's) ſtrength to go through his exerciſes, and ſurmount all his troubles.
For which he tells us, ‘a new ſong was put into his mouth, even praiſe,’ ſays he, ‘to
‘ our God.’ But it was of God's making and putting, and not his own.

Another time, we have him crying thus: ‘As the hart panteth after the water-brooks,
‘ ſo panteth my ſoul after thee, O God. My ſoul thirſteth for God, for the living God;
‘ when ſhall I come and appear before him?’ This goes beyond formality, and can be
tied to no leſſon. But we may by this ſee, that true worſhip is an inward work; that
the ſoul muſt be touched and raiſed in its heavenly deſires, by the heavenly ſpirit, and
that the true worſhip is in God's preſence. ‘When ſhall I come and appear?’ Not in
the temple, nor with outward ſacrifices, but before God, in his preſence. So that the
ſouls of true worſhippers ſee God, make their appearance before him; and this they
wait, they pant, they thirſt for. O how is the better part of Chriſtendom degenerated
from David's example! No wonder therefore that this good man tells us, ‘truly my
‘ ſoul waiteth upon God;’ and that he gives it in charge to his ſoul ſo to do; ‘O my
‘ ſoul, wait thou upon God; for my expectation is from him.’ As if he ſaid, None
elſe can prepare my heart, or ſupply my wants; ſo that my expectation is not from my
own voluntary performances, or the bodily worſhip I can give him; they are of no
value: they can neither help me, nor pleaſe him. But I wait upon him for ſtrength
and power to preſent myſelf ſo before him, as may be moſt pleaſing to him: for he that
prepares the ſacrifice, will certainly accept it. Wherefore in two verſes he repeats it
Pſal. cxxx. 5, 6. thrice, ‘I wait for the Lord---My ſoul doth wait---My ſoul waiteth for the Lord, more
‘ than they that watch for the morning.’ Yea, ſo intenſely, and with that unweariedneſs
Pſal. lxix. 3. of ſoul, that he ſays in one place, ‘Mine eyes fail, while I wait for my God.’
He was not contented with ſo many prayers, ſuch a ſet of worſhip, or limited repetition;
no: he leaves not till he finds the Lord, that is, the comforts of his preſence; which
bring the anſwer of love and peace to his ſoul. Nor was this his practice only, as a man
more than ordinarily inſpired; for he ſpeaks of it as the way of worſhip then amongſt
the true people of God, the ſpiritual Iſrael, and circumciſion in heart, of that day.
Pſal. cxxiii. 2. ‘ Behold (ſays he) as the eyes of ſervants look to the hand of their maſters, and as the
‘ eye of a maiden unto the hand of her miſtreſs, ſo our eyes wait upon the Lord our
Pſal. xxxiii. 20. ‘ God, until he have mercy upon us.’ In another place, ‘Our Soul waiteth for the
‘ Lord, he is our help and our ſhield. I will wait upon thy name, for it is good before
Pſal. lii. 9. thy ſaints, It was in requeſt with the truly godly of that day, and the way they came to
enjoy God, and worſhip him acceptably. And from his own experience of the benefit of
waiting upon God, and the ſaints practice of thoſe times, he recommends it to others:
Pſal. xxvii. 14. ‘ Wait upon the Lord, be of good courage, ‘and he ſhall ſtrengthen thy heart: wait,
I ſay, upon the Lord.’ That is, wait in faith and patience, and he will come to ſave
Pſal. xxxvii. 7. thee. Again, ‘Reſt in the Lord, and wait patiently upon him:’ that is, caſt thyſelf
upon him; be contented, and wait for him to help thee in thy wants: thou canſt not
think how near he is to help thoſe that wait upon him: O try, and have faith! Yet
Pſal. xxxvii. 34. again, he bids us, ‘wait upon the Lord, and keep his way.’ Behold the reaſon ſo few
profit! they are out of his way, and ſuch can never wait rightly upon him. Great
reaſon had David for what he ſaid, that had with ſo much comfort and advantage met
the Lord in his bleſſed way.

Iſa. xxvi. 8. §. XI. The prophet Iſaiah tells us, that though the chaſtiſements of the Lord were
ſore upon the people for their backſlidings, yet in the way of his judgments (in the
way of his rebukes and diſpleaſure) they waited for him, and the deſire of their ſoul
(that is the great point) was to his name, and the remembrance of him. They were
contented to be chid and chaſtiſed, for they had ſinned; and the knowledge of him ſo,
was very deſireable to them. But what! did he not come at laſt, and that in mercy too?
Yes, he did, and they knew him when he came, (a doctrine the brutiſh world knows not)
ch. xxv. 9. ‘ This is our God, we have waited for him, and he will ſave us.’ O bleſſed enjoyment!
O precious confidence. Here was a waiting in faith, which prevailed. All worſhip,
not in faith, is fruitleſs to the worſhipper, as well as diſpleaſing to God: and this faith
is the gift of God, and the nature of it is to purify the heart, and give ſuch as truly believe
‘victory over the world.’ Well! but they go on: ‘We have waited for him, we
Iſa. xxx. 18. ‘ will be glad, and rejoice in his ſalvation.’ The prophet adds, ‘Bleſſed are all they
ch. xl. 31. ‘ that wait upon God:’ and why? ‘For they that wait upon the Lord, ſhall renew their
ch. lxiv. 4. ‘ ſtrength; they ſhall never faint, never be weary:’ The encouragement is great. O

hear him once more! ‘For ſince the beginning of the world, men have not heard, nor ‘perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye ſeen, O God! beſides thee, what he hath ‘prepared for him that waiteth for him.’ Behold the inward life and joy of the righteous, the true worſhippers! thoſe whoſe ſpirits bowed to the appearance of God's ſpirit in them, leaving and forſaking all it appeared againſt, and embracing whatever it led them to. In Jeremiah's time, the true worſhippers alſo waited upon God: and he aſſures us, ‘that the Lord is good to them that wait for him, to the ſoul that ſeeketh him.’ Hence Jer. xiv. 22. it is that the prophet Hoſea exhorts the church then, to turn and wait upon God: Lament. [illegible] 25. ‘Therefore turn thou to thy God; keep mercy and judgment, and wait on thy God Hoſ. xii. 6. ‘continually.’ And Micah is very zealous and reſolute in this good exerciſe: ‘I will Mic. vii. 7. ‘look unto the Lord, I will wait for the God of my ſalvation: my God will hear me.’ Thus did the children of the ſpirit, that thirſted after an inward ſenſe of him. The wicked cannot ſay ſo; nor they that pray, unleſs they wait. 'Tis charged upon Iſrael in the wilderneſs, as the cauſe of their diſobedience and ingratitude to God, that they ‘waited not for his counſels.’ We may be ſure it is our duty, and expected from us; for God requires it in Zephaniah: ‘Therefore wait upon me, ſaith the Lord, until the Zeph. iii. 8. ‘day that I ariſe, &c.’ O that all who profeſs the name of God, would wait ſo, and not offer to ariſe to worſhip without him! and they would feel his ſtirrings and ariſings in them, to help, and prepare, and ſanctify them. Chriſt expreſly charged his diſciples, they ſhould not ſtir from Jeruſalem, but wait till they had received the promiſe of Acts i. 4--8. the Father, the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt, in order to their preparation for the preaching of the glorious goſpel of Chriſt to the world. And tho' that were an extraordinary effuſion for an extraordinary work, yet the degree does not change the kind. On the contrary, if ſo much waiting and preparation by the Spirit was requiſite to fit them to preach to man; ſome, at leaſt, may be needful to fit us to ſpeak to God.

§. XII. I will cloſe this great ſcripture doctrine of waiting, with that paſſage in John, about the pool of Betheſda. ‘There is at Jeruſalem, by the ſheep-market, a pool, John. v. 2, 3, 4. ‘which is called in the Hebrew tongue Betheſda, having five porches; in theſe lay a ‘great multitude of impotent folks, of blind, halt, and withered, waiting for the moving ‘of the water. For an angel went down at a certain ſeaſon into the pool, and troubled ‘the water: whoſoever then firſt, after the troubling of the water, ſtepped in, was made ‘whole of whatſoever diſeaſe he had.’ A moſt exact repreſentation of what is intended by all that has been ſaid upon the ſubject of waiting. For as there was then an outward and legal, ſo there is now a goſpel and ſpiritual Jeruſalem, the church of God, conſiſting of the faithful. The pool in that old Jeruſalem, in ſome ſort, repreſented that fountain, which is now ſet open in the New Jeruſalem. That pool was for thoſe that were under infirmities of body; this fountain for all that are impotent in ſoul. There was an angel then that moved the water, to render it beneficial; it is God's angel now, the great angel of his preſence, that bleſſeth this fountain with ſucceſs. They that then went in before, and did not watch the angel, and take advantage of his motion, found no benefit of their ſtepping in: thoſe that now wait not the moving of God's angel, but by the devotion of their own forming and timing, ruſh before God, as the horſe into the battle, and hope for ſucceſs, are ſure to miſcarry in their expectations. Therefore, as then, they waited with all patience and intention upon the angel's motion, that wanted and deſired to be cured; ſo do the true worſhippers of God now, that need and pray for his preſence, which is the life of their ſouls, as the ſun is to the plants of the field. They have often tried the unprofitableneſs of their own work, and are now come to the ſabbath indeed. They dare not put up a device of their own, or offer an unſanctified requeſt, much leſs obtrude bodily worſhip, where the ſoul is really inſenſible or unprepared by the Lord. In the light of Jeſus they ever wait to be prepared, retired, and recluſe from all thoughts that cauſe the leaſt diſtraction and diſcompoſure in the mind, till they ſee the angel move, and till their beloved pleaſe to wake: nor dare they call him before his time. And they fear to make a devotion in his abſence; for they know it is not only unprofitable, but reprovable: ‘Who has required this at your hands?’ ‘He that believes, Iſa. i. 12. ‘makes not haſte.’ They that worſhip with their own, can only do as the Iſraelites, ch. xxviii. 15. turn their ear-rings into a molten image, and be curſed for their pains. Nor fared they better, ‘that gathered ſticks of old, and kindled a fire, and compaſſed themſelves ch. l. 11. ‘about with the ſparks that they had kindled;’ for God told them, ‘they ſhould lie ‘down in ſorrow.’ It ſhould not only be of no advantage, and do them no good, but incur a judgment from him: ſorrow and anguiſh of ſoul ſhould be their portion. Alas! fleſh and blood would fain pray, tho' it cannot wait; and be a ſaint, tho' it cannot abide to do or ſuffer the will of God. With the tongue it bleſſes God, and with the tongue it curſes men, made in his ſimilitude. It calls Jeſus Lord, but not by the Holy Ghoſt; and often names the name of Jeſus, yea, bows the knee to it too, but departs not from iniquity: this is abominable to God.

§ XIII. In ſhort, there are four things ſo neceſſary to worſhipping of God aright, and which put its performance beyond man's power, that there ſeems little more needed than the naming of them. The firſt is, the ſanctification of the worſhipper. Secondly, the

Rom. viii. 26.

the conſecration of the offering, which has been ſpoken to before ſomewhat largely. Thirdly, what to pray for; which no man knows, that prays not by the aid of God's ſpirit; and therefore, without that ſpirit no man can truly pray. This the apoſtle puts beyond diſpute; 'We know not (ſays he) what we ſhould pray for, as we ought, but the Spirit helpeth our infirmities.' Men unacquainted with the work and power of the Holy Spirit, are ignorant of the mind of God; and thoſe, certainly, can never pleaſe him with their prayers. It is not enough to know, we want; but we ſhould learn, whether it be not ſent us as a bleſſing: diſappointments to the proud, loſſes to the covetous, and to the negligent ſtripes: to remove theſe, were to ſecure the deſtruction, not help the ſalvation of the ſoul.

Mat. vi. 7, 8.
Iſa. lxvi. 2.

The vile world knows nothing, but carnally, after a fleſhly manner and interpretation; and too many that would be thought enlightened, are apt to call providences by wrong names. For inſtance, afflictions they ſtile judgments; and trials (more precious than the beloved gold) they call miſeries. On the other hand, they call the preferments of the world by the name of honour, and its wealth, happineſs; when for once that they are ſo, 'tis much to be feared they are ſent of God an hundred times for judgments, at leaſt trials, upon their poſſeſſors. Therefore, what to keep, what to reject, what to want, is a difficulty God only can reſolve the ſoul. And ſince God knows, better than we, what we need, he can better tell us what to aſk, than we can him: which made Chriſt exhort his diſciples to avoid long and repetitious prayers; telling them, that their heavenly Father knew what they needed, before they aſked: and therefore gave them a pattern to pray by; not as ſome fancy, to be a text for human liturgies, which of all ſervices are moſt juſtly noted and taxed for length and repetition; but expreſsly to reprove and avoid them. But if thoſe wants, that are the ſubject of prayer, were once agreed upon (tho' that be a mighty point) yet how to pray is ſtill of greater moment, than to pray; 'tis not the requeſt, but the frame of the petitioner's ſpirit. The what may be proper, but the how defective. As I ſaid, God needs not be told of our wants by us, who muſt tell them to us; yet he will be told them from us, that both we may ſeek him, and he may come down to us. But when this is done, 'To this man will I look, ſaith the Lord, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite ſpirit, and that trembleth at my word:' To the ſick heart, the wounded ſoul, the hungry and thirſty, the weary and heavy laden ones; ſuch ſincerely want an helper.

1 Tim. i. 5.
Acts xv. 9.
Tit. i. 1.
2 Pet. i. 1.
1 John v. 4.
Mat. xv. 28.
Jam. iv. 3.

§. XIV. Nor is this ſufficient to compleat goſpel-worſhip; the fourth requiſite muſt be had, and that is faith, true faith, precious faith, the faith of God's choſen, that purifies their hearts, that overcomes the world, and is the victory of the ſaints. This is that which animates prayer, and preſſes it home, like the importunate widow, that would not be denied; to whom Chriſt (ſeeming to admire) ſaid, 'O woman, great is thy faith.' This is of higheſt moment on our part, to give our addreſſes ſucceſs with God; and yet not in our power neither, for it is the gift of God: from him we muſt have it; and with one grain of it more work is done, more deliverance is wrought, and more goodneſs and mercy received, than by all the runnings, willings, and toilings of man, with his inventions and bodily exerciſes. Which, duly weighed, will eaſily ſpell out the meaning, why ſo much worſhip ſhould bring ſo little profit to the world, as we ſee it does, viz. True faith is loſt. They aſk, and receive not; they ſeek, and find not; they knock, and it is not opened unto them: the caſe is plain; their requeſts are not mixed with purifying faith, by which they ſhould prevail, as good Jacob's were, when he wreſtled with God, and prevailed. And the truth is, the generality are yet in their ſins, following their hearts luſts, and living in worldly pleaſures, being ſtrangers to this precious faith. It is the reaſon rendered by the deep author to the Hebrews, of the unprofitableneſs of the word preached to ſome of thoſe days; 'not being (ſays he) mixed with faith in them that heard it.' Can the miniſter then preach without faith? No, and much leſs can any man pray to purpoſe without faith, eſpecially when we are told, 'that the juſt live by faith.' For worſhip is the ſupreme act of man's life; and whatever is neceſſary to inferior acts of religion, muſt not be wanting there.

John ix. 6.
Luke viii. 47, 48.
Mat. ix. 29, 30.
Mat. ix. 23.

§. XV. This may moderate the wonder in any, why Chriſt ſo often upbraided his diſciples with, 'O ye of little faith!' yet tells us, that one grain of it, (though as little as that of muſtard, one of the leaſt of ſeeds) if true and right, is able to remove mountains. As if he had ſaid, there is no temptation ſo powerful, that it cannot ſupply: wherefore thoſe that are captivated by temptations, and remain unſupplied in their ſpiritual wants, have not this powerful faith: that's the true cauſe. So neceſſary was it of old, that Chriſt did not many mighty works where the people believed not; and tho' his power wrought wonders in other places, faith opened the way: ſo that 'tis hard to ſay, whether that power by faith, or faith by that power, wrought the cure. Let us call to mind what famous things a little clay and ſpittle, one touch of the hem of Chriſt's garment, and a few words out of his mouth did, by the force of faith in the patients: 'Believe ye that I am able to open your eyes?' Yea, Lord, ſay the blind, and ſee. To the ruler, only believe; he did, and his dead daughter recovered life. Again, 'If thou ‘canſt believe: I do believe,’ ſays the father, ‘help my unbelief;’ and the evil ſpirit was chaſed away, and the child recovered. He ſaid to one, ‘go, thy faith has made thee whole;’ and to another, ‘Thy faith has ſaved thee; thy ſins are forgiven thee.’ And to encourage his diſciples to believe, that were admiring how ſoon his ſentence was executed upon the fruitleſs fig-tree, he tells them, ‘Verily if ye have faith, and doubt not, ye ſhall not only do this, which is done to the fig-tree; but alſo, if ye ſhall ſay unto this mountain, be thou removed, and caſt into the ſea, it ſhall be done; and all things whatſoever ye ſhall aſk in prayer, believing, ye ſhall receive.’ This one paſſage convicts Chriſtendom of groſs infidelity; for ſhe prays, and receives not.

Mark x. 52. Luke vii. 49, 50. Mat. xxi. 20, 21, 22.

§. XVI. But may ſome ſay, ’tis impoſſible to receive all that a man may aſk. ’Tis not impoſſible to receive all that a man, that ſo believes, can aſk. The fruits of faith are not impoſſible to thoſe that truly believe in the God that makes them poſſible. When Jeſus ſaid to the ruler, ‘if thou canſt believe,’ he adds, ‘all things are poſſible to him that believeth.’ Well, but then ſome will ſay, it is impoſſible to have ſuch faith: for this very faithleſs generation would excuſe their want of faith by making it impoſſible to have the faith they want. But Chriſt’s anſwer to the infidelity of that age, will beſt confute the diſbelief of this. ‘The things that are impoſſible with men, are poſſible with God.’ It will follow then, that it is not impoſſible with God to give that faith; though, it is certain, that ‘without it, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God;’ for ſo the author to the Hebrews teaches. And if it be elſe impoſſible to pleaſe God, it muſt be ſo to pray to God without this precious faith.

Mat. xviii. 19. Luke xviii. 27. Mark ix. 23. Mat. xix. 24, 25, 26. Luke xviii. 25, 26, 27. Heb. xi. 6.

§. XVII. But ſome may ſay, what is this faith, that is ſo neceſſary to worſhip, and that gives it ſuch acceptance with God, and returns that benefit to men? I ſay, it is an holy reſignation to God, and confidence in him, teſtified by a religious obedience to his holy requirings, which gives ſure evidence to the ſoul of the things not yet ſeen, and a general ſenſe and taſte of the ſubſtance of thoſe things that are hoped for; that is, the glory which is to be revealed hereafter. As this faith is the gift of God, ſo it purifies the hearts of thoſe that receive it. The apoſtle Paul is witneſs, that it will not dwell, but in a pure conſcience: He therefore in one place, couples a pure heart and faith unfeigned together: in another, faith and a good conſcience. James joins faith with righteouſneſs, and John with victory over the world: ‘This, ſays he, is the victory which overcomes the world, even your faith.’

1 Tim. iii. 9. ch. i. 5. James ii. 1 John v. 4.

§. XVIII. The heirs of this faith are the true children of Abraham (though the uncircumciſion in the fleſh) in that they walk in the ſteps of father Abraham, according to the obedience of faith, which only entitles people to be the children of Abraham. This lives above the world, not only in its ſin, but righteouſneſs; to which, no man comes, but through death to ſelf, by the croſs of Jeſus, and an entire dependence, by him, upon God.

Rom. iv. 12. John xvi. 9, 10.

Famous are the exploits of this divine gift: time would fail to recount them: all ſacred ſtory is filled with them. But let it ſuffice, that by it the holy ancients endured all trials, overcame all enemies, prevailed with God, renowned his truth, finiſhed their teſtimony, and obtained the reward of the faithful, a crown of righteouſneſs, which is the eternal bleſſedneſs of the juſt.

CHAP. VII.

§. 1. Of pride, the firſt capital luſt, it's riſe. §. 2. It's definition and diſtinction. §. 3. That an inordinate deſire of knowledge in Adam, introduced man's miſery. §. 4. He thereby loſt his integrity. §. 5. Who are in Adam's ſtate. §. 6. Knowledge puffs up. §. 7. The evil effects of falſe, and the benefit of true knowledge. §. 8. Cain's example a proof in the caſe. §. 9. The Jews pride in pretending to be wiſer than Moſes, God's ſervant, in ſetting their poſt by God's poſt. §. 10. The effect of which was the perſecution of the true prophets. §. 11. The divine knowledge of Chriſt brought peace on earth. §. 12. Of the blind guides, the prieſts, and the miſchief they have done. §. 13. The fall of Chriſtians, and the pride they have taken in it, hath exceeded the Jews; under the profeſſion of their new-moulded chriſtianity, they have murdered the witneſs of the Lord Jeſus. §. 14. The angels ſung peace on earth, at the birth of the Lord of meekneſs and humility: but the pride of the Phariſees withſtood and calumniated him. §. 15. As Adam and the Jews loſt themſelves by their ambition, ſo the Chriſtians loſing the fear of God, grew creed and worſhip-makers, with this injunction, conform or burn. §. 16. The evil effects of this in Chriſtendom (ſo called.) §. 17. The way of recovery out of ſuch miſerable defection.

Chap. VII.

§. I. HAVING thus diſcharged my conſcience againſt that part of unlawful ſelf, that fain would be a chriſtian, a believer, a ſaint, whilſt a plain ſtranger to the croſs of Chriſt, and the holy exerciſes of it; and in that briefly diſcovered what is true worſhip, and the uſe and buſineſs of the holy croſs, therein to render its performance pleaſing to Almighty God; I ſhall now (the ſame Lord aſſiſting me) more largely proſecute that other part of unlawful ſelf, which fills the ſtudy, care, and converſation of the world, preſented to us in theſe three capital luſts; that is to ſay,

Pride, avarice, and luxury; from whence all other miſchiefs daily flow, as ſtreams from their proper fountains: the mortifying of which makes up the other; and indeed a very great part of the work of the true croſs; and tho' laſt in place, yet firſt in experience and duty; which done, it introduces in the room of thoſe evil habits, the bleſſed effects of that ſo-much-needed reformation, to wit, 'mortification, humility, temperance, love, 'patience, and heavenly-mindedneſs,' with all other graces of the Spirit, becoming the followers of the perfect Jeſus, that moſt heavenly man.

Gal. v. 22,23.

The care and love of mankind are either directed to God or themſelves. Thoſe that love God above all, are ever humbling ſelf to his commands, and only love ſelf in ſubſerviency to him that is Lord of all. But thoſe that are declined from that love to God, are lovers of themſelves, more than God: for ſupreme love muſt center in one of theſe two. To that inordinate ſelf-love, the apoſtle rightly joins proud and high-minded. For no ſooner had the angels declined their love, duty and reverence to God, than they inordinately loved and valued themſelves; which made them exceed their ſtation, and aſpire above the order of their creation. This was their pride, and this ſad defection their diſmal fall; who are reſerved in chains of darkneſs unto the judgment of the great day of God.

2 Tim. iii. 2, 3.

§. II. Pride, that pernicious evil, which begins this chapter, did alſo begin the miſery of mankind: a moſt miſchievous quality; and ſo commonly known by its motions, and ſad effects, that every unmortified breaſt carries its definition in it. However I will ſay, in ſhort, that pride is an exceſs of ſelf-love, joined with an undervaluing of others, and a deſire of dominion over them: the moſt troubleſome thing in the world. There are four things by which it hath made itſelf beſt known to mankind, the conſequences of which have brought an equal miſery to it's evil. The firſt is, an inordinate purſuit of knowledge. The ſecond, an ambitious ſeeking and craving after power. The third, an extreme deſire of perſonal reſpect and deference. The laſt exceſs is that of worldly furniture and ornaments. To the juſt and true witneſs of the eternal God, placed in the ſouls of all people, I appeal as to the truth of theſe things.

§. III. To the firſt, 'tis plain that an inordinate deſire of knowledge introduced man's miſery, and brought an univerſal lapſe from the glory of his primitive ſtate. Adam would needs be wiſer than God had made him. It did not ſerve his turn to know his Creator, and give him that holy homage, his being and innocence naturally engaged and excited him to; nor to have an 'underſtanding above all the beaſts of the field, the 'fowls of the air, and the fiſhes of the ſea,' joined with a power to rule over all the viſible creation of God, but he muſt be as wiſe as God too. This unwarrantable ſearch, and as fooliſh as unjuſt ambition, made him unworthy of the bleſſings he received from God. This drives him out of paradiſe; and inſtead of being lord of the whole world, Adam becomes the wretchedeſt vagabond of the earth.

Gen. ii. 19, 20.
Gen. iii. 5.
ch. iii. 4.

§. IV. A ſtrange change! that inſtead of being as gods, they ſhould fall below the very beaſts; in compariſon of whom even God had made them as gods. The lamentable conſequence of this great defection has been, an exchange of innocency for guilt, and a paradiſe for a wilderneſs. But, which is yet worſe, in this ſtate Adam and Eve had got another god than the only true and living God: and he that had enticed them to all this miſchief, furniſhed them with a vain knowledge, and pernicious wiſdom: the ſkill of lies and equivocations, ſhifts, evaſions and excuſes. They had loſt their plainneſs and ſincerity; and from an upright heart, the image in which God had made man, he became a crooked, twining, twiſting ſerpent; the image of that unrighteous ſpirit, to whoſe temptations he yielded up, with his obedience, his paradiſical happineſs.

§. V. Nor is this limited to Adam; for all who have fallen ſhort of the glory of God, are right-born ſons of his diſobedience. They, like him, have eaten of what they have been forbidden: they have 'committed the things they ought not to have done, and left un- 'done the things they ought to have done.' They have ſinned againſt that divine light of knowledge, which God has given them: they have grieved his ſpirit; and that diſmal ſentence has been executed, 'In the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt die.' That is, when thou doeſt the thing which thou oughteſt not to do, thou ſhalt no more live in my favour, and enjoy the comforts of the peace of my ſpirit: which is a dying to all thoſe innocent and holy deſires and affections, which God created man with; and he becomes as one cold and benumbed; inſenſible of the love of God, of his Holy Spirit, power and wiſdom; of the light and joy of his countenance, and of the evidence of a good conſcience, and the co-witneſſing and approbation of God's Holy Spirit.

Rom. vii.
Gen. ii. 17.

§. VI. So that fallen Adam's knowledge of God ſtood no more in a daily experience of the love and work of God in his ſoul, but in a notion of what he once did know and experience: which being not the true and living wiſdom that is from above, but a mere picture, it cannot preſerve man in purity; but puffs up, makes people proud, high-minded, and impatient of contradiction. This was the ſtate of the apoſtate Jews before

Chriſt came; and has been the condition of apoſtate chriſtians ever ſince he came: their religion ſtanding (ſome bodily performances excepted) either in what they once knew, of the work of God in themſelves, and which they have revolted from; or in an hiſtorical belief, and an imaginary conception and paraphraſe upon the experiences and prophecies of ſuch holy men and women of God, as in all ages have deſerved the ſtile and character of his true children.

§. VII. As ſuch a knowledge of God cannot be true, ſo by experience we find, that it ever brings forth the quite contrary fruits to the true wiſdom. For as this is firſt pure, then peaceable, then gentle, and eaſy to be intreated; ſo the knowledge of degenerated Jam. iii. 17. and unmortified men is firſt impure: for it came by the commiſſion of evil, and is held in an evil and impure conſcience and heart, that diſobey God's law, and that daily do thoſe things which they ought not to do; and for which they ſtand condemned before God's judgment-ſeat in the ſouls of men: the light of whoſe preſence ſearches the moſt hidden things of darkneſs, the moſt ſecret thoughts, and concealed inclinations of ungodly men. This is the ſcience, falſly ſo called; and as it is impure, ſo 'tis unpeaceable, croſs, and hard to be intreated; froward, perverſe, and perſecuting; jealous that any ſhould be better than they, and hating and abuſing thoſe that are.

§. VIII. 'Twas this pride made Cain a murderer: 'tis a ſpiteful quality; full of envy Gen. iv. 8. and revenge. What! was not his religion and worſhip as good as his brother's? He had all the exterior parts of worſhip; he offered as well as Abel; and the offering of itſelf might be as good: but it ſeems the heart, that offered it, was not. So long ago did God regard the interior worſhip of the ſoul. Well! what was the conſequence of this difference? Cain's pride ſtomached it: he could not bear to be outdone by his brother. He grew wrathful, and reſolved to vindicate his offering, by revenging the refuſal of it upon his brother's life; and without any regard to natural affection, or the low and early condition of mankind, he barbarouſly dyed his hands in his brother's blood.

§. IX. The religion of the apoſtatized Jews did no better; for, having loſt the inward life, power and ſpirit of the law, they were puffed up with that knowledge they had; and their pretences to Abraham, Moſes, and the promiſes of God, in that frame, ſerved only to blow them up into an unſufferable pride, arrogance, and cruelty. For they could not bear true viſion, when it came to viſit them, and entertained the meſſengers of their peace as if they had been wolves and tygers.

§. X. Yea, 'tis remarkable, the falſe prophets, the great engineers againſt the true ones, were ever ſure to perſecute them as falſe; and by their intereſt with earthly princes, or the poor ſeduced multitude, made them the inſtruments of their malice. Thus 'twas that one holy prophet was ſawn aſunder, another ſtoned to death, &c. So proud and obſtinate is falſe knowledge, and the aſpirers after it: which made holy Stephen cry out, 'O ye ſtiff-necked and uncircumciſed in heart and ear, ye reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt; as Acts vii. 51. 'did your fathers, ſo do ye.'

§. XI. The true knowledge came with the joy of angels, ſinging 'peace on earth, Luke ii. 14. 'and good-will towards men:' the falſe knowledge entertained the meſſage with calumnies: Chriſt muſt needs be an impoſtor; and that muſt prove him ſo, to wit, his power of working of miracles; which was that which proved the contrary. They ſtoned him, and frequently ſought to kill him; which at laſt they wickedly accompliſhed. But what was their motive to it? Why, he cried out againſt their hypocriſy, the broad phylacteries, the honour they ſought of men. To be ſhort, they give the reaſon themſelves in theſe words; 'If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him:' that is, he will John xlvii. 11. take away our credit with the people; they will adhere to him, and deſert us; and ſo we ſhall loſe our power and reputation with the multitude.

§. XII. And, the truth is, he came to level their honour, to overthrow their rabbyſhip, and by his grace to bring the people to that inward knowledge of God, which they, by tranſgreſſion, were departed from; that ſo they might ſee the deceitfulneſs of their blind guides, who, by their vain traditions, had made void the righteouſneſs of the law; and who were ſo far from being the true doctors, and lively expounders of it, that in reality they were the children of the devil, who was a proud lyar, and cruel murderer, from the beginning.

§. XIII. Their pride in falſe knowledge having made them uncapable of receiving the ſimplicity of the goſpel, Chriſt thanks his Father, that he had hid the myſteries of it Mat. xi. 25. from the wiſe and prudent, and revealed them to babes. It was this falſe wiſdom ſwelled the minds of the Athenians to that degree, that they deſpiſed the preaching of the apoſtle Paul, as a vain and fooliſh thing. But that apoſtle, who of all the reſt had an education in the learning of thoſe times, bitterly reflects on that wiſdom, ſo much valued by Jews and Greeks; 'Where (ſays he) is the wiſe? where is the ſcribe? where is the diſputer 1 Cor. i. 20. 'of this world? Hath not God made fooliſh the wiſdom of this world?' And he gives a good reaſon for it, 'that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence.' Which is to ſay, God ver. 29. will ſtain the pride of man in falſe knowledge, that he ſhould have nothing on this occaſion to be proud of: it ſhould be owing only to the revelation of the Spirit of God. The apoſtle goes farther, and affirms, 'that the world by wiſdom knew not God: that is, it ibid. ver. 21.

was ſo far from an help, that, as men uſe it, it was an hindrance to the true knowlege of God. And in his firſt epiſtle to his beloved Timothy, he concludes thus: 'O Timothy! 1 Tim. vi. 20. 'keep that which is committed to thy truſt, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and 'oppoſitions of ſcience, falſly ſo called.' This was the ſenſe of apoſtolical times, when the divine grace gave the true knowledge of God, and was the guide of chriſtians.

§. XIV. Well! but what has been the ſucceſs of thoſe ages, that followed the apoſtolical? any whit better than that of the Jewiſh times? Not one jot. They have exceeded them; as with their pretences to greater knowledge, ſo in their degeneracy from the true chriſtian life: for tho' they had a more excellent pattern than the Jews, to whom God ſpoke by Moſes his ſervant, he ſpeaking to them by his beloved Son, the expreſs image of his ſubſtance, the perfection of all meekneſs and humility; and tho' they ſeemed addicted to nothing more, than an adoration of his name, and a veneration to the memory of his bleſſed diſciples, and apoſtles; yet ſo great was their defection from the inward power and life of chriſtianity in the ſoul, that their reſpect was little more than formal and ceremonious. For notwithſtanding they, like the Jews, were mighty zealous in garniſhing their ſepulchres, and curious in carving of their images, not only keeping with any pretence what might be the reliques of their perſons, but recommending a thouſand things as reliques, which are purely fabulous, and very often ridiculous, and to be ſure altogether unchriſtian; yet, as to the great and weighty things of the chriſtian law, viz. love, meekneſs, and ſelf-denial, they were degenerated: they grew high-minded, proud, boaſters, without natural affection, curious, and controverſial; ever perplexing the church with doubtful and dubious queſtions; filling the people with diſputations, ſtrife and wrangling, drawing them into parties, till at laſt they fell into blood: as if they had been the worſe for being once chriſtians.

O the miſerable ſtate of theſe pretended chriſtians! that inſtead of Chriſt's and his apoſtles doctrine, of loving enemies, and bleſſing them that curſe them, they ſhould teach the people, under the notion of chriſtian zeal, moſt inhumanly to butcher one another; and inſtead of ſuffering their own blood to be ſhed for the teſtimony of Jeſus, they ſhould ſhed the blood of the witneſſes of Jeſus, for hereticks: thus that ſubtil ſerpent, or crafty evil-ſpirit, that tempted Adam out of innocency, and the Jews from the law of God, has beguiled the chriſtians, by lying vanities, to depart from the chriſtian law of holineſs, and ſo they are become ſlaves to him; for he rules in the hearts of the children of diſobedience.

§. XV. And it is obſervable, that as pride (which is ever followed by ſuperſtition and obſtinacy) put Adam upon ſeeking an higher ſtation than God placed him in; and as the Jews, out of the ſame pride, to out-do their pattern, given them of God by Moſes upon the mount, ſet their poſt by God's poſt, and taught for doctrines their own traditions, inſomuch that thoſe that refuſed conformity to them ran the hazard of Crucify, crucify: ſo the nominal chriſtians, from the ſame ſin of pride, with great ſuperſtition and arrogance, have introduced, inſtead of a ſpiritual worſhip and diſcipline, that which is evidently ceremonious and worldly; with ſuch innovations and traditions of men, as are the fruit of the wiſdom that is from below: witneſs their numerous and perplex councils and creeds, with Conform, or burn, at the end of them.

§. XVI. And as this unwarrantable pride ſet them firſt at work, to pervert the ſpirituality of the chriſtian cult, making it rather to reſemble the ſhadowy religion of the Jews, and the gawdy worſhip of the Egyptians, than the great plainneſs and ſimplicity of the chriſtian inſtitution, which is neither to reſemble that of the mountain, nor the other of Jeruſalem; ſo has the ſame pride and arrogancy ſpurred them on, by all imaginable cruelties, to maintain this great Diana of theirs. No meek ſupplications, nor humble remonſtrances of thoſe that kept cloſe to primitive purity in worſhip and doctrine, could prevail with theſe nominal chriſtians, to diſpenſe with the impoſition of their un-apoſtolical traditions. But as the miniſters and biſhops of theſe degenerate chriſtians left their painful viſitation and care over Chriſt's flock, and grew ambitious, covetous and luxurious, reſembling rather worldly potentates, than the humble-ſpirited and mortified followers of the bleſſed Jeſus; ſo almoſt every hiſtory tells us, with what pride and cruelty, blood and butchery, and that with unuſual and exquiſite tortures, they have perſecuted the holy members of Chriſt, out of the world; and that upon ſuch anathemas, that, as far as they could, they have diſappointed them of the bleſſings of heaven too. Theſe, true chriſtians call martyrs; but the clergy, like the perſecuting Jews, have ſtiled them blaſphemers and hereticks: in which they have fulfilled the prophecy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; who did not ſay, that they ſhould think they do the gods good ſervice to kill the chriſtians, his dear followers (which might refer to the John xvi. 2. perſecutions of the idolatrous Gentiles) but that they ſhould think they do God good ſervice to kill them: which ſhews, that they ſhould be ſuch as profeſſedly owned the true God, as the apoſtate chriſtians have all along pretended to do. So that they muſt Acts xx. 29. be thoſe wolves, that the apoſtle foretold ſhould ariſe out of themſelves, and worry the flock of Chriſt, after the great falling-away ſhould commence, that was foretold by him, and made neceſſary, in order to the proving of the faithful, and the revelation of the great myſtery of iniquity.

I ſhall conclude this head with this aſſertion, that it is too undeniable a truth, where the clergy has been moſt in power and authority, and has had the greateſt influence upon princes and ſtates, there has been moſt confuſions, wrangles, blood-ſhed, ſequeſtrations, impriſonments and exiles: to the juſtifying of which, I call the teſtimony of the records of all times. How it is in our age, I leave to the experience of the living: yet there is one demonſtration that can hardly fail us: the people are not converted but debauched, to a degree, that time will not allow us an example. The worſhip of Chriſtendom is viſible, ceremonious and gawdy, the clergy ambitious of worldly preferments, under the pretence of ſpiritual promotions; making the earthly revenues of church-men, much the reaſon of their function; being almoſt ever ſure, to leave the preſent ſmaller incumbence, to ſollicit and obtain benefices of larger title and income. So that with their pride and avarice, which good old Peter foreſaw would be their ſnares, they have drawn after them, ignorance, miſery, and irreligion upon Chriſtendom.

§. XVII. The way of recovery from this miſerable defection is, to come to a ſaving knowledge of religion; that is, an experience of the divine work of God in the ſoul; to obtain which, be diligent to obey the grace that appears in thy own ſoul, O man! that Tit. ii. 4, 11, 12, 14.
brings ſalvation, it turns thee out of the broad way, into the narrow way; from thy luſts to thy duty, from ſin to holineſs, from Satan to God. Thou muſt ſee and abhor ſelf, thou muſt watch, and thou muſt pray, and thou muſt faſt: thou muſt not look at thy tempter, but at thy preſerver; avoid ill company, retire to thy ſolitudes, and be a chaſte pilgrim in this evil world: and thus thou wilt arrive to the knowledge of God and Chriſt, that brings eternal life to the ſoul; a well-grounded aſſurance from what a man feels and knows within himſelf; ſuch ſhall not be moved with evil tidings.

CHAP. VIII.

§. 1. *Pride craves power as well as knowledge.* §. 2. *The caſe of Korah, &c. a proof.* §. 3. *Abſalom's ambition confirms it.* §. 4. *Nebuchadnezzar's does the like.* §. 5. *The hiſtory of Piſiſtratus, Alexander, Cæſar, &c. ſhews the ſame thing.* §. 6. *The Turks are a lively proof, who have ſhed much blood to gratify pride for power.* §. 7. *The laſt ten years in Chriſtendom exceed in proof of this.* §. 8. *Ambition reſts not in courts, it finds room in private breaſts too, and ſpoils families and ſocieties.* §. 9. *Their peace is great, that limit their deſires by God's grace, and having power, uſe it to the good of others.*

§. I. BUT let us ſee the next moſt common, eminent, and miſchievous effect of this evil. Pride does extremely crave power, than which, not one thing has proved more troubleſome and deſtructive to mankind. I need not labour myſelf much in evidence of this, ſince moſt of the wars of nations, depopulation of kingdoms, ruin of cities, with the ſlavery and miſery that have followed, both our own experience and unqueſtionable hiſtories acquaint us to have been the effect of ambition, which is the luſt of pride after power. Ch. VIII.

§. II. How ſpecious ſoever might be the pretences of Korah, Dathan and Abiram againſt Moſes, it was their emulation of his mighty power in the camp of Iſrael, that put them upon conſpiracies and mutinies. They longed for his authority, and their not having it was his crime: for they had a mind to be the heads and leaders of the people. The conſequence of which was, a remarkable deſtruction to themſelves, and all their unhappy accomplices.

§. III. Abſalom too was for the people's rights, againſt the tyranny of his father and his 2 Sam. xv.
king; at leaſt, with this pretence he palliated his ambition: but his rebellion ſhewed he was impatient for power, and that he reſolved to ſacrifice his duty, as a ſon and ſubject, to the importunities of his reſtleſs pride, which brought a miſerable death to himſelf, and an extraordinary ſlaughter upon his army.

§. IV. Nebuchadnezzar is a lively inſtance of the exceſſive luſt of pride for power. His ſucceſſes and empire were too heady for him: ſo much too ſtrong for his underſtanding, that he forgot he did not make himſelf, or that his power had a ſuperior. He makes Dan. iii.
an image, and all muſt bow to it, or be burnt. And when Shadrach, Meſhach and Abednego refuſed to comply, 'who (ſays he) is that God that ſhall deliver you out of 'my hands?' And notwithſtanding the convictions he had upon him, at the conſtancy of thoſe excellent men, and Daniel's interpretation of his dreams, it was not long before the pride of his power had filled his heart, and then his mouth, with this haughty queſtion, 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the houſe of the kingdom by the ch. iv. 30.
'might of my power, and for the honour of my majeſty?' But we are told, that while the words were in his mouth, 'a voice from heaven rebuked the pride of his ſpirit, and 'he was driven from the ſociety of men, to graze among the beaſts of the field.'

§. V. If we look into the hiſtories of the world, we ſhall find many inſtances to prove the miſchief of this luſt of pride. I will mention a few of them for their ſakes, who have either not read or conſidered them.

Solon made Athens free by his excellent conſtitution of laws: but the ambition of

Piſiſtratus began the ruin of it before his eyes. Alexander, not contented with his own kingdom, invades others, and filled with ſpoil and ſlaughter thoſe countries he ſubdued: and it was not ill ſaid of him, who, when Alexander accuſed him of piracy, told him to his face, that Alexander was the greateſt pirate in the world. It was the ſame ambition that made Cæſar turn traytor to his maſters, and with their own army, put into his hand for their ſervice, ſubdue them to his yoke, and uſurp the government; which ended in the expulſion of freedom and virtue together in that common-wealth: for goodneſs quickly grew to be faction in Rome; and that ſobriety and wiſdom which ever rendred her ſenators venerable, became dangerous to their ſafety: inſomuch that his ſucceſſors hardly left one they did not kill or baniſh; unleſs ſuch as turned to be flatterers of their unjuſt acquiſition, and the imitators of their debauched manners.

§. VI. The Turks are a great proof to the point in hand; who, to extend their dominion, have been the cauſe of ſhedding much blood, and laying many ſtately countries waſte. And yet they are to be out-done by apoſtate chriſtians; whoſe practice is therefore more condemnable, becauſe they have been better taught: they have had a maſter of another doctrine and example. It is true, they call him Lord ſtill, but let their ambition reign: they love power more than one another; and to get it, kill one another; tho' charged by him, not to ſtrive, but to love and ſerve one another. And, which adds to the tragedy, all natural affection is ſacrificed to the fury of this luſt: and therefore are ſtories ſo often ſtained with the murder of parents, children, uncles, nephews, maſters, &c.

Mat. xviii. 1, to 6. Mark ix. 33, ot 37.

§. VII. If we look abroad into remoter parts of the world, we ſhall rarely hear of wars; but in Chriſtendom of peace. A very trifle is too often made a ground of quarrel here: nor can any league be ſo ſacred or inviolable, that arts ſhall not be uſed to evade and diſſolve it, to increaſe dominion. No matter who, nor how many are ſlain, made widows and orphans, or loſe their eſtates and livelihoods: what countries are ruined; what towns and cities ſpoiled; if by all theſe things the ambitious can but arrive at their ends? To go no farther back than ſixty years, that little period of time will furniſh us with many wars begun upon ill grounds, and ended in great deſolation. Nay, the laſt twelve years of our time make as pregnant a demonſtration, as we can furniſh ourſelves with from the records of any age. It is too tedious, nor is it my buſineſs to be particular: It has been often well obſerved by others, and is almoſt known to all; I mean the French, Spaniſh, German, Engliſh, and Dutch wars.

§. VIII. But ambition does not only dwell in courts and ſenates: it is too natural to every private breaſt to ſtrain for power. We daily ſee how much men labour their utmoſt wit and intereſt to be great, to get higher places, or greater titles than they have, that they may look bigger, and be more acknowledged; take place of their former equals, and ſo equal thoſe that were once their ſuperiors; compel friends, and be revenged on enemies. This makes chriſtianity ſo little loved of worldly men, it's kingdom is not of this world: and though they may ſpeak it fair, it is the world they love: that without uncharitableneſs we may truly ſay, people profeſs chriſtianity, but they follow the world. They are not for ſeeking the kingdom of heaven firſt, and the righteouſneſs thereof, and to truſt God with the reſt; but for ſecuring to themſelves the wealth and glory of this world, and adjourning the care of ſalvation to a ſick-bed, and the extreme moments of life; if yet they believe a life to come.

Mat. vi. 33.

§. IX. To conclude this head; great is their peace, who know a limit to their ambitious minds, that have learnt to be contented with the appointments and bounds of providence; that are not careful to be great, but being great, are humble and do good. Such keep their wits with their conſciences, and with an even mind, can at all times meaſure the uneven world, reſt fixt in the midſt of all its uncertainties, and as becomes thoſe who have an intereſt in a better, in the good time and will of God, chearfully leave this; when the ambitious, conſcious of their evil practices, and weighed down to their graves with guilt, muſt go to a tribunal, that they can neither awe nor bribe.

CHAP. IX.

§. 1. *The third evil effect of pride is love of honour and reſpect. Too many are guilty of it.* §. 2. *It had like to have coſt Mordecai dear. Great miſchief has befallen nations on this account.* §. 3. *The world is out in the buſineſs of true honour, as well as in that of true ſcience.* §. 4. *Reaſons why the author, and the reſt of the people he walks with, uſe not theſe faſhions.* §. 5. *The firſt is, the ſenſe they had in the hour of their conviction, of the unſuitableneſs of them to the chriſtian ſpirit and practice, and that the root they came from was pride and ſelf-love.* §. 6. *Reproach could not move them from that ſenſe and practice accordingly.* §. 7. *They do it not to make ſects, or for diſtinction.* §. 8. *Nor yet to countenance formality, but paſſively let drop vain cuſtoms, and ſo negative to forms.* §. 9. *Their behaviour is a teſt upon the world.* §. 10. *And this croſs to the world a teſt upon them.* §. 11. *The ſecond reaſon againſt them is their emptineſs.* §. 12. *Honour in ſcripture, is not ſo taken as it is in the world. It is uſed for obedience.* §. 13. *It is uſed for preferment.* §. 14. *A digreſſion about folly in a ſcripture ſenſe.*

§. 15.

§. 15. Honour is uſed for reputation. §. 16. Honour is alſo attributed to functions and capacities, by way of eſteem. §. 17. Honour is taken for help and countenance of inferiors. §. 18. Honour is uſed for ſervice and eſteem to all ſtates and capacities: honour all men. §. 19. Yet there is a limitation in a ſenſe to the righteous by the Pſalmiſt; to honour the godly and contemn the wicked. §. 20. Little of this honour found in the world's faſhions. §. 21. The third reaſon againſt them is, they mock and cheat people of the honour due to them. §. 22. The author and his friends are for True Honour. §. 23. The fourth reaſon is, that if the faſhions carried true honour in them, the debauched could honour men, which cannot be. §. 24. The fifth reaſon is, that then men of ſpite, hypocriſy, and revenge, could pay honour, which is impoſſible. §. 25. The ſixth reaſon is drawn from the antiquity of true honour. §. 26. The ſeventh reaſon is from the riſe of the vain honour, and the teachers of it, wherein the clown, upon a compariſon, excels the courtier for a man of breeding. §. 27. The eighth reaſon againſt theſe honours is, that they may be had for money, which true honour cannot be. §. 28. The ninth and laſt reaſon is, becauſe the holy ſcripture expreſly forbids them to true chriſtians. §. 29. As in the caſe of Mordecai. §. 30. A paſſage between a biſhop and the author in this matter. §. 31. Likewiſe the caſe of Elihu in Job. §. 32. Alſo the doctrine of Chriſt to his diſciples. §. 33. Paul againſt conforming to the world's faſhions. §. 34. Peter againſt faſhioning ourſelves according to the world's luſts. §. 35. James againſt reſpect to perſons. §. 36. Yet chriſtians are civil and mannerly in a right way. §. 37. But unlike the world in the nature of it, and motives to it. §. 38. Teſtimonies in favour of our diſſent and practice.

Chap. IX.

§. I. THE third evil effect of pride, is, An exceſſive deſire of perſonal honour and reſpect.

Pride therefore loves power, that ſhe might have homage, and that every one may give her honour; and ſuch as are wanting in that, expoſe themſelves to her anger and revenge. And as pride, ſo this evil effect, is more or leſs diffuſed through corrupt mankind; and has been the occaſion of great animoſity and miſchief in the world.

§. II. We have a pregnant inſtance in holy writ, what malice and revenge the ſtomach of proud man is capable of, when not gratified in this particular. It had almoſt coſt Mordecai his neck, and the whole people of the Jews their lives, becauſe he would not bow himſelf to Haman, who was a great favourite to king Ahaſuerus. And the practice of the world, even in our own age, will tell us, that not ſtriking a flag or ſail; and not ſaluting certain ports or garriſons; yea, leſs things have given riſe to mighty wars between ſtates and kingdoms, to the expence of much treaſure, but more blood. The like has followed about the precedency of princes, and their ambaſſadors. Alſo the envy, quarrels and miſchiefs, that have happened among private perſons, upon conceit that they have not been reſpected to their degree of quality among men, with hat, knee, or title: to be ſure duels and murders not a few. I was once myſelf in France * ſet upon about eleven at night, as I was walking to my lodging, by a perſon that way-laid me, with his naked ſword in his hand, who demanded ſatisfaction of me for taking no notice of him, at a time when he civilly ſaluted me with his hat; tho' the truth was, I ſaw him not when he did it. I will ſuppoſe he had killed me, for he made ſeveral paſſes at me, or I in my defence had killed him, when I diſarmed him, (as the earl of Crawford's ſervant ſaw, that was by) I aſk any man of underſtanding or conſcience, if the whole ceremony were worth the life of a man, conſidering the dignity of the nature, and the importance of the life of man, both with reſpect to God his Creator, himſelf, and the benefit of civil ſociety?

* Which was before I profeſſed the communion I am now of.

§. III. But the truth is, the world, under its degeneracy from God, is as much out of the way, as to true honour and reſpect, as in other things; for meer ſhews (and thoſe vain ones too) are much of the honour and reſpect that are expreſſed in the world: that a man may ſay concerning them, as the apoſtle ſpeaks of ſcience, that is, they are honours and reſpects falſly ſo called; having nothing of the nature of true honour and reſpect in them: but as degenerate men, loving to be honoured, firſt deviſed them; ſo pride only loves and ſeeks them, and is affronted and angry for want of them. Did men know a true chriſtian ſtate, and the honour that comes from above, which Jeſus teaches, they would not covet theſe very vanities, much leſs inſiſt upon them.

John v. 44.

§. IV. And here give me leave to ſet down the reaſons more particularly, why I, and the people with whom I walk in religious ſociety, have declined as vain and fooliſh, ſeveral worldly cuſtoms and faſhions of reſpect, much in requeſt at this time of day: and I beſeech thee, reader, to lay aſide all prejudice and ſcorn, and with the meekneſs and enquiry of a ſober and diſcreet mind, read and weigh what may be here alledged in our defence: and if we are miſtaken, rather pity and inform, than deſpiſe and abuſe our ſimplicity.

§. V. The firſt and moſt preſſing motive upon our ſpirits, to decline the practice of theſe preſent cuſtoms of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets, in our ſalutations and addreſſes, was, that ſavour, ſight and ſenſe, that God, by his light and ſpirit, has given us of the chriſtian world's apoſtacy from God, and the cauſe and effects of that great and lamentable defection. In the diſcovery of which, the ſenſe of our ſtate came firſt before us, and we were made to ſee him whom we pierced, and to mourn for it. A day of humiliation overtook us, and we fainted to that pleaſure and delight we once loved. Now our works went beforehand to judgment, and a thorow ſearch was made, and the words of the prophet be- Mal. iii. 2. came well underſtood by us: 'who can abide the day of his coming? And who ſhall 'ſtand when he appears? He is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's ſoap.' And as the 1 Pet. iv. 18. apoſtle ſaid, 'if the righteous ſcarcely be ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and the ſinner 2 Cor. v. 11. 'appear?' Wherefore, ſays the apoſtle Paul, knowing the terrors of the Lord, we 'perſwade men: what to do?' To come out of the nature, ſpirit, luſts and cuſtoms of Mat. xii. 36. this wicked world: remembring that, as Jeſus has ſaid, for every idle word that man ſpeaketh, he ſhall give an account in the day of judgment.

This concern of mind, and dejection of ſpirit, was viſible to our neighbours; and we are not aſhamed to own, that the terrors of the Lord took ſuch hold upon us, becauſe we had long under a profeſſion of religion grieved God's Holy Spirit, that reproved us in ſecret for our diſobedience; that as we abhorred to think of continuing in our old ſins, ſo we feared to uſe lawful things, leſt we ſhould uſe them unlawfully. The words of the Jer. xxx. 6. prophet were fulfilled on us: 'Wherefore do I ſee every man with his hands on his loins, 'as a woman in travail?' Many a pang and throw have we had; our heaven ſeemed to melt away, and our earth to be removed out of its place; and we were like men, as the apoſtle ſaid, 'upon whom the ends of the world were come.' God knows it was ſo in this day, the brightneſs of his coming to our ſouls diſcovered, and the breath of his mouth deſtroyed, every plant he had not planted in us. He was a ſwift witneſs againſt every evil thought, and every unfruitful work; and, bleſſed be his name, we were not offended in him, or at his righteous judgments. Now it was, that a grand inqueſt came upon our whole life: every word, thought and deed was brought to judgment, the root 1 John ii. 16. examined, and its tendency conſidered. 'The luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and 'the pride of life were opened to our view; the myſtery of iniquity in us.' And by knowing the evil leaven, and its divers evil effects in ourſelves, how it had wrought, and what it had done, we came to have a ſenſe and knowledge of the ſtates of others: and what we could not, nay, we dare not let live and continue in ourſelves (as being manifeſted to us to proceed from an evil principle in the time of man's degeneracy) we could not comply with in others. Now this I ſay, and that in the fear and preſence of the all-ſeeing juſt God, the preſent honours and reſpect of the world, among other things, became burdenſome to us: we ſaw they had no being in paradiſe, that they grew in the night-time, and came from an ill root; and that they only delighted a vain and ill mind, and that much pride and folly were in them.

§. VI. And though we eaſily foreſaw the ſtorms of reproach that would fall upon us, for our refuſing to practiſe them; yet we were ſo far from being ſhaken in our judgment, that it abundantly confirmed our ſenſe of them. For ſo exalted a thing is man, and ſo loving of honour and reſpect even from his fellow-creatures, that ſo ſoon as in tenderneſs of conſcience towards God, we could not perform them, as formerly, he became more concerned than for all the reſt of our differences, however material to ſalvation. So that let the honour of God, and our own ſalvation, do as it will, it was greater hereſy and blaſphemy to refuſe him the homage of the hat, and his uſual titles of honour; to deny to pledge his healths, or play with him at cards and dice, than any other principle we maintained; for being leſs in his view, it ſeemed not ſo much in his way.

§. VII. And though it be frequently objected, that we ſeek to ſet up outward forms of preciſeneſs, and that it is but as a green ribbon, the badge of the party, the better to be known: I do declare in the fear of Almighty God, that theſe are but the imaginations and vain conſtructions of unſenſible men, that have not had that ſenſe, which the Lord hath given us, of what ariſes from the right and the wrong root in man: and when ſuch cenſurers of our ſimplicity ſhall be inwardly touched and awakened, by the mighty power of God, and ſee things as they are in their proper natures and ſeeds, they will then know their own burden, and eaſily acquit us without the imputation of folly or hypocriſy herein.

§. VIII. To ſay, that we ſtrain at ſmall things, which becomes not people of ſo fair pretenſions to liberty and freedom of ſpirit: I anſwer with meekneſs, truth and ſobriety; firſt, nothing is ſmall, that God makes matter of conſcience to do, or leave undone. Next, as inconſiderable as they are made, by thoſe that object upon us, they are much ſet by; ſo greatly, as for our not giving them, to be beaten, impriſoned, refuſed juſtice, &c. To ſay nothing of the deriſion and reproach that hath been frequently flung at us on this account. So that if we had wanted a proof of the truth of our inward belief and judgment, the very practice of them that oppoſed it would have abundantly con- Mat. xi. 19. firmed us. But let it ſuffice to us, that 'wiſdom is juſtified of her children:' we only paſſively let fall the practice of what we are taught to believe is vain and unchriſtian: in which we are negative to forms: for we leave off, we do not ſet up forms.

§. IX. The world is ſo ſet upon the ceremonious part and outſide of things, that it has well beſeemed the wiſdom of God in all ages, to bring forth his diſpenſations with very different appearances to their ſettled cuſtoms; thereby contradicting human inventions, and proving the integrity of his confeſſors. Nay, it is a teſt upon the world: it tries what patience, kindneſs, ſobriety and moderation they have: if the rough and homely outſide of truth ſtumble not their minds from the reception of it (whoſe beauty is within) it makes a great diſcovery upon them. For he who refuſes a precious jewel, becauſe it is preſented in a plain box, will never eſteem it to its value, nor ſet his heart upon keeping it: therefore I call it a teſt, becauſe it ſhews where the hearts and affections of people ſtick, after all their great pretences to more excellent things.

§. X. It is alſo a mighty trial upon God's people, in that they are put upon the diſcovery of their contradiction to the cuſtoms generally received and eſteemed in the world; which expoſes them to the wonder, ſcorn, and abuſe of the multitude. But there is an hidden treaſure in it: it inures us to reproach, it learns us to deſpiſe the falſe reputation of the world, and ſilently to undergo the contradiction and ſcorn of it's votaries; and finally, with a chriſtian meekneſs and patience, to overcome their injuries and reproaches. Add to this; it weans thee off thy familiars; for by being ſlighted of them as a ninnee, a fool, a frantick, &c. thou art delivered from a greater temptation, and that is, the power and influence of their vain converſation. And, laſt of all, it liſts thee of the company of the bleſſed, mocked, perſecuted Jeſus; to fight under his banner, againſt the world, the fleſh, and the devil: that after having faithfully ſuffered with them in a ſtate of humiliation, thou mayeſt reign with him in a ſtate of glorification; who glorifies his
poor, deſpiſed, conſtant followers, with the glory he had with his Father before the John xvii. 5.
world began. This was the firſt reaſon of our declining to practiſe the before-mentioned honours, reſpects, &c.

§. XI. The ſecond reaſon, why we decline and refuſe the preſent uſe of theſe cuſtoms in our addreſſes and ſalutations is, from the conſideration of their very emptineſs and vanity: that there is nothing of true honour and reſpect in them, ſuppoſing them not to be evil. And as religion and worſhip are degenerated into form and ceremony (and they not according to primitive practice neither) ſo is honour and reſpect too; there being little of that in the world, as well as of the other; and to be ſure, in theſe cuſtoms, none that is juſtifiable by ſcripture or reaſon.

§. XII. In ſcripture, we find the word Honour often and diverſly uſed. First, for 1 Sam. ii. 30.
obedience: as when God ſaith, 'they that honour me;' that is, that keep my command- 1 Pet. ii. 17.
ments. 'Honour the king;' that is, obey the king. 'Honour thy father and mother;' Exod. xx. 12.
that is, (ſaith the apoſtle to the Epheſians) 'obey thy father and thy mother in the Lord, Eph. vi. 1, 2.
'for that is right;' take heed to their precepts and advice; preſuppoſing always, that rulers and parents command lawful things, elſe they diſhonour themſelves to enjoin unlawful things; and ſubjects and children diſhonour their ſuperiors and parents, in complying with their unrighteous commands. Alſo, Chriſt uſes this word ſo, when he ſays,
'I have not a devil, but I honour my Father, and ye diſhonour me:' that is, I do my John viii. 49.
Father's will, in what I do; but you will not hear me; you reject my counſel, and will not obey my voice. It was not refuſing hat and knee, nor empty titles: no, it was diſobedience; reſiſting him that God had ſent, and not believing him. This was the diſhonour he taxed them with; uſing him as an impoſtor, that God had ordained for the ſalvation of the world. And of theſe diſhonourers, there are but too many at this day.
Chriſt has a ſaying to the ſame effect; 'that all men ſhould honour the Son, even as they John v. 23.
'honour the Father; and he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father, 'which hath ſent him:' that is, they that hearken not to Chriſt, and do not worſhip and obey him, they do not hear, worſhip, nor obey God. As they pretended to believe in God, ſo they were to have believed in him; he told them ſo. This is pregnantly manifeſted in the caſe of the centurion, whoſe faith was ſo much commended by Chriſt, where,
giving Jeſus an account of his honourable ſtation, he tells him, 'he had ſoldiers under Luke vii. 8.
'his authority, and when he ſaid to one, go, he went; to another, come, he came; 'and to a third, do this, he did it.' In this it was he placed the honour of his capacity, and the reſpect of his ſoldiers, and not in hats and legs: nor are ſuch cuſtoms yet in uſe amongſt ſoldiers, being effeminate, and unworthy of maſculine gravity.

§. XIII. In the next place, honour is uſed for preferment to truſt and eminent employments. So the Pſalmiſt ſpeaking to God; 'for thou haſt crowned him with glory and Pſal. viii. 5.
'honour:' again, 'Honour and majeſty haſt thou laid on him:' that is, God had given and xxi. 5.
Chriſt power over all his enemies, and exalted him to great dominion. Thus the wiſe
man intimates, when he ſays, 'the fear of the Lord is the inſtruction of wiſdom, and Prov. xv. 33.
'before honour is humility.' That is, before advancement or preferment, is humility.
Farther, he has this ſaying, 'as ſnow in ſummer, and as rain in harveſt, ſo honour is ch. xxvi. 1.
'not ſeemly for a fool:' that is, a fool is not capable of the dignity of truſt, employment, or preferment; they require virtue, wiſdom, integrity, diligence, of which fools

are unfurniſhed. And yet if the reſpects and titles, in uſe amongſt us, are to go for marks of honour, Solomon's Proverb will take place, and doubtleſs doth, upon the Prov. xiii. 18. practice of this age, that yields ſo much of that honour to a great many of Solomon's fools; who are not only ſilly men, but wicked too; ſuch as refuſe inſtruction, and hate the fear of the Lord; which only maketh one of his wiſe men.

Gen. xxxiv. 7. §. XIV. And as virtue and wiſdom are the ſame, ſo folly and wickedneſs. Thus Joſh. vii. 14, 15. Sechem's raviſhment of Dinah, Jacob's daughter, is called: ſo is the rebellion and Pſal. xxxviii. 5. wickedneſs of the Iſraelites in Joſhua. The Pſalmiſt expreſſes it thus: 'My wounds 'ſtink becauſe of my fooliſhneſs;' that is, his ſin. And, 'the Lord will ſpeak peace to Pſal. lxxxv. 8. 'his ſaints, that they turn not again to folly;' that is, to evil. 'His own iniquities, Prov. v. 22, 23. '(ſays Solomon) ſhall take the wicked himſelf, and he ſhall be holden with the cords of 'his ſins: he ſhall die without inſtruction, and in the greatneſs of his folly he ſhall go Mark vii. 21, 24. 'aſtray.' Chriſt puts fooliſhneſs with blaſphemy, pride, thefts, murders, adulteries, wickedneſs, &c. I was the more willing to add theſe paſſages, to ſhew the difference that there is between the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, and the notion that thoſe ages had of fools, that deſerve not honour, and that which is generally meant by fools and folly in our time; that we may the better underſtand the diſproportion there is between honour, as then underſtood by the Holy Ghoſt, and thoſe that were led thereby; and the apprehenſion of it, and practice of theſe latter ages of profeſſed chriſtians.

Prov. xi. 16. §. XV. But honour is alſo taken for reputation, and ſo it is underſtood with us: 'A 'gracious woman (ſays Solomon) retaineth honour;' that is, ſhe keeps her credit; and, Prov. xx. 3. by her virtue, maintains her reputation of ſobriety and chaſtity. In another place, 'It Mat. xiii. 57. 'is an honour for a man to ceaſe from ſtrife:' that is, it makes for his reputation, as a wiſe and good man. Chriſt uſes the word thus, where he ſays, 'a prophet is not without 1 Theſ. iv. 4. 'honour, ſave in his own country:' that is, he has credit, and is valued, ſave at home. The apoſtle to the Theſſalonians has a ſaying to that effect: 'that every one of you 'ſhould know how to poſſeſs his veſſel in ſanctification and honour;' that is, in chaſtity and ſobriety. In all which, nothing of the faſhions by us declined is otherwiſe concerned, than to be totally excluded.

§. XVI. There is yet another uſe of the word [honour] in ſcripture, and that is to 1 Tim. v. 17. functions and capacities: as, 'an elder is worthy of double honour:' that is, he deſerves double eſteem, love, and reſpect; being holy, merciful, temperate, peaceable, humble, Philip. ii. 29. &c. eſpecially one that 'labours in word and doctrine.' So Paul recommends Epaphroditus to the Philippians: 'Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladneſs, and hold 'ſuch in reputation.' As if he had ſaid, let them be valued and regarded by you in what they ſay and teach. Which is the trueſt, and moſt natural and convincing way of teſtifying reſpect to a man of God, as Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, 'If you love me, you will 'keep my ſayings.' Farther, the apoſtle bids us, 'to honour widows indeed;' that is, ſuch women as are of chaſte lives, and exemplary virtue, are honourable. Marriage is Heb. xiii. 4. honourable too, with this proviſo, that the bed be undefiled: ſo that the honour of marriage, is the chaſtity of the married.

§. XVII. The word Honour in the ſcripture, is alſo uſed of ſuperiors to inferiors; which is plain in that of Ahaſuerus to Haman: 'What ſhall be done to the man whom Eſth. vi. 6. 'the king delighteth to honour? Why, he mightily advanced him, as Mordecai afterwards. And more particularly it is ſaid, 'that the Jews had light, and gladneſs, and joy, Eſth. viii. 16. 'and honour:' that is, they eſcaped the perſecution that was like to fall upon them, and, by the means of Eſther and Mordecai, they enjoyed, not only peace, but favour and countenance too. In this ſenſe, the apoſtle Peter adviſed men, 'to honour their wives;' that is, to love, value, cheriſh, countenance and eſteem them for their fidelity and affection to their huſbands; for their tenderneſs and care over their children, and for their di- 1 Pet. iii. ligence and circumſpection in their families: there's no ceremonious behaviour, or gawdy 1 Sam. ii. 30. titles, requiſite to expreſs this honour. Thus God honours holy men: 'they (ſays the Lord) 'that honour me, I will honour; and they that deſpiſe me, ſhall be lightly 'eſteemed:' that is, I will do good to them, I will love, bleſs, countenance, and proſper them that honour me, that obey me: but they that deſpiſe me, that reſiſt my ſpirit, and break my law, they ſhall be lightly eſteemed, little ſet by, or accounted of; they ſhall not find favour with God, nor righteous men. And ſo we ſee it daily among men: if the great viſit, or concern themſelves to aid the poor, we ſay, that ſuch a great man did me the honour to come and ſee or help me in my need.

§. XVIII. I ſhall conclude this with one paſſage more, and that is a very large, plain, 1 Pet. ii. 17. and pertinent one: 'Honour all men, and love the brotherhood:' that is, love is above honour, and that is reſerved for the brotherhood. But honour, which is eſteem and regard, that thou oweſt to all men; and if all, then thy inferiors. But why, for all men? Becauſe they are the creation of God, and the nobleſt part of his creation too; they are alſo thy own kind: be natural, have bowels, and aſſiſt them with what thou canſt; be ready to perform any real reſpect, and yield them any good or countenance thou canſt.

§. XIX. And yet there ſeems a limitation to this command, honour all men, in that Pſal. xv. 4. godly paſſage of David, 'Who ſhall abide in thy tabernacle? who ſhall dwell in thy

‘ holy hill? He in whoſe eyes a vile perſon is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear the Lord.’ Here honour is confined and affixed to godly perſons, and diſhonour made the duty of the righteous to the wicked, and a mark of their being righteous, that they diſhonour; that is, ſlight or diſregard them. To conclude this ſcripture-enquiry after honour, I ſhall contract the ſubject of it under three capacities, ſuperiors, equals, and inferiors: honour to ſuperiors, is obedience; to equals, love; to inferiors, countenance and help: that is honour after God's mind, and the holy people's faſhion of old.

§. XX. But how little of all this is to be ſeen or had in a poor empty hat, bow, cringe, or gaudy, fluttering title? Let the truth-ſpeaking witneſs of God in all mankind judge. For I muſt not appeal to corrupt, proud, and ſelf-ſeeking man, of the good or evil of theſe cuſtoms; that, as little as he would render them, are loved and ſought by him, and he is out of humour, and angry, if he has them not.

This is our ſecond reaſon, why we refuſe to practiſe the accuſtomed ceremonies of honour and reſpect, becauſe we find no ſuch notion or expreſſion, of honour and reſpect, recommended to us by the Holy Ghoſt in the ſcriptures of truth.

§. XXI. Our third reaſon, for not uſing them as teſtimonies of honour and reſpect is, becauſe there is no diſcovery of honour or reſpect to be made by them: 'tis rather eluding and equivocating it; cheating people of the honour or reſpect that is due to them; giving them nothing in the ſhew of ſomething. There is in them no obedience to ſuperiors; no love to equals; no help or countenance to inferiors.

§. XXII. We are, we declare to the whole world, for true honour and reſpect: we honour the king, our parents, our maſters, our magiſtrates, our landlords, one another, yea all men, after God's way, uſed by holy men and women of old time: but we refuſe theſe cuſtoms, as vain and deceitful; not anſwering the end they are uſed for.

§. XXIII. But fourthly, there is yet more to be ſaid: we find that vain, looſe, and worldly people, are the great lovers and practiſers of them, and moſt deride our ſimplicity of behaviour. Now we aſſuredly know, from the ſacred teſtimonies, that thoſe people cannot give true honour, that live in a diſhonourable ſpirit; they underſtand it not: but they can give the hat and knee; and that they are very liberal of; nor are any more expert at it. This is to us, a proof, that no true honour can be teſtified by thoſe cuſtoms, which vanity and looſeneſs love and uſe.

§. XXIV. Next to them, I will add hypocriſy and revenge too. For how little do many care for each other? Nay, what ſpite, envy, animoſity, ſecret back-biting, and plotting one againſt another, under the uſe of theſe idle reſpects; till paſſion, too ſtrong for cunning, break through hypocriſy into open affront and revenge. It cannot be ſo with the ſcripture-honour: to obey, or prefer a man, out of ſpite, is not uſually done; and to love, help, ſerve, and countenance a perſon, in order to deceive and be revenged of him, is a thing never heard of: theſe admit of no hypocriſy, nor revenge. Men do not theſe things to palliate ill-will, which are the teſtimonies of quite the contrary. 'Tis abſurd to imagine it, becauſe impoſſible to be done.

§. XXV. Our ſixth reaſon is, that honour was from the beginning, but hat-reſpects and moſt titles are of late: therefore there was true honour before hats or titles; and conſequently true honour ſtands not in them. And that which ever was the way to expreſs true honour, is the beſt way ſtill; and this the ſcripture teaches better than dancing-maſters can do.

§. XXVI. Seventhly, if honour conſiſts in ſuch like ceremonies, then will it follow, that they are moſt capable of ſhewing honour, who perform it moſt exactly, according to the mode or faſhion of the times; conſequently, that man hath not the meaſure of true honour, from a juſt and reaſonable principle in himſelf, but by the means and ſkill of the fantaſtic dancing-maſters of the times: and for this cauſe it is we ſee, that many give much money to have their children learn their honours, falſly ſo called. And what doth this but totally exclude the poor country people; who, tho' they plow, ſow, till, reap, go to market; and in all things obey their juſtices, landlords, fathers, and maſters, with ſincerity and ſobriety, rarely uſe thoſe ceremonies; but if they do, it is ſo awkwardly and meanly, that they are eſteemed by a court-critic ſo ill-favoured, as only fit to make a jeſt of, and be laughed at: but what ſober man will not deem their obedience beyond the other's vanity and hypocriſy? This baſe notion of honour turns out of doors the true, and ſets the falſe in it's place. Let it be farther conſidered, that the way or faſhion of doing it is much more in the deſign of it's performers, as well as view of it's ſpectators, than the reſpect itſelf. Whence 'tis commonly ſaid, he is a man of good mein; or, ſhe is a woman of exact behaviour. And what is this behaviour, but fantaſtic, crampt poſtures, and cringings, unnatural to their ſhape, and if it were not faſhionable, ridiculous to the view of all people; and therefore to the Eaſtern countries a proverb.

§. XXVII. But yet eighthly, real honour conſiſts not in a hat, bow, or title, becauſe all theſe things may be had for money. For which reaſon, how many dancing-ſchools, plays, &c. are there in the land, to which youth is generally ſent to be educated in theſe vain faſhions? whilſt they are ignorant of the honour that is of God, and their minds are allured to viſible things that periſh; and inſtead of remembering their Creator, are taken up with toys and fopperies; and ſometimes ſo much worſe, as to coſt themſelves a diſinheriting, and their indiſcreet parents grief and miſery all their days. If parents would honour God in the help of his poor, with the ſubſtance they beſtow on ſuch an education, Prov. iii. 9. they would find a better account in the end.

§. XXVIII. But laſtly, We cannot eſteem bows, titles, and pulling off of hats, to be real honour, becauſe ſuch like cuſtoms, have been prohibited by God, his Son and ſervants in days paſt. This I ſhall endeavour to ſhew by three or four expreſs authorities.

§. XXIX. My firſt example and authority is taken from the ſtory of Mordecai and Haman; ſo cloſe to this point, that methinks it ſhould at leaſt command ſilence to the objections frequently advanced againſt us. Haman was firſt miniſter of ſtate and favourite to king Ahaſuerus. The text ſays, 'that the king ſet his ſeat above all the princes 'that were with him; and all the king's ſervants bowed and reverenced Haman; for 'the king had ſo commanded concerning him: but Mordecai (it ſeems) bowed not, nor Eſth. iii. 1, 2. 'did him reverence.' This, at firſt, made ill for Mordecai: a gallows was prepared for him at Haman's command. But the ſequel of the ſtory ſhews, that Haman proved his own invention, and ended his pride with his life upon it. Well now, ſpeaking as the world ſpeaks, and looking upon Mordecai without the knowledge of the ſucceſs; was not Mordecai a very clown, at leaſt a ſilly, moroſe, and humorous man, to run ſuch a hazard for a trifle? What hurt had it done him to have bowed to, and honoured one the king honoured? did he not deſpiſe the king, in diſregarding Haman? nay, had not the king commanded that reſpect? and are not we to honour and obey the king? One would have thought, he might have bowed for the king's ſake, whatever he had in his heart, and yet have come off well enough; for that he bowed not merely to Haman, but to the king's authority; beſides, it was but an innocent ceremony. But it ſeems, Mordecai was too plain and ſtout, and not fine and ſubtil enough to avoid the diſpleaſure of Haman.

Howbeit, he was an excellent man: 'he feared God, and wrought righteouſneſs.' And in this very thing alſo, he pleaſed God, and even the king too at laſt, that had moſt cauſe to be angry with him: for he advanced him to Haman's dignity; and, if it could be, to greater honour. 'Tis true, ſad news firſt came; no leſs than deſtruction to Mordecai, and the whole people of the Jews beſides, for his ſake: but Mordecai's integrity and humiliation, his faſting and ſtrong cries to God prevailed, and the people were ſaved, and poor condemned Mordecai comes, after all, to be exalted above the princes. O this has great doctrine in it, to all thoſe that are in their ſpiritual exerciſes and temptations, whether in this or any other reſpect! They that endure faithful in that which they are convinced God requires of them, tho' againſt the grain and humour of the world, and themſelves too, they ſhall find a bleſſed recompence in the end. My brethren, remember the cup of cold water! 'We ſhall reap, if we faint not:' and call to mind, that our captain bowed not to him that told him, 'If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me, I will Mat. iv. 8, 9. 'give thee all the glory of the world:' ſhall we bow then? O no! let us follow our bleſſed leader.

§. XXX. But before I leave this ſection, 'tis fit I add, that in conference with a late biſhop (and none of the leaſt eminent) upon this ſubject and inſtance, I remember he ſought to evade it thus: Mordecai (ſays he) did not refuſe to bow, as it was a teſtimony of reſpect to the king's favourite; but he being a figure and type of Chriſt, he refuſed it, becauſe Haman was of the uncircumciſion, and ought to bow to him rather. To which I replied; that allowing Mordecai to be a figure of Chriſt, and the Jews of God's people or church; and that as the Jews were ſaved by Mordecai, ſo the church is ſaved by Chriſt; this makes for me: for then, by that reaſon, the ſpiritual circumciſion, or people of Chriſt, are not to receive and bow to the faſhions and cuſtoms of the ſpiritual uncircumciſion, who are the children of the world; of which, ſuch as were condemnable ſo long ago, in the time of the type and figure, can by no means be juſtifiably received or practiſed in the time of the anti-type or ſubſtance itſelf. On the contrary, this ſhews expreſly, we are faithfully to decline ſuch worldly cuſtoms, and not to faſhion ourſelves according to the converſation of earthly-minded people; but be renewed and changed in our ways; and keep cloſe to our Mordecai, who having not bowed, we muſt not bow, that are his people and followers. And whatever be our ſuffering, or reproaches, they will have an end: Mordecai, our captain, that appears for his people throughout all the provinces, in the king's gate, will deliver us at laſt; and, for his ſake, we ſhall be favoured and loved of the king himſelf too. So powerful is faithful Mordecai at laſt. Therefore let us all look to Jeſus, our Mordecai, the Iſrael indeed; he that has power with God, and would not bow in the hour of temptation, but has mightily prevailed; and therefore is a prince for ever, and of his government there ſhall never be an end. Iſa. ix. 7.

§. XXXI. The next ſcripture-inſtance I urge againſt theſe cuſtoms, is a paſſage in Job, thus expreſſed; 'Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's perſon; neither let me Job. xxxii. 21, 22. 'give flattering titles unto man, for I know not to give flattering titles; in ſo doing 'my Maker would ſoon take me away.' The queſtion that will ariſe upon the allegation

tion of this ſcripture, is this, viz. What titles are flattering? The anſwer is as obvious, namely, Such as are empty and fictitious, and make him more than he is. As to call a man what he is not, to pleaſe him; or to exalt him beyond his true name, office, or deſert, to gain upon his affection; who, it may be, luſteth to honour and reſpect: ſuch as theſe, Moſt excellent, moſt ſacred, your grace, your lordſhip, moſt dread majeſty, right honourable, right worſhipful, may it pleaſe your majeſty, your grace, your lordſhip, your honour, your worſhip, and the like unneceſſary titles and attributes; calculated only to pleaſe and tickle poor, proud, vain, yet mortal man. Likewiſe to call man what he is not, as my lord, my maſter, &c. and wiſe, juſt, or good, (when he is neither) only to pleaſe him, or ſhew him reſpect.

It was familiar thus to do among the Jews, under their degeneracy; wherefore one came to Chriſt and ſaid; ‘Good maſter, what ſhall I do to have eternal life? It was a ſalutation or addreſs of reſpect in thoſe times. 'Tis familiar now: good my lord, good ſir, good maſter, do this, or do that. But what was Chriſt's anſwer? how did he take it? ‘Why calleſt thou me good?’ ſays Chriſt, ‘there is none good ſave one, that is ‘God.’ He rejected it, that had more right to keep it than all mankind: and why? becauſe there was one greater than he; and that he ſaw the man addreſſed it to his manhood, after the way of the times, and not his divinity which dwelt within it; therefore Chriſt refuſes it, ſhewing and inſtructing us that we ſhould not give ſuch epithets and titles commonly to men: for good being due alone to God and godlineſs, it can only be ſaid in flattery to fallen man, and therefore ſinful to be ſo ſaid.

Luke xvii. 13, 19.

This plain and exact life well became him that was on purpoſe manifeſted to return and reſtore man from his lamentable degeneracy, to the innocency and purity of his firſt creation, who has taught us to be careful, how we uſe and give attributes unto man, by that moſt ſevere ſaying, ‘that every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give ‘an account thereof in the day of judgment.’ And that which ſhould warn all men of the latitude they take herein, and ſufficiently juſtify our tenderneſs, is this, that man can ſcarcely commit greater injury and offence againſt Almighty God, than to aſcribe any of his attributes unto man, the creature of his word, and the work of his hands. He is a jealous God of his honour, and will not give his glory unto another. Beſides, it is ſo near the ſin of the aſpiring, fallen angels, that affected to be greater and better than they were made and ſtated by the great Lord of all; and to entitle man to a ſtation above his make and orb looks ſo like idolatry (the unpardonable ſin under the law,) that it is hard to think, how men and women profeſſing chriſtianity, and ſeriouſly reflecting upon their vanity and evil in theſe things, can continue in them, much leſs plead for them, and leaſt of all reproach and deride thoſe that through tenderneſs of conſcience cannot uſe and give them. It ſeems that Elihu did not dare to do it; but put ſuch weight upon the matter, as to give this for one reaſon of his forbearance, to wit, ‘leſt my Maker ſhould ‘ſoon take me away:’ that is, for fear God ſhould ſtrike me dead, I dare not give man titles, that are above him, or titles merely to pleaſe him. I may not, by any means, gratify that ſpirit which luſteth after ſuch things. God is to be exalted, and man abaſed. God is jealous of man's being ſet higher than his ſtation: he will have him keep his place, know his original, and remember the rock from whence he came: that what he has is borrowed, not his own, but his Maker's, who brought him forth, and ſuſtained him; which man is very apt to forget. And leſt I ſhould be acceſſary to it by flattering titles, inſtead of telling him truly and plainly what he is, and uſing him as he ought to be treated, and thereby provoke my Maker to diſpleaſure, and he, in his anger and jealouſy ſhould take me ſoon away, or bring ſudden death, and an untimely end upon me, I dare not uſe, I dare not give ſuch titles unto men.

Mat. xii. 36.

§. XXXII. But if we had not this to alledge from the old-teſtament-writings, it ſhould and ought to ſuffice with chriſtians, that theſe cuſtoms are ſeverely cenſured by the great Lord and Maſter of all their religion; who is ſo far from putting people upon giving honour one to another, that he will not indulge them in it, whatever be the cuſtoms of the country they live in: for he charges it upon the Jews, as a mark of their apoſtacy: ‘How ‘can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that ‘cometh from God only?’ Where their infidelity concerning Chriſt is made the effect of ſeeking worldly, and not heavenly honour only. And the thing is not hard to apprehend, if we conſider, that ſelf-love, and deſire of honour from men, is inconſiſtent with the love and humility of Chriſt. They ſought the good opinion and reſpect of the world; how then was it poſſible, they ſhould leave all and follow him, whoſe kingdom is not of this world; and that came in a way ſo croſs to the mind and humour of it? and that this was the meaning of our Lord Jeſus, is plain: for he tells us, what that honour was, they gave and received, which he condemned them for, and of which he bid the diſciples of his humility and croſs beware. His words are theſe (and he ſpeaks them not of the rabble, but of the doctors, the great men, the men of honour among the Jews) ‘They ‘love (ſays he) the uppermoſt rooms at feaſts;’ that is, places of greateſt rank and reſpect; ‘and greetings,’ that is, ſalutations of reſpect, ſuch as pulling off the hat, and bowing the body, are in our age; ‘in the market-places,’ (viz. in the places of note and concourſe, the public walks and exchanges of the country.) And laſtly, ‘they love

Mat. xxiii. 6, 10, 11.
Mark xii. 38.
Luke xi. 43.

(ſays Chriſt) to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi: one of the moſt eminent titles among the Jews. A word comprehending an excellency equal to many titles: it may ſtand for your grace, your lordſhip, right reverend father, &c. It is upon theſe men of breeding and quality, that he pronounces his woes, making theſe practices ſome of the evil marks, by which to know them, as well as ſome of the motives of his threatnings againſt them. But he leaves it not here; he purſues this very point of honour, above all the reſt, in his caution to his diſciples; to whom he gave in charge thus: ‘But be not ye called rabbi, for ‘ one is your maſter, even Chriſt, and all ye are brethren. Neither be ye called maſters; ‘ but he that is greateſt among you ſhall be your ſervant: and whoſoever ſhall exalt him‘ ſelf, ſhall be abaſed.’ Plain it is, that theſe paſſages carry a ſevere rebuke, both to worldly honour in general, and to thoſe members and expreſſions of it in particular, which, as near as the language of ſcripture and cuſtoms of that age will permit, do diſtinctly reach and allude to thoſe of our own time; for the declining of which, we have ſuffered ſo much ſcorn and abuſe, both in our perſons and eſtates: God forgive the unreaſonable authors of it!

§. XXXIII. The apoſtle Paul has a ſaying of great weight and fervency, in his epiſtle Rom. xii. 1, 2. to the Romans, very agreeable to this doctrine of Chriſt; ’tis this: ‘I beſeech you there‘ fore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye preſent your bodies a living ſacrifice, ‘ holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reaſonable ſervice: and be not conformed to ‘ this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove ‘ what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.’ He writ to a people in the midſt of the enſnaring pomp and glory of the world: Rome was the ſeat of Cæſar, and the empire: the miſtreſs of invention. Her faſhions, as thoſe of France now, were as laws to the world, at leaſt at Rome: whence it is proverbial;

Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more.

When thou art at Rome, thou muſt do as Rome does.

But the apoſtle is of another mind: he warns the chriſtians of that city, ‘that they be ‘ not conformed;’ that is, that they do not follow the vain faſhions and cuſtoms of this world, but leave them: the emphaſis lies upon This, as well as upon Conformed: and it imports, that this world, which they were not to conform to, was the corrupt and degenerate condition of mankind in that age. Wherefore the apoſtle proceeds to exhort thoſe believers, and that by the mercies of God, (the moſt powerful and winning of all arguments) ‘that they would be transformed;’ that is, changed from the way of life, cuſtomary among the Romans; ‘and prove what is that acceptable will of God.’ As if he had ſaid, examine what you do and practiſe; ſee if it be right, and that it pleaſe God: John iii. 21, 22. call every thought, word, and action to judgment; try whether they are wrought in God or not; that ſo you may prove or know what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.

§. XXXIV. The next ſcripture-authority we appeal to, in our vindication, is a paſſage of the apoſtle Peter, in his firſt epiſtle, writ to the believing ſtrangers throughout the countries of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia, and Bithynia; which were the churches of Chriſt Jeſus in thoſe parts of the world, gathered up by his power and ſpirit: ’tis this; 1 Pet. i. 13, 14. ‘Gird up the loins of your mind; be ſober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is ‘ to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt; as obedient children, not ‘ faſhioning yourſelves according to the former luſts of your ignorance.’ That is, be not found in the vain faſhions and cuſtoms of the world, unto which you conformed in your former ignorance: but as ye have believed in a more plain and excellent way, ſo be ſober and fervent, and hope to the end: do not give out; let them mock on; bear ye the contradiction of ſinners conſtantly, as obedient children, that you may receive the kindneſs of God, at the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt. And therefore does the apoſtle call them ‘ſtrangers (a figurative ſpeech) people eſtranged from the cuſtoms of the world, of new ‘ faith and manners; and ſo unknown of the world:’ and if ſuch ſtrangers, then not to be faſhioned or conformed to their pleaſing reſpects and honours, whom they were enſtranged from: becauſe the ſtrangeneſs lay in leaving that which was cuſtomary and familiar to them before. The following words (ver. 17.) prove he uſed the word ſtrangers in a ſpiritual ſenſe; ‘Paſs the time of your ſojourning here in fear;’ that is, paſs the time of your being here as ſtrangers on earth in fear: not after the faſhions of the world. A word in the next chapter farther explains his ſenſe, where he tells the believers, that ‘they are a peculiar people;’ to wit, a diſtinct, a ſingular and ſeparate people from the reſt of the world; not any longer to faſhion themſelves according to their cuſtoms: but I do not know how that could be, if they were to live in communion with the world, in its reſpects and honours; for that is not to be a peculiar or ſeparate people from them, but to be like them, becauſe conformable to them.

§. XXXV. I ſhall conclude my ſcripture-teſtimonies againſt the foregoing reſpects, with that memorable and cloſe paſſage of the apoſtle James, againſt reſpect to perſons in James ii. 1, 2, 3, 4. general, after the world's faſhion: ‘My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jeſus ‘ Chriſt, the Lord of glory, with reſpect of perſons: for if there come unto your aſſem‘ bly, a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel; and there come in alſo a poor man, in vile raiment, and ye have reſpect to him that weareth the gay cloathing, and ſay unto him, ſit thou here in a goodly place (or well and ſeemly, as the word is) and ſay to the poor, ſtand thou there, or ſit here under my footſtool; are ye not then partial in yourſelves, and are become judges of evil thoughts [that is, they knew they did amiſs]? If ye fulfil the royal law, according to the ſcripture, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as Ver. 8. thyſelf, ye do well; but if ye have reſpect to perſons, ye commit ſin, and are convinced of the law as tranſgreſſors.' This is ſo full, there ſeems nothing left for me to add, or others to object. We are not to reſpect perſons, that's the firſt thing: and the next is, if we do, we commit ſin, and break the law: at our own peril be it. And yet perhaps ſome will ſay, that by this we overthrow all manner of diſtinction among men, under their divers qualities, and introduce a reciprocal and relational reſpect in the room of it: but if it be ſo, I can't help it, the apoſtle James muſt anſwer for it, who has given us this doctrine for chriſtian and apoſtolical. And yet one greater than he told his diſciples, of whom James was one, viz. 'Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exerciſe Mat. xx. 25, 26, 27. dominion over them, &c. But it ſhall not be ſo among you; but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your miniſter; and whoſoever will be chief among you, let him be your ſervant:' that is, he that affects rule, and ſeeks to be uppermoſt, ſhall be eſteemed leaſt among you. And to ſay true, upon the whole matter, whether we regard thoſe early times of the world, that were antecedent to the coming of Chriſt, or ſoon after, there was yet a greater ſimplicity, than in the times in which we are fallen. For thoſe early times of the world, as bad as they were in other things, were great ſtrangers to the frequency of theſe follies: nay, they hardly uſed ſome of them, at leaſt very rarely. For if we read the ſcriptures, ſuch a thing as my lord Adam, (though lord of the world) is not to be found; nor my lord Noah neither, the ſecond lord of the earth; nor yet my lord Abraham, the father of the faithful; nor my lord Iſaac; nor my lord Jacob: but much leſs my lord Peter, and my lord Paul, to be found in the bible: and leſs your holineſs, or your grace. Nay, among the Gentiles, the people wore their own names with more ſimplicity, and uſed not the ceremoniouſneſs of ſpeech that is now practiſed among Chriſtians, nor yet any thing like it. My lord Solon, my lord Phocion, my lord Plato, my lord Ariſtotle, my lord Scipio, my lord Fabius, my lord Cato, my lord Cicero, are not to be read in any of the Greek or Latin ſtories, and yet they were ſome of the ſages and heroes of thoſe great empires. No, their own names were enough to diſtinguiſh them from other men, and their virtue and employment in the public were their titles of honour. Nor has this vanity yet crept far into the latin writers, where it is familiar for authors to cite the moſt learned, and the moſt noble, without any addition to their names, unleſs worthy or learned: and if their works give it them, we make conſcience to deny it them. For inſtance: the fathers they only cite thus; Polycarpus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Origen, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chryſoſtom, Jerom, &c. More modern writers; Damaſcen, Rabanus, Paſchaſius, Theophilact, Bernard, &c. And of the laſt age; Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Zuinglius, Marlorat, Voſſius, Grotius, Dalleus, Amaraldus, &c. And of our own country; Gildas, Beda, Alcuinus, Horn, Bracton, Groſteed, Littleton, Cranmer, Ridley, Jewel, Whitaker, Selden, &c. And yet, I preſume, this will not be thought uncivil or rude. Why then is our ſimplicity (and ſo honeſtly grounded too, as conſcience againſt pride in man, that ſo eagerly and perniciouſly loves and ſeeks worſhip and greatneſs) ſo much deſpiſed and abuſed, and that by profeſſed Chriſtians too, who take themſelves to be the followers of him, that has forbid theſe fooliſh cuſtoms, as plainly as any other impiety condemned in his doctrine? I earneſtly beg the lovers, uſers, and expecters of theſe ceremonies, to let this I have writ have ſome conſideration and weight with them.

§. XXXVI. However, Chriſtians are not ſo ill-bred as the world thinks: for they ſhew reſpect too: But the difference between them lies in the nature of the reſpect they perform, and the reaſons of it. The world's reſpect is an empty ceremony, no ſoul or ſubſtance in it: the Chriſtian's is a ſolid thing, whether by obedience to ſuperiors, love to equals, or help and countenance to inferiors. Next, their reaſons and motives to honour and reſpect, are as wide one from the other: for fine apparel, empty titles, or large revenues, are the world's motives, being things her children worſhip: but the Chriſtian's motive is, the ſenſe of his duty in God's ſight; firſt, to parents and magiſtrates; and then to inferior relations: and laſtly, to all people, according to their virtue, wiſdom, and piety: which is far from reſpect to the meer perſons of men, or having their perſons in admiration for reward; much leſs on ſuch mean and baſe motives as wealth and ſumptuous raiment.

§. XXXVII. We ſhall eaſily grant, our honour, as our religion, is more hidden; and that neither is ſo diſcernible by worldly men, nor grateful to them. Our plainneſs is odd, uncouth, and goes mightily againſt the grain; but ſo does Chriſtianity too, and that for the ſame reaſons. But had not the heathen ſpirit prevailed too long under a chriſtian profeſſion, it would not be ſo hard to diſcern the right from the wrong. O that Chriſtians would look upon themſelves, with the glaſs of righteouſneſs, that which tells true, and gives them an exact knowledge of themſelves! and then let them examine, what in them, and about them, agrees with Chriſt's doctrine and life; and they may ſoon reſolve, whether they are real Chriſtians, or but Heathens chriſtened with the name of Chriſtians.

Some teſtimonies from ancient and modern writers, in favour of our behaviour.

§. XXXVIII. Marlorat out of Luther, and Calvin, upon that remarkable paſſage, I juſt now urged from the apoſtle James, gives us the ſenſe thoſe primitive reformers had of reſpect to perſons, in theſe words, viz. "To reſpect perſons (here) is to have regard to the habit and garb: the apoſtle ſignifies, that ſuch reſpecting perſons is ſo contrary to true faith, that they are altogether inconſiſtent: but if the pomp, and other worldly regards, prevail, and weaken what is of Chriſt, it is a ſign of a decaying faith; yea, ſo great is the glory and ſplendor of Chriſt, in a pious ſoul, that all the glories of the world have no charms, no beauty, in compariſon of that, unto one ſo righteouſly inclined: the apoſtle maketh ſuch reſpecting of perſons, to be repugnant to the light (within them) inſomuch, as they who follow thoſe practices, are condemned from within themſelves. So that ſanctity ought to be the reaſon, or motive, of all outward reſpects; and that none is to be honoured, upon any account, but holineſs:" thus much Marlorat. But if this be true doctrine, we are much in the right in refuſing conformity to the vain reſpects of worldly men.

§. XXXIX. But I ſhall add to theſe the admonition of a learned ancient writer, who lived above 1200 years ſince, of great eſteem, namely, Jerom, who writing to a noble matron, Celantia, directing her how to live in the midſt of her proſperity and honours, amongſt many other religious inſtructions, ſpeaks thus: "Heed not thy nobility, nor let that be a reaſon for thee to take place of any; eſteem not thoſe of a meaner extraction to be thy inferiors; for our religion admits of no reſpect of perſons, nor doth it induce us to repute men from any external condition, but from their inward frame and diſpoſition of mind: it is hereby that we pronounce men noble or baſe. With God, not to ſerve ſin, is to be free; and to excel in virtue, is to be noble: God has choſen the mean and contemptible of this world, whereby to humble the great ones. Beſides, it is a folly for any to boaſt his gentility, ſince all are equally eſteemed by God. The ranſom of the poor, and rich, coſt Chriſt an equal expence of blood. Nor is it material in what ſtate a man is born; the new creature hath no diſtinction. But if we will forget, how we all deſcended from one Father, we ought at leaſt perpetually to remember, that we have but one Saviour."

§. XL. But ſince I am engaged againſt theſe fond and fruitleſs cuſtoms, (the proper effects and delights of vain and proud minds) let me yet add one memorable paſſage more, as it is related by the famous Cauſabon, in his Diſcourſe of Uſe and Cuſtom; where he briefly reports what paſt between Sulpitius Severus, and Paulinus biſhop of Nola, (but ſuch an one as gave all to redeem captives, whilſt others of that function, that they may ſhew who is their maſter, are making many both beggars and captives, by countenancing the plunder and impriſonment of Chriſtians, for pure conſcience to God) he brings it in thus: "He is not counted a civil man now, of late years amongſt us, who thinks it much, or refuſeth, to ſubſcribe himſelf ſervant, tho' it be to his equal or inferior. Yet Sulpitius Severus was once ſharply chid by Paulinus, for ſubſcribing himſelf his ſervant, in a letter of his; ſaying, Take heed hereafter, how Thou, being from a ſervant called into liberty, doſt ſubſcribe thyſelf ſervant unto one who is thy brother and fellow-ſervant; for it is a ſinful flattery, not a teſtimony of humility, to pay thoſe honours to a man, and a ſinner, which are due to the one Lord, and one maſter, and one God." This biſhop was (as it ſeems) of Chriſt's mind, 'Why calleſt thou me good? there is none good but one.' By this we may ſee the ſenſe of ſome of the more apoſtolical biſhops about the civilities and faſhions, ſo much reputed with people that call themſelves Chriſtians and Biſhops, and who would be thought their ſucceſſors. It was then a ſin, it is now an accompliſhment; it was then a flattery, it is now reſpect; it was then fit to be ſeverely reproved; and now, alas! it is to deſerve ſevere reproof not to uſe it. O monſtrous vanity! how much, how deeply, have thoſe who are called Chriſtians revolted from the plainneſs of the primitive days, and practice of holy men and women in former ages! How are they become degenerated into the looſe, proud and wanton cuſtoms of the world, which knows not God; to whom uſe hath made theſe things, condemned by ſcripture, reaſon and example, almoſt natural! And ſo inſenſible are they of both their cauſe and bad effects, that they not only continue to practiſe them, but plead for them, and unchriſtianly make a very mock of thoſe who cannot imitate them. But I ſhall proceed to what remains yet farther to be ſaid in our defence for declining another cuſtom, which helps to make us ſo much the ſtumbling-block of this light, vain, and inconſiderate age.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

§. 1. Another piece of non-conformity to the world, which is our ſimple and plain ſpeech, Thou for You. §. 2. Juſtified from the uſe of words and numbers, ſingular and plural. §. 3. It was, and is, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin ſpeech, in ſchools and univerſities. §. 4. It is the language of all nations. §. 5. The original of the preſent cuſtom defends our diſuſe of it. §. 6. If cuſtom ſhould prevail, in a ſenſe it would be on our ſide. §. 7. It cannot be uncivil, or improper; for God himſelf, the fathers, prophets, Chriſt and his apoſtles uſed it. §. 8. An inſtance given in the caſe of Peter, in the palace of the high prieſt. §. 9. It is the practice of men to God in their prayers: the pride of man to expect better to himſelf. §. 10. Teſtimonies of ſeveral writers in vindication of us. §. 11. The author's convictions; and his exhortation to his reader.

Chap. X.

§. I. THERE is another piece of our non-conformity to the world, that renders us very clowniſh to the breeding of it, and that is Thou for You, and that without difference or reſpect to perſons: a thing that to ſome looks ſo rude, it cannot well go down without deriſion or wrath. But as we have the ſame original reaſon for declining this, as the foregoing cuſtoms, ſo I ſhall add what to me looks reaſonable in our defence; though, it is very probable, height of mind, in ſome of thoſe that blame us, will very hardly allow them to believe that the word reaſonable is reconcileable with ſo ſilly a practice as this is eſteemed.

§. II. Words, of themſelves, are but as ſo many marks ſet and employed for neceſſary and intelligible mediums, or means, whereby men may underſtandingly expreſs their minds and conceptions to each other; from whence comes converſation. Now, though the world be divided into many nations, each of which, for the moſt part, have a peculiar language, ſpeech, or dialect, yet have they ever concurred in the ſame numbers and perſons, as much of the ground of right ſpeech. For inſtance; I love, Thou loveſt, He loveth, are of the ſingular number, importing but One, whether in the firſt, ſecond, or third perſon: alſo We love, Ye love, They love, are of the plural number, becauſe in each is implied More than One. Which undeniable grammatical rule might be enough to ſatisfy any, that have not forgot their Accidence, that we are not beſide Reaſon in our practice. For if Thou loveſt, be ſingular, and You love, be plural, and if Thou loveſt, ſignifies but One; and You love, Many; is it not as proper to ſay, Thou loveſt, to Ten men, as to ſay, You love, to One man? Or, why not I love, for We love, and We love, inſtead of I love? Doubtleſs it is the ſame, though moſt improper, and in ſpeech ridiculous.

§. III. Our next reaſon is; if it be improper or uncivil ſpeech (as termed by this vain age) how comes it, that the Hebrew, Greek and Roman authors, uſed in ſchools and univerſities, have no other? Why ſhould they not be a rule in that, as well as other things? And why, I pray then, are we ſo ridiculous for being thus far grammatical? Is it reaſonable that children ſhould be whipt at ſchool for putting You for Thou, as having made falſe Latin, and yet that we muſt be, tho' not whipt, reproached, and often abuſed, when we uſe the contrary propriety of ſpeech?

§. IV. But in the third place, it is neither improper nor uncivil, but much otherwiſe; becauſe it is uſed in all languages, ſpeeches, and dialects, and that through all ages. This is very plain: as for example, it was God's language when he firſt ſpake to Adam, viz. Hebrew: alſo it is the Aſſyrian, Chaldean, Grecian, and Latin ſpeech. And now amongſt the Turks, Tartars, Muſcovites, Indians, Perſians, Italians, Spaniards, French, Dutch, Germans, Polonians, Swedes, Danes, Iriſh, Scottiſh, Welch, as well as Engliſh, there is a diſtinction preſerved; and the word Thou, is not loſt in the word which goes for You. And though ſome of the modern tongues have done as we do, yet upon the ſame error. But by this it is plain, that Thou is no upſtart, nor yet improper; but the only proper word to be uſed in all languages to a ſingle perſon; becauſe otherwiſe all ſentences, ſpeeches, and diſcourſes may be very ambiguous, uncertain, and equivocal. If a jury pronounce a verdict, or a judge a ſentence (Three being at the bar upon three occaſions, very differently culpable) and ſhould ſay, You are here guilty and to die, or innocent and diſcharged; who knows who is guilty or innocent? May be but One, perhaps Two; or it may be all Three. Therefore our indictments run in the ſingular number, as Hold up Thy hand: Thou art indicted by the name of, &c. for that Thou, 'not having the fear of God, &c.' and it holds the ſame in all converſation. Nor can this be avoided, but by many unneceſſary circumlocutions. And as the preventing of ſuch length and obſcurity was doubtleſs the firſt reaſon for the diſtinction, ſo cannot that be juſtly diſuſed, till the reaſon be firſt removed; which can never be, whilſt Two are in the world.

§. V. But this is not all: it was firſt abſcribed in way of flattery to proud popes and emperors; imitating the Heathens vain homage to their gods; thereby aſcribing a plural honour to a ſingle perſon; as if One Pope had been made up of Many Gods, and One Emperor of many Men. For which reaſon, You, only to be uſed to Many, became firſt ſpoken to One. It ſeems the word Thou looked like too lean and thin a reſpect; and therefore ſome, bigger than they ſhould be, would have a ſtile ſuitable to their own ambition: a ground we cannot build our practice on; for what begun it, only loves it ſtill. But ſuppoſing You to be proper to a prince, it will not follow it is to a common perſon. For his edict runs, 'We will and require,' becauſe perhaps in conjunction with his council; and therefore You to a private perſon, is an abuſe of the word. But as pride firſt gave it birth, ſo hath ſhe only promoted it. * Monſieur, ſir, and madam, were, originally, names given to none but the king, his brother, and their wives, both in France and England; yet now the plow-man in France is called monſieur, and his wife, madam: and men of ordinary trades in England, ſir, and their wives, dame; (which is the legal title of a lady) or elſe miſtreſs, which is the ſame with madam in French. So prevalent hath pride and flattery been in all ages, the one to give, and the other to receive reſpect, as they term it.

* Howel's hiſtory of France.

§. VI. But ſome will tell us, cuſtom ſhould rule us; and that is againſt us. But it is eaſily anſwered, and more truly, that though in things reaſonable or indifferent, cuſtom is obliging or harmleſs, yet in things unreaſonable or unlawful, ſhe has no authority. For cuſtom can no more change numbers than genders, nor yoke One and You together, than make a man into a woman, or one a thouſand. But if cuſtom be to conclude us, it is for us: for as cuſtom is nothing elſe but ancient uſage, I appeal to the practice of mankind, from the beginning of the world, through all nations, againſt the novelty of this confuſion, viz. You to one perſon. Let cuſtom, which is ancient practice and fact, iſſue this queſtion. Miſtake me not: I know words are nothing, but as men give them a value or force by uſe: but then, if you will diſcharge Thou, and that You muſt ſucceed in its place, let us have a diſtinguiſhing word in the room of You, to be uſed in ſpeech to Many. But to uſe the ſame word for One and Many, when there are two, and that only to pleaſe a proud and haughty humour in man, is not reaſonable in our ſenſe; which, we hope, is chriſtian, tho' not modiſh.

§. VII. But if Thou to a ſingle perſon be improper or uncivil, God himſelf, all the holy fathers and prophets, Chriſt Jeſus and his apoſtles, the primitive ſaints, all languages throughout the world, and our own law-proceedings are guilty; which, with ſubmiſſion, were great preſumption to imagine. Beſides, we all know, it is familiar with the moſt of authors, to preface their diſcourſes to the reader in the ſame language of Thee and Thou: as, Reader Thou art deſired, &c. or, Reader this is writ to inform Thee, of the occaſion, &c. And it cannot be denied, that the moſt famous poems, dedicated to love or majeſty, are writ in this ſtile. Read of each in Chaucer, Spencer, Waller, Cowley, Dryden, &c. why then ſhould it be ſo homely, ill-bred, and inſufferable in us? This, I conceive, can never be anſwered.

§. VIII. I doubt not at all, but that ſomething altogether as ſingular attended the ſpeech of Chriſt and his diſciples: for I remember it was urged upon Peter in the high prieſt's palace, as a proof of his belonging to Jeſus, when he denied his Lord: 'ſurely (ſaid they) Thou alſo art one of them; for thy ſpeech bewrayeth Thee:' they had gueſſed by his looks, but juſt before, that he had been with Jeſus; but when they diſcourſed him, his language put them all out of doubt: ſurely then he was one of them, and he had been with Jeſus. Something it was he had learned in his company, that was odd and obſervable; to be ſure, not of the world's behaviour. Without queſtion, the garb, gait and ſpeech of his followers differed, as well as his doctrine, from the world; for it was a part of his doctrine it ſhould be ſo. It is eaſy to believe, they were more plain, grave and preciſe; which is more credible, from the way which poor, confident, fearful Peter took, to diſguiſe the buſineſs; for he fell to curſing and ſwearing. A ſad ſhift! but he thought that the likelieſt way to remove the ſuſpicion, that was moſt unlike Chriſt. And the policy took; for it ſilenced their objections; and Peter was as orthodox as they. But tho' they found him not out, the cock's-crow did; which made Peter remember his dear ſuffering Lord's word, and 'he went forth and wept bitterly;' that he had denied his maſter, who was then delivered up to die for him.

Mat. xxvi. 71, 73, 74.

§. IX. But our laſt reaſon is of moſt weight with me; and, becauſe *argumentum ad hominem*, it is moſt heavy upon our deſpiſers; which is this: It ſhould not therefore be urged upon us, becauſe it is a moſt extravagant piece of pride in a mortal man, to require or expect from his fellow-creature a more civil ſpeech, or grateful language, than he is wont to give the immortal God, and his Creator, in all his worſhip to him. Art thou, O man, greater than he that made thee? Canſt thou approach the God of thy breath, and great judge of thy life, with Thou and Thee, and when thou riſeſt off thy knees, ſcorn a Chriſtian for giving to thee (poor muſhroom of the earth) no better language than thou haſt given to God but juſt before? An arrogancy not to be eaſily equalled! But again, it is either too much or too little reſpect; if too much, do not reproach and be angry, but gravely and humbly refuſe it: if too little, why doſt thou ſhow to God no more? O whither is man gone! to what a pitch does he ſoar? he would be uſed more civilly by us, than he uſes God; which is to have us make more than a god of him: but he ſhall want worſhippers of us, as well as he wants the divinity in himſelf that deſerves to be worſhipped.

ped. Certain we are, that the Spirit of God ſeeks not theſe reſpects, much leſs pleads for them, or would be wroth with any that conſcientiouſly refuſe to give them. But that this vain generation is guilty of uſing them, to gratify a vain mind, is too palpable. What capping, what cringing, what ſcraping, what vain unmeant words, moſt hyperbolical expreſſions, compliments, groſs flatteries, and plain lyes, under the name of civilities, are men and women guilty of in converſation! Ah, my friends! whence fetch you theſe examples? What part of all the writings of the holy men of God warrants theſe things? But to come near to your own profeſſions: Is Chriſt your example herein, whoſe name you pretend to bear? or thoſe ſaints of old, that lived in deſolate places, of whom the world was not worthy? Or do you think you follow the practice of thoſe chriſtians, that, in obedience to their Maſter's life and doctrine, forſook the reſpect of perſons, and relinquiſhed the faſhions, honour and glory of this tranſitory world: whoſe qualifications lay not in external geſtures, reſpects and compliments, but in a meek and quiet ſpirit, adorned with temperance, virtue, modeſty, gravity, patience, and brotherly-kindneſs, which were the tokens of true honour, and only badges of reſpect and nobility in thoſe chriſtian times? O no! But is it not to expoſe ourſelves both to your contempt and fury, that we imitate them, and not you? And tell us, pray, are not romances, plays, maſks, gaming, fiddlers, &c. the entertainments that moſt delight you? Had you the ſpirit of chriſtianity indeed, could you conſume your moſt precious little time in ſo many unneceſſary viſits, games, and paſtimes; in your vain compliments, courtſhips, feigned ſtories, flatteries, and fruitleſs novelties, and what not? invented and uſed to your diverſion, to make you eaſy in your forgetfulneſs of God: which never was the chriſtian way of living, but entertainment of the Heathens that knew not God. Oh, were you truly touched with the ſenſe of your ſins, and in any meaſure born again; did you take up the croſs of Jeſus, and live under it, theſe things (which ſo much pleaſe your wanton and ſenſual nature) would find no place with you! This is not ſeeking the things that are above, to have the heart thus ſet on things that are below; nor 'working out your own ſalvation with fear and trembling,' to ſpend your days in vanity. This is not crying with Elihu, 'I know not to give flattering titles to men; for in ſo doing my Maker would ſoon take me away:' this is not to deny ſelf, and lay up a more hidden and enduring ſubſtance, an eternal inheritance in the heavens, that will not paſs away. Well, my friends, whatever you think, your plea of cuſtom will find no place at God's tribunal: the light of Chriſt in your own hearts will over-rule it, and this ſpirit, againſt which we teſtify, ſhall then appear to be what we ſay it is. Say not, I am ſerious about ſlight things: but beware you of levity and raſhneſs in ſerious things.

Heb. xi.
1 Pet. iii. 3, 4.
Col. iii. 1.

§. X. Before I cloſe, I ſhall add a few teſtimonies from men of general credit, in favour of our non-conformity to the world in this particular.

Luther, the great reformer, (whoſe ſayings were oracles with the age he lived in, and of no leſs reputation now, with many that object againſt us) was ſo far from condemning our plain ſpeech, that, in his *Ludus*, he ſports himſelf with You to a ſingle perſon, as an incongruous and ridiculous ſpeech, viz. *Magiſter vos eſtis iratus?* Maſter, are You angry? as abſurd with him in Latin, as, My Maſters, art Thou angry? is in Engliſh. Eraſmus, a learned man, and an exact critick in ſpeech, (than whom, I know not any we may ſo properly refer the grammar of the matter to) not only derides it, but beſtows a whole diſcourſe upon rendering it abſurd: plainly manifeſting, that it is impoſſible to preſerve numbers, if You, the only word for more than One, be uſed to expreſs One: as alſo, that the original of this corruption, was the corruption of flattery. Lipſius affirms of the ancient Romans, that the manner of greeting, now in vogue, was not in uſe amongſt them. To conclude: Howell, in his hiſtory of France, gives us an ingenious account of its original; where he not only aſſures us, that anciently the peaſants Thou'd their kings, but that pride and flattery firſt put inferiors upon paying a plural reſpect to the ſingle perſon of every ſuperior, and ſuperiors upon receiving it. And though we had not the practice of God and man ſo undeniably to juſtify our plain and homely ſpeech, yet, ſince we are perſuaded that its original was from pride and flattery, we cannot in conſcience uſe it. And however we may be cenſured as ſingular, by thoſe looſe and airy minds, that, through the continual love of earthly pleaſures, conſider not the true riſe and tendency of words and things, yet, to us, whom God has convinced, by his Light and Spirit in our hearts, of the folly and evil of ſuch courſes, and brought into a ſpiritual diſcerning of the nature and ground of the world's faſhions, they appear to be fruits of pride and flattery, and we dare not continue in ſuch vain compliances to earthly minds, leſt we offend God, and burden our own conſciences. But having been ſincerely affected with the reproofs of inſtruction, and our hearts being brought into a watchful ſubjection to the righteous law of Jeſus, ſo as to bring our deeds to the light, to ſee in whom they are wrought, if in God, or not; we cannot, we dare not conform ourſelves to the faſhions of the world, that paſs away; knowing aſſuredly, that 'for every idle word that men ſpeak, they ſhall give an account in the day of judgment.'

The teſtimonies of ſeveral.
John iii. 19, 20.
Mat. xii. 36.

§. XI. Wherefore, reader, whether thou art a night-walking Nicodemus, or a ſcoffing ſcribe; one that would viſit the bleſſed Meſſiah, but in the dark cuſtoms of the world, that thou mighteſt paſs as undiſcerned, for fear of bearing his reproachful croſs; or elſe a favourer of Haman's pride, and counteſt theſe teſtimonies but a fooliſh ſingularity; I muſt ſay, divine love enjoins me to be a meſſenger of truth to thee, and a faithful witneſs againſt the evil of this degenerate world, as in other, ſo in theſe things; in which the ſpirit of vanity and luſt hath got ſo great an head, and lived ſo long uncontrouled, that it hath impudence enough to term its darkneſs light, and to call its evil off-ſpring by the names due to a better nature, the more eaſily to deceive people into the practice of them. And truly, ſo very blind and inſenſible are moſt, of what ſpirit they are, and ignorant of the meek and ſelf-denying life of holy Jeſus, whoſe name they profeſs, that to call each other Rabbi, that is, Maſter; to bow to men, (which I call worſhip) and to greet with flattering titles; and do their fellow-creatures homage; to ſcorn that language to themſelves that they give to God, and to ſpend their time and eſtate to gratify their wanton minds; (the cuſtoms of the Gentiles, that knew not God) paſs with them for civility, good breeding, decency, recreation, accompliſhments, &c. O that man would conſider, ſince there are but two ſpirits, one good, the other evil, which of them it is that inclines the world to theſe things! and whether it be Nicodemus or Mordecai in thee, that doth befriend theſe deſpiſed Chriſtians, which makes thee aſhamed to diſown that openly in converſation with the world, which the true light hath made vanity and ſin to thee in ſecret? Or, if thou art a deſpiſer, tell me, I pray thee, which doſt thou think thy mockery, anger, or contempt do moſt reſemble, proud Haman, or good Mordecai? My friend, know, that no man hath more delighted in, or been prodigal of thoſe vanities called civilities, than myſelf; and could I have covered my conſcience under the faſhions of the world, truly I had found a ſhelter from ſhowers of reproach that have fallen very often and thick upon me; but had I, with Joſeph, conformed to Ægypt's cuſtoms, I had ſinned againſt my God, and loſt my peace. But I would not have thee think it is a mere Thou or Title, ſimply or nakedly in themſelves, we boggle at, or that we would beget or ſet up any form inconſiſtent with ſincerity or true civility: there's but too much of that: but the eſteem and value the vain minds of men do put upon them, that ought to be croſſed and ſtripped of their delights, conſtrains us to teſtify ſo ſteadily againſt them. And this know, from the ſenſe God's Holy Spirit hath begotten in us, that that which requires theſe cuſtoms, and begets fear to leave them, and pleads for them, and is diſpleaſed if not uſed and paid, is the ſpirit of pride and flattery in the ground, though frequency, uſe, or generoſity, may have abated its ſtrength in ſome: and this being diſcovered by the light that now ſhines from heaven, in the hearts of the deſpiſed Chriſtians I have communion with, neceſſitates them to this teſtimony, and myſelf, as one of them, and for them, in a reproof of the unfaithful, who would walk undiſcerned, though convinced to the contrary; and for an allay to the proud deſpiſers, who ſcorn us as a people guilty of affectation and ſingularity. For the eternal God, who is great amongſt us, and on his way in the earth to make his power known, 'will root up every plant that his right hand hath not planted.' Wherefore let me beſeech thee, reader, to conſider the foregoing reaſons, which were moſtly given me from the Lord, in that time, when my condeſcenſion to theſe faſhions would have been purchaſed at almoſt any rate; but the certain ſenſe I had of their contrariety to the meek and ſelf-denying life of holy Jeſus, required of me my diſuſe of them, and faithful teſtimony againſt them. I ſpeak the truth in Chriſt; I lye not; I would not have brought myſelf under cenſure and diſdain for them, could I, with peace of conſcience, have kept my belief under a worldly behaviour. It was extreme irkſome to me, to decline and expoſe myſelf: but having an aſſured and repeated ſenſe of the original of theſe vain cuſtoms, that they riſe from pride, ſelf-love, and flattery, I dared not gratify that mind in myſelf or others. And for this reaſon it is, that I am earneſt with my readers to be cautious, how they reprove us on this occaſion; and do once more intreat them, that they would ſeriouſly weigh in themſelves, whether it be the ſpirit of the world, or of the Father, that is ſo angry with our honeſt, plain, and harmleſs Thou and Thee: that ſo every plant that God, our heavenly Father, hath not planted in the ſons and daughters of men, may be rooted up.

CHAP. XI.

§. 1. *Pride leads people to an exceſſive value of their perſons.* §. 2. *It is plain from the racket that is made about blood and families: alſo in the caſe of ſhape and beauty.* §. 3. *Blood no nobility, but virtue.* §. 4. *Virtue no upſtart: antiquity, no nobility without it, elſe age and blood would bar virtue in the preſent age.* §. 5. *God teaches the true ſenſe of nobility, who made of one blood all nations: there's the original of all blood.* §. 6. *Theſe men of blood, out of their feathers, look like other men.* §. 7. *This is not ſaid to reject, but humble the gentleman: the advantages of that condition above others. An exhortation to recover their loſt oeconomy in families, out of intereſt and credit.* §. 8. *But the author has a higher motive; the goſpel, and the excellencies of it, which they profeſs.* §. 9. *The pride of perſons, reſpecting ſhape and beauty: the waſhes, patches, paintings, dreſ-*

dreſſings, &c. This exceſs would keep the poor: the miſchiefs that attend it. §. 10. *But pride in the old, and homely, yet more hateful: that it is uſual. The madneſs of it. Counſel to the beautiful, to get their ſouls like their bodies; and to the homely, to ſupply want of that, in the adornment of their laſting part, their ſouls, with holineſs. Nothing homely with God, but ſin. The bleſſedneſs of thoſe that wear Chriſt's yoke and croſs, and are crucified to the world.*

§. 1. BUT pride ſtops not here; ſhe excites people to an exceſſive value and care of their perſons: they muſt have great and punctual attendance, ſtately furniture, rich and exact apparel: all which help to make up that pride of life, that John tells us, 'is not of the Father, but of the world.' A ſin God charged upon the haughty daughters of Zion, Iſa. iii. and on the proud prince and people of Tyrus, Ezek. xxvii. 28. Read theſe chapters, and meaſure this age by their ſins, and what is coming on theſe nations by their judgments. But at the preſent I ſhall only touch upon the firſt, viz. the exceſſive value people have of their perſons; leaving the reſt to be conſidered under the laſt head of this diſcourſe, which is luxury, where they may be not improperly placed. Chap. XI. 1 John ii. 16, 17.

§. II. That people are generally proud of their perſons, is too viſible and troubleſome; eſpecially if they have any pretence either to blood or beauty: the one has raiſed many quarrels among men; and the other among women, and men too often, for their ſakes, and at their excitements. But to the firſt: what a pother has this noble blood made in the world, antiquity of name or family? whoſe father or mother, great grand-father, or great grand-mother, was beſt deſcended or allied? what ſtock, or what clan, they came of? what coat of arms they gave? which had, of right, the precedence? But, methinks, nothing of man's folly has leſs ſhew of reaſon to palliate it.

§. III. For firſt, what matter is it of whom any one is deſcended, that is not of ill fame; ſince 'tis his own virtue that muſt raiſe, or vice depreſs him? An anceſtor's character is no excuſe to a man's ill actions, but an aggravation of his degeneracy: and ſince virtue comes not by generation, I am neither the better nor the worſe for my fore-father: to be ſure, not in God's account, nor ſhould it be in man's. Nobody would endure injuries the eaſier, or reject favours the more, for coming by the hand of a man well or ill deſcended. I confeſs, it were greater honour to have had no blots, and with an hereditary eſtate to have had a lineal deſcent or worth: but that was never found, no, not in the moſt bleſſed of families upon earth, I mean Abraham's. To be deſcended of wealth and titles, fills no man's head with brains, or heart with truth: thoſe qualities come from an higher cauſe. 'Tis vanity then, and moſt condemnable pride, for a man of bulk and character to deſpiſe another of leſs ſize in the world, and of meaner alliance, for want of them; becauſe the latter may have the merit, where the former has only the effects of it in an anceſtor: and though the one be great, by means of a fore-father; the other is ſo too, but 'tis by his own: then, pray, which is the braveſt man of the two?

§. IV. O, ſays the perſon proud of blood, it was never a good world, ſince we have had ſo many upſtart gentlemen! But what ſhould others have ſaid of that man's anceſtor, when he ſtarted firſt up into the knowledge of the world? for he, and all men and families, ay, and all ſtates and kingdoms too, have had their upſtarts, that is, their beginnings. This is like being the true church becauſe old, not becauſe good; for families to be noble by being old, and not by being virtuous. No ſuch matter: it muſt be age in virtue, or elſe virtue before age; for otherwiſe a man ſhould be noble by means of his predeceſſor, and yet the predeceſſor leſs noble than he, becauſe he was the acquirer: which is a paradox that will puzzle all their heraldry to explain! Strange, that they ſhould be more noble than their anceſtor, that got their nobility for them! But if this be abſurd, as it is, then the upſtart is the noble man; the man that got it by his virtue: and thoſe are only intitled to his honour, that are imitators of his virtue; the reſt may bear his name from his blood, but that is all. If virtue then give nobility, which Heathens themſelves agree, then families are no longer truly noble, than they are virtuous. And if virtue go not by blood, but by the qualifications of the deſcendents, it follows, blood is excluded: elſe blood would bar virtue; and no man that wanted the one, ſhould be allowed the benefit of the other: which were to ſtint and bound nobility for want of antiquity, and make virtue uſeleſs.

No, let blood and name go together; but pray let nobility and virtue keep company, for they are neareſt of kin. 'Tis thus poſited by God himſelf, that beſt knows how to apportion things with an equal and juſt hand. He neither likes nor diſlikes by deſcent; nor does he regard what people were, but are. He remembers not the righteouſneſs of any man that leaves his righteouſneſs; much leſs any unrighteous man for the righteouſneſs of his anceſtor. Ezek. xviii.

§. V. But if theſe men of blood pleaſe to think themſelves concerned to believe and reverence God, in his holy ſcriptures they may learn, that in the beginning he made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth; and, that we all deſcended of one father and mother. A more certain original than the beſt of us can aſſign. Acts xvii. 26.

aſſign. From thence go down to Noah, who was the ſecond planter of human race, and we are upon ſome certainty for our fore-fathers. What violence has raped, or virtue merited ſince, and how far we that are alive are concerned in either, will be hard for us to determine but a very few ages off us.

§. VI. But, methinks, it ſhould ſuffice to ſay, our own eyes ſee that men of blood, out of their geers and trappings, without their feathers and finery, have no more marks of honour by nature ſtamped upon them, than their inferior neighbours. Nay, themſelves being judges, they will frankly tell us, they feel all thoſe paſſions in their blood, that make them like other men, if not farther from the virtue that truly dignifies. The lamentable ignorance and debauchery that now rages among too many of our greater ſort of folks, is too clear and caſting an evidence in the point: and pray tell me, of what blood are they come?

§. VII. Howbeit, when I have ſaid all this, I intend not, by debaſing one falſe quality, to make inſolent another that is not true. I would not be thought to ſet the churl upon the preſent gentleman's ſhoulder; by no means: his rudeneſs will not mend the matter. But what I have writ is, to give aim to all where true nobility dwells, that every one may arrive at it by the ways of virtue and goodneſs. But for all this, I muſt allow a great advantage to the gentleman; and therefore prefer his ſtation, juſt as the apoſtle Paul, who, after he had humbled the Jews, that inſulted upon the Chriſtians with their law and rites, gave them the advantage upon all other nations in ſtatutes and judgments. I muſt grant, that the condition of our great men is much to be preferred to the ranks of inferior people. For, firſt, they have more power to do good: and, if their hearts be equal to their ability, they are bleſſings to the people of any country. Secondly, the eyes of the people are uſually directed to them; and if they will be kind, juſt, and helpful, they ſhall have their affections and ſervices. Thirdly, they are not under equal ſtraits with the inferior ſort; and conſequently, they have more help, leiſure, and occaſion, to poliſh their paſſions and tempers with books and converſation. Fourthly, they have more time to obſerve the actions of other nations; to travel, and view the laws, cuſtoms and intereſts of other countries, and bring home whatever is worthy or imitable. And ſo an eaſier way is open for great men to get honour; and ſuch as love true reputation, will embrace the beſt means to it. But becauſe it too often happens, that great men do little mind to give God the glory of their proſperity, and to live anſwerable to his mercies; but on the contrary 'live without God in the world,' fulfilling the luſts thereof, his hand is often ſeen, either in impoveriſhing or extinguiſhing them, and raiſing up men of more virtue and humility to their eſtates and dignity. However, I muſt allow, that among people of this rank, there have been ſome of them of more than ordinary virtue, whoſe examples have given light to their families. And it has been ſomething natural for ſome of their deſcendents to endeavour to keep up the credit of their houſes, in proportion to the merit of their founder. And to ſay true, if there be any advantage in ſuch deſcent, 'tis not from blood, but education: for blood has no intelligence in it, and is often ſpurious and uncertain; but education has a mighty influence, and ſtrong bias upon the affections and actions of men. In this, the ancient nobles and gentry of this kingdom did excel: and it were much to be wiſhed, that our great people would ſet about to recover the ancient œconomy of their houſes, the ſtrict and virtuous diſcipline of their anceſtors, when men were honoured for their atchievements, and when nothing more expoſed a man to ſhame, than his being born to a nobility that he had not a virtue to ſupport.

§. VIII. O but I have an higher motive! the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which having taught this northern iſle, and all ranks profeſſing to believe in it, let me prevail upon you to ſeek the honour that it has brought from heaven, to all the true diſciples of John i. 29. it, who are indeed the followers of God's Lamb, that 'takes away the ſins of the world.' Receive with meekneſs his gracious word into your hearts, that ſubdues the world's luſts, and leads in the holy way to bleſſedneſs. Here are charms no carnal eye hath ſeen, nor ear heard, nor heart perceived, but they are revealed to ſuch humble converts by his Spirit. Remember you are but creatures, and that you muſt die, and after all be judged.

§. IX. But perſonal pride ends not in nobility of blood; it leads folks to a fond value of their perſons, be they noble or ignoble; eſpecially if they have any pretence to ſhape or beauty. It is admirable to ſee, how much it is poſſible for ſome to be taken with themſelves, as if nothing elſe deſerved their regard, or the good opinion of others. It would abate their folly, if they could find in their hearts to ſpare but half the time to think of God, and their latter end, which they moſt prodigally ſpend in waſhing, perfuming, painting, patching, attiring, and dreſſing. In theſe things they are preciſe, and very artificial; and for coſt they ſpare not. But that which aggravates the evil is, the pride of one might comfortably ſupply the need of ten. 'Groſs impiety that it is, that 'a nation's pride ſhould not be ſpared to a nation's poor!' But what is this for at laſt? only to be admired, to have reverence, draw love, and command the eyes and affections of beholders. And ſo fantaſtick are they in it, as hardly to be pleaſed too. Nothing is good, or fine, or faſhionable enough for them: the ſun itſelf, the bleſſing of heaven and comfort of the earth, muſt not ſhine upon them, leſt it tan them; nor the wind blow, for fear it ſhould diſorder them. O impious nicety! yet while they value themſelves above all elſe, they make themſelves the vaſſals of their own pride: worſhipping their ſhape, feature, or complexion, which ſoever is their excellency. The end of all which is, but too often, to excite unlawful love, which I call luſt, and draw one another into as miſerable as evil circumſtances. In ſingle perſons it is of ill conſequence; for if it does not awaken unchaſte deſires, it lays no foundation for ſolid and laſting union: want of which helps to make ſo many unhappy marriages in the world: but in married people, the ſin is aggravated; for they have none of right to pleaſe, but one another; and to affect the gaiety and vanity of youth, is an ill ſign of loving and living well at home: it looks rather like dreſſing for a market. It has ſad effects in families; diſcontents, partings, duels, poiſonings, and other infamous murders. No age can better tell us the ſad effects of this ſort of pride, than this we live in; as, how exceſſive wanton, ſo how fatal it has been to the ſobriety, virtue, peace and health of families in this kingdom.

§. X. But I muſt needs ſay, that of all creatures this ſort of pride does leaſt become the old and homely, if I may call the ill-favoured and deformed ſo; for the old are proud only of what they had; which ſhews to their reproach, their pride has out-lived their beauty, and when they ſhould be a repenting, they are making work for repentance. But the homely are yet worſe, they are proud of what they never had, nor ever can have. Nay, their perſons ſeem as if they were given for a perpetual humiliation to their minds; and to be proud of them, is loving pride for pride's ſake, and to be proud without a temptation to be proud. And yet in my whole life I have obſerved nothing more doating on it ſelf: a ſtrange infatuation and inchantment of pride! what! not to ſee right with their eyes, becauſe of the partiality of their minds? This ſelf-love is blind indeed. But to add expence to the vanity, and to be coſtly upon that which cannot be mended, one would think they ſhould be downright mad; eſpecially if they conſider that they look the homelier for the things that are thought handſome, and do but thereby draw their deformity more into notice, by that which does ſo little become them.

But in ſuch perſons follies we have a ſpecimen of man; what a creature he is in his lapſe from his primitive image. All this (as Jeſus ſaid of ſin of old) comes from within; that is, the diſregard that man and woman have to the Word of their Creator in their hearts, which ſhews pride, and teaches humility and ſelf-abaſement, and directs the mind to the true object of honour and worſhip; and that with an awe and reverence ſuitable to his ſovereignty and majeſty. Poor mortals! but living dirt; made of what they tread on; who, with all their pride, cannot ſecure themſelves from the ſpoil of ſickneſs, much leſs from the ſtroke of death. O! did people conſider the inconſtancy of all viſible things, the croſs and adverſe occurrences of man's life, the certainty of his departure, and eternal judgment, 'tis to be hoped, they would bring their deeds to Chriſt's light in their hearts, and they would ſee if they were wrought in God or no, as the beloved diſciple tells us from his dear maſter's mouth. Art thou ſhapely, comely, beautiful; the exact draught of an human creature? admire that power that made thee ſo. Live an harmonious life to the curious make and frame of thy creation; and let the beauty of thy body teach thee to beautify thy mind with holineſs, the ornament of the beloved of God. Art thou homely or deformed? magnify that goodneſs which did not make thee a beaſt; and with the grace that is given unto thee, (for it has appeared unto all) learn to adorn thy ſoul with enduring beauty. Remember, the king of heaven's daughter, the church, (of which true chriſtians are members) is all glorious within: and if thy ſoul excel, thy body will only ſet off the luſtre of thy mind. Nothing is homely in God's ſight but ſin; and that man and woman, that commune with their own hearts, and ſin not; who in the light of holy Jeſus, watch over the movings and inclinations of their own ſouls, and that ſuppreſs every evil in its conception, they love the yoke and croſs of Chriſt, and are daily by it crucified to the world, but live to God in that life which out-lives the fading ſatisfactions of it.

Mat. xv. 11, 18, 19, 20.

Deut. xxx. 14. Rom. x. 8.

John iii. 20, 21.

CHAP. XII.

§. 1. *The character of a proud man: a glutton upon himſelf. Is proud of his pedigree.* §. 2. *He is inſolent and quarrelſome, but cowardly, yet cruel.* §. 3. *An ill child, ſubject and ſervant.* §. 4. *Unhoſpitable.* §. 5. *No friend to any.* §. 6. *Dangerous and miſchievous in power.* §. 7. *Of all things pride bad in miniſters.* §. 8. *They claim prerogative above others.* §. 9. *And call themſelves the clergy: their lordlineſs and avarice.* §. 10. *Death ſwallows all.* §. 11. *The way to eſcape theſe evils.*

Chap. XII.

§. I. TO conclude this great head of pride, let us briefly ſee upon the whole matter, what is the character of a proud man in himſelf, and in divers relations and capacities. A proud man then is a kind of glutton upon himſelf; for he is never ſatisfied with loving and admiring himſelf; whilſt nothing elſe with him is worthy either of love or care: if good enough to be the ſervant of his will, 'tis as much as he can find in his heart to allow; as if he had been only made for himſelf, or rather that he had made himſelf. For as he deſpiſes man, becauſe he cannot abide an equal, ſo he does not love God, becauſe he would not have a ſuperior: he cannot bear to owe his being to another, leſt he ſhould thereby acknowledge one above himſelf. He is one that is mighty big with the honour of his anceſtors, but not of the virtue that brought them to it; much leſs will he trouble himſelf to imitate them. He can tell you of his pedigree, his antiquity, what eſtate, what matches; but forgets that they are gone, and that he muſt die too.

§. II. But how troubleſome a companion is proud man! ever poſitive and controuling; and if you yield not, inſolent and quarrelſome: yet at the upſhot of the matter, cowardly: but if ſtrongeſt, cruel. He has no bowels of adverſity, as if it were below him to be ſenſible: he feels no more of other mens miſeries, than if he was not a man, or it was a ſin to be ſenſible. For not feeling himſelf intereſted, he looks no farther: he will not diſquiet his thoughts with other mens infelicities: it ſhall content him to believe they are juſt: and he had rather churliſhly upbraid them as the cauſe, than be ready to commiſerate or relieve them. So that compaſſion and charity are with him as uſeleſs, as humility and meekneſs are hateful.

§. III. A proud man makes an ill child, ſervant and ſubject: he contemns his parents, maſter and prince: he will not be ſubject. He thinks himſelf too wiſe, or too old, to be directed; as if it were a ſlaviſh thing to obey; and that none were free, that may not do what they pleaſe; which turns duty out of doors, and degrades authority. On the other hand, if it be an huſband, or father, or maſter, there is ſcarcely any enduring. He is ſo inſufferably curious and teſty, that it is an affliction to live with him: for hardly can any hand carry it even enough to pleaſe him. Some peccadillo about his cloaths, his diet, his lodging or attendance, quite diſorders him: but eſpecially if he fancies any want in the ſtate and reſpect he looks for. Thus pride deſtroys the nature of relations: on the one ſide, it learns to contemn duty; and on the other ſide it turns love into fear, and makes the wife a ſervant, and the children and ſervants, ſlaves.

§. IV. But the proud man makes an ill neighbour too; for he is an enemy to hoſpitality: he deſpiſes to receive kindneſs, becauſe he would not ſhew any, nor be thought to need it. Beſides, it looks too equal and familiar for his haughty humour. Emulation and detraction are his element; for he is jealous of attributing any praiſe to others, where juſt, leſt that ſhould cloud and leſſen him, to whom it never could be due: he is the man that fears what he ſhould wiſh, to wit, that others ſhould do well. But that is not all; he maliciouſly miſcals their acts of virtue, which his corruptions will not let him imitate, that they may get no credit by them. If he wants any occaſion of doing miſchief, he can make one; either, they uſe him ill, or have ſome deſign upon him; the other day they paid him not the cap and knee; the diſtance and reſpect he thinks his quality, parts or merits do require. A ſmall thing ſerves a proud man to pick a quarrel; of all creatures the moſt jealous, ſullen, ſpiteful and revengeful: he can no more forgive an injury, than forbear to do one.

§. V. Nor is this all; a proud man can never be a friend to any body. For beſides that his ambition may always be bribed by honour and preferment to betray that relation, he is unconverſible; he muſt not be catechiſed and counſeled, much leſs reproved or contradicted: no, he is too covetous of himſelf to ſpare another man a ſhare, and much to high, ſtiff, and touchy: he will not away with thoſe freedoms that a real friendſhip requires. To ſay true, he contemns the character; it is much too familiar and humble for him: his mighty ſoul would know nothing beſides himſelf and vaſſals to ſtock the world. He values other men as we do cattle, for their ſervice only; and, if he could, would uſe them ſo; but as it happens, the number and force are unequal.

§. VI. But a proud man in power is very miſchievous; for his pride is the more dangerous by his greatneſs, ſince from ambition in private men, it becomes tyranny in them: it would reign alone; nay, live ſo, rather than have competitors: *aut Cæſar, aut nullus.* Reaſon muſt not check it, nor rules of law limit it; and either it can do no wrong, or it is ſedition to complain of the wrong that it does. The men of this temper would have nothing thought amiſs they do; at leaſt, they count it dangerous to allow it to be ſo, though ſo it be; for that would imply they had erred, which it is always matter of ſtate to deny. No, they will rather chuſe to periſh obſtinately, than by acknowledging, yield away the reputation of better judging to inferiors; though it were their prudence to do ſo. And indeed, it is all the ſatisfaction that proud great men make to the world for the miſeries they often bring upon it, that, firſt or laſt, upon a diviſion, they leave their real intereſt to follow ſome one exceſs of humour, and are almoſt ever deſtroyed by it. This is the end pride gives proud men, and the ruin it brings upon them, after it has puniſhed others by them.

§. VII. But above all things, pride is intolerable in men pretending to religion; and, of them, in miniſters; for they are names of the greateſt contradiction. I ſpeak without reſpect or anger to perſons or parties; for I only touch upon the bad of all. What ſhall pride do with religion, that rebukes it? or ambition with miniſters, whoſe very office is humility? And yet there are but too many of them, that, beſides an equal guilt with others in the fleſhly pride of the world, are even proud of that name and office, which ought always to mind them of ſelf-denial. Yea, they uſe it as the beggars do the name of God and Chriſt, only to get by it: placing to their own account the advantages of that reverend profeſſion, and thereby making their function but a politick handle to raiſe themſelves to the great preferments of the world. But O then, how can ſuch be his miniſters, that ſaid, ‘ My kingdom is not of this world?’ Who, of mankind, more ſelf-conceited than theſe men? If contradicted, as arrogant and angry as if it were their calling to be ſo. Counſel one of them, he ſcorns you; reprove him, and he is almoſt ready to excommunicate you. ‘ I am a miniſter and an elder:’ flying thither to ſecure himſelf from the reach of juſt cenſure, which indeed expoſes him but the more to it: and therefore his fault cannot be the leſs, by how much ’tis worſe in a miniſter to do ill, and ſpurn at reproof, than an ordinary man.

§. VIII. O but he pleads an exemption by his office! What! ſhall he breed up chickens to pick out his own eyes? be rebuked or inſtructed by a lay-man, or pariſhioner! a man of leſs age, learning, or ability! no ſuch matter; he would have us believe that his miniſterial prerogative has placed him out of the reach of popular impeachment. He is not ſubject to vulgar judgments. Even queſtions about religion are ſchiſm: believe as he ſays: ’tis not for you to pry ſo curiouſly into the myſteries of religion: never good day ſince lay-men meddled ſo much with the miniſter's office. Not conſidering, poor man! that the contrary is moſt true; not many good days ſince miniſters meddled ſo much in lay-mens buſineſs. Though perhaps there is little reaſon for the diſtinction, beſide ſpiritual gifts, and the improvement of them by a diligent uſe of them for the good of others.

Such good ſayings as theſe, ‘ Be ready to teach; anſwer with meekneſs: let every man ‘ ſpeak as of the gift of God, that is in him: if any thing be revealed to him that ſits ‘ by, let the firſt hold his peace; be not lords over God's heritage, but meek and lowly; ‘ waſhing the feet of the people, as Jeſus did thoſe of his poor diſciples;’ are unreaſonable and antiquated inſtructions with ſome clergy; and it is little leſs then hereſy to remember them of theſe things: to be ſure, a mark of great diſaffection to the church, in their opinion. For by this time their pride has made them the church, and the people but the porch at beſt; a cypher that ſignifies nothing, unleſs they clap their figure before it: forgetting, that if they were as good as they ſhould be, they could be but miniſters, ſtewards and under-ſhepherds; that is, ſervants to the church, family, flock and heritage of God; and not that they are that church, family, flock and heritage which they are only ſervants unto. Remember the words of Chriſt, ‘ let him that would ‘ be greateſt be your ſervant.’

2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.
Tit. iii.
1 Cor. xiv. 30.
Mat. xx. 26.

§. IX. There is but one place to be found in the holy ſcripture, where the word *clerus* (κλῆρος) can properly be applied to the church, and they have got it to themſelves; from whence they call themſelves the clergy, that is, the inheritance or heritage of God. Whereas Peter exhorts the miniſters of the goſpel, ‘ not to be lords over God's heritage, nor to ‘ feed them for filthy lucre.’ Peter (belike) foreſaw pride and avarice to be the miniſters temptations; and indeed they have often proved their fall: and, to ſay true, they could hardly fall by worſe. Nor is there any excuſe to be made for them in theſe two reſpects, which is not worſe than their ſin. For if they have not been lords over God's heritage, it is becauſe they have made themſelves that heritage, and diſ-inherited the people: ſo that now they may be the people's lords, with a ſalvo to good old Peter's exhortation.

1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

And for the other ſin of avarice, they can only avoid it, and ſpeak truth, thus, ‘ that never feeding the flock, they cannot be ſaid to feed it for lucre:’ that is, they get the people's money for nothing. An example of which is given us, by the complaint of God himſelf, from the practice of the proud, covetous, falſe prophets of old, ‘ that the people gave their money for that which was not bread, and their labour for that which did ‘ not profit them:’ and why? Becauſe then the prieſt had no viſion; and too many now deſpiſe it.

Iſa. lv. 2.

§. X. But alas! when all is done, what folly, as well as irreligion, is there in pride? It cannot add one cubit to any man's ſtature: what croſſes can it hinder? What diſappointments help, or harm fruſtrate? It delivers not from the common ſtroke; ſickneſs disfigures; pain miſſhapes; and death ends the proud man's fabrick. Six foot of cold earth bounds his big thoughts; and his perſon, that was too good for any place, muſt at laſt lodge within the ſtrait limits of ſo little and ſo dark a cave: and who thought nothing well enough for him, is quickly the entertainment of the loweſt of all animals, even worms themſelves. Thus pride and pomp come to the common end; but with this difference, leſs pity from the living, and more pain to the dying. The proud man's antiquity cannot ſecure him from death, nor his heraldry from judgment. Titles of honour vaniſh at this extremity; and no power or wealth, no diſtance or reſpect can reſcue or inſure them: as the tree falls, it lies; and as death leaves men, judgment finds them.

§. XI. O, what can prevent this ill concluſion? and what can remedy this woful declenſion from ancient meekneſs, humility, and piety, and that godly life and power which were ſo conſpicuous in the authority of the preachings, and examples of the living

1668. of the firſt and pureſt ages of chriſtianity! truly, nothing but an inward and ſincere examination,
Chap. XII. by the teſtimony of the holy Light and Spirit of Jeſus, of the condition of their
ſouls and minds toward Chriſt, and a better enquiry into the matter and examples of
John iii. 19. holy record. 'Twas his complaint of old, 'that light was come into the world, but
'men loved darkneſs rather than light, becauſe their deeds were evil.' If thou wouldeſt
be a child of God, and a believer in Chriſt, thou muſt be a child of light. O man!
thou muſt bring thy deeds to it, and examine them by that holy lamp in thy ſoul, which
is the candle of the Lord, that ſhews thee thy pride and arrogancy, and reproves thy
delight in the vain faſhions of this world. Religion is a denial of ſelf; yea, of ſelf-religion
too. It is a firm tie or bond upon the ſoul to holineſs, whoſe end is happineſs: for
Mat. v. 8. by it men come to ſee the Lord. 'The pure in heart (ſays Jeſus) ſee God:' he that
once comes to bear Chriſt's yoke, is not carried away by the devil's allurements; he finds
excelling joys in his watchfulneſs and obedience. If men loved the croſs of Chriſt,
his precepts and doctrine, they would croſs their own wills, which lead them to break
Chriſt's holy will, and loſe their own ſouls in doing the devil's. Had Adam minded
that holy light in paradiſe more than the ſerpent's bait, and ſtayed his mind upon his Creator,
the rewarder of fidelity, he had ſeen the ſnare of the enemy, and reſiſted him. O do
not delight in that which is forbidden! look not upon it, if thou wouldeſt not be captivated
Heb. i. 2. by it. Bring not the guilt of ſins of knowledge upon thy own ſoul. Did Chriſt ſubmit
his will to his Father's, and, for the joy that was ſet before him, endure the croſs, and
deſpiſe the ſhame of a new and untrodden way to glory? Thou alſo muſt ſubmit thy
will to Chriſt's holy law and light in thy heart, and for the reward he ſets before thee,
to wit, eternal life, endure his croſs, and deſpiſe the ſhame of it. All deſire to rejoice
with him, but few will ſuffer with him, or for him. Many are the companions of his
table; not many of his abſtinence. The loaves they follow, but the cup of his agony
they leave. It is too bitter: they like not to drink thereof. And divers will magnify
Phil. ii. 7. his miracles, that are offended at the ignominy of his croſs. But, O man! as he for thy
ſalvation, ſo thou for the love of him muſt humble thyſelf, and be contented to be of no
reputation, that thou mayeſt follow him; not in a carnal, formal way, of vain man's
tradition and preſcription, but as the Holy Ghoſt by the apoſtle doth expreſs it, 'in the
Heb. x. 19, 20. 'new and living way,' which Jeſus hath conſecrated, that brings all that walk in it to
the eternal reſt of God: whereinto he himſelf is entred, who is the holy and only
bleſſed Redeemer.

CHAP. XIII.

§. 1. Avarice (the ſecond capital luſt) its definition and diſtinction. §. 2. It conſiſts in a deſire of unlawful things. §. 3. As in David's caſe about Uriah's wife. §. 4. Alſo Ahab's about Naboth's vineyard. §. 5. Next, in unlawful deſires of lawful things. §. 6. Covetouſneſs is a mark of falſe prophets. §. 7. A reproach to religion. §. 8. An enemy to government. §. 9. Treacherous. §. 10. Oppreſſive. §. 11. Judas an example. §. 12. So Simon Magus. §. 13. Laſtly, in unprofitable hoarding of money. §. 14. The covetous man a common evil. §. 15. His hypocriſy. §. 16. Gold his God. §. 17. He is ſparing to death. §. 18. Is reproved by Chriſt and his followers. §. 19. Ananias and Sapphira's ſin and judgment. §. 20. William Tindal's diſcourſe on that ſubject referred unto. §. 21. Peter Charron's teſtimony againſt it. §. 22. Abraham Cowley's witty and ſharp ſatire upon it.

Ch. XIII. §. I. I AM come to the ſecond part of this diſcourſe, which is avarice, or covetouſneſs,
an epidemical and a raging diſtemper in the world, attended with all the
miſchiefs that can make men miſerable in themſelves, and in ſociety: ſo near a-kin to
the foregoing evil, pride, that they are ſeldom apart: liberality being almoſt as hateful
to the proud, as to the covetous. I ſhall define it thus: Covetouſneſs is the love of money
Ephſ. v. 3, 5. or riches: 'which (as the apoſtle hath it) is the root of all evil.' It brancheth
1 Tim. vi. 9. 10. itſelf into theſe three parts: 1ſt, Deſiring of unlawful things. Secondly, Unlawfully deſiring
of lawful things. And laſtly, Hoarding up, or unprofitably with-holding the benefit
of them from the relief of private perſons, or the public. I ſhall firſt deliver the
ſenſe of ſcripture, and what examples are therein afforded againſt this impiety: and next,
my own reaſons, with ſome authorities from authors of credit: by which it will appear,
that the working of the love of riches out of the hearts of people, is as much the buſineſs
of the Croſs of Chriſt, as the rooting out of any one ſin that man is fallen into.

§. II. And firſt, of deſiring or coveting of unlawful things: It is expreſsly forbidden
by God himſelf, in the law he delivered to Moſes upon Mount Sinai, for a rule to his
Exod. xx. people, the Jews, to walk by: 'Thou ſhalt not covet (ſaith God) thy neighbour's houſe,
'thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-ſervant, nor his maid-ſervant, nor
'his ox, nor his aſs, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.' This God confirmed by
thunderings and lightnings, and other ſenſible ſolemnities, to ſtrike the people with more
awe in receiving and keeping of it, and to make the breach of theſe moral precepts
Mic. i. 2. more terrible to them. Micah complains full-mouth'd in his time, 'They covet fields,

and take them by violence;' but their end was miſery. Therefore was it ſaid of old, 'Wo to them that covet an evil covetouſneſs:' this is to our point. We have many remarkable inſtances of this in ſcripture; two of which I will briefly report.

§. III. David, though otherwiſe a good man, by unwatchfulneſs is taken; the beauty of Uriah's wife was too hard for him, being diſarmed, and off from his ſpiritual watch. There was no diſſuaſive would do: Uriah muſt be put upon a deſperate ſervice, where it was great odds if he ſurvived it. This was to haſten the unlawful ſatiſfaction of his deſires by a way that looked not like direct murder. The contrivance took:
Uriah is killed, and his wife is quickly David's. This interpreted David's covetouſneſs. Pſal. li.
But went it off ſo? No, David had ſharp ſauce with his meat. 'His pleaſure ſoon turned Pſal. lxxvii. Pſal. xlii. 7.
'to anguiſh and bitterneſs of ſpirit: his ſoul was overwhelmed with ſorrow: the waves Pſal. lxix. 2, 14.
'went over his head: he was conſumed within him: he was ſtuck in the mire and clay; Pſal. vi. 6, 7.
'he cried, he wept; yea, his eyes were as a fountain of tears. Guiltineſs was upon him, 'and he muſt be purged; his ſins waſhed white as ſnow, that were as red as crimſon, or 'he is undone for ever.' His repentance prevailed: behold, what work this part of covetouſneſs makes! what evil, what ſorrow! O that the people of this covetouſneſs would let the ſenſe of David's ſorrows ſink deep into their ſouls, that they might come to David's ſalvation! 'Reſtore me,' ſaith that good man: it ſeems he once knew a better ſtate: yes, and this may teach the better ſort to fear, and ſtand in awe too, leſt they ſin and fall. For David was taken at a diſadvantage: he was off his watch, and gone from the croſs: the law was not his lamp and light, at that inſtant: he was a wanderer from his ſafety, his ſtrong tower, and ſo ſurprized: then and there it was the enemy met him, and vanquiſhed him.

§. IV. The ſecond inſtance is that of Naboth's vineyard: it was coveted by Ahab and 1 Kings xxi.
Jezebel: that which led them to ſuch an unlawful deſire, found means to accompliſh it. Naboth muſt die, for he would not ſell it. To do it, they accuſe the innocent man of blaſphemy, and find two knights of the poſt, ſons of Belial, to evidence againſt him. Thus, in the name of God, and in ſhew of pure zeal to his glory, Naboth muſt die; and accordingly was ſtoned to death. The news of which coming to Jezebel, ſhe bid Ahab ariſe and take poſſeſſion, for Naboth was dead: but God followed both of them with his fierce vengeance. 'In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth' (ſaith Elijah in the name of the Lord) 'ſhall dogs lick thy blood; even thine; and I will bring 'evil upon thee, and take away thy poſterity:' and of Jezebel (his wife and partner in this covetouſneſs and murder) he adds 'the dogs ſhall eat her fleſh by the walls of 'Jezreel.' Here is the infamy and puniſhment due to this part of covetouſneſs. Let this deter thoſe that deſire unlawful things; the rights of others: for God, that is juſt, will certainly repay ſuch with intereſt in the end. But perhaps theſe are few: either that they do not or dare not ſhew it, becauſe the law will bite if they do. But the next part hath company enough, that will yet exclaim againſt the iniquity of this part of covetouſneſs; and by their ſeeming abhorrence of it, would excuſe themſelves of all guilt in the reſt: let us conſider that.

§. V. The next, and moſt common part of covetouſneſs is, the unlawful deſire of lawful things; eſpecially of riches. Money is lawful, but 'the love of it is the root of all 'evil,' if the man of God ſay true. So riches are lawful; but they that purſue them, 'fall 'into divers temptations, ſnares and luſts;' if the ſame good man ſay right. He calls them 'uncertain,' to ſhew their folly and danger that ſet their hearts upon them. Covetouſneſs is hateful to God: he hath denounced great judgments upon thoſe that are guilty of
it. God charged it on Iſrael of old, as one of the reaſons of his judgments: 'For the Iſa. lvii. 17.
'iniquity of his covetouſneſs (ſaith God) was I wroth, and ſmote him.' In another Jer. vi. 13.
place, 'Every one is given to covetouſneſs; and from the prophet to the prieſt, every one ch. viii. 10.
'dealeth falſly; therefore will I give their wives unto others, and their fields to them & xxii. 17.
'that ſhall inherit them.' In another place God complained thus: 'But thine eyes 'and thy heart are not but for thy covetouſneſs.' By Ezekiel God renews and repeats
his complaint againſt their covetouſneſs: 'and they come to thee as the people, and Ezek. xxxiii.
'ſit before thee as my people: they hear thy words, but will not do them; with their 31.
'mouths they ſhew much love, but their hearts go after covetouſneſs.' Therefore God, in the choice of magiſtrates, made it part of their qualification, to hate covetouſneſs; foreſeeing the miſchief that would follow to that ſociety or government where covetous men were in power; that ſelf would byaſs them, and they would ſeek their
own ends at the coſt of the publick. David deſired, 'that his heart might not incline to Pſal. cxix. 36.
'covetouſneſs, but to the teſtimonies of his God.' And the wiſe man expreſsly tells us, that 'He that hateth covetouſneſs, ſhall prolong his days;' making a curſe to follow it.
And it is by Luke charged upon the Phariſees, as a mark of their wickedneſs. And Prov. xxvi.
Chriſt, in that evangeliſt, bids his followers 'take heed and beware of covetouſneſs:' 16.
and he giveth a reaſon for it, that carrieth a moſt excellent inſtruction in it; 'for (ſaith he) Luke xvi. 14.
'a man's life conſiſteth not in the abundance of the things which he poſſeſſeth:' but Luke xii. 15.
he goeth farther; he joins covetouſneſs with adultery, murder and blaſphemy. No won- Mark. vii. 22.
der then if the apoſtle Paul is ſo liberal in his cenſure of this evil: he placeth it with Rom. i. 29.

all unrighteouſneſs, to the Romans: to the Epheſians he writeth the like; and addeth, ‘ let not covetouſneſs be ſo much as named among you:’ and bids the Coloſſians, ‘ mortify their members;’ and names ſeveral ſins, as fornication, uncleanneſs, and ſuch like, but ends with covetouſneſs; with this at the tail of it, ‘which (ſaith he) is idolatry.’ And we know there is not a greater offence againſt God: nay this very apoſtle calls ‘ the ‘ love of money the root of all evil; which (ſaith he) whilſt ſome have coveted after, ‘ they have erred from the faith, and pierced themſelves through with divers ſorrows: ‘ for they that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a ſnare, and many fooliſh and hurtful luſts. O man of God, (ſaith he to his beloved friend Timothy) flee theſe things, ‘ and follow after righteouſneſs, faith, love, patience and meekneſs.’

Eph. v. 3.
Col. iii. 5, 6.
1 Tim. vi. 9, 10, 11.

2 Pet. ii. 3. §. VI. Peter was of the ſame mind; for he maketh covetouſneſs to be one of the great marks of the falſe prophets and teachers that ſhould ariſe among the chriſtians; and by that they might know them; ‘ Who (ſaith he) through covetouſneſs, ſhall, with ‘ feigned words, make merchandize of you.’ To conclude, therefore the author to the Hebrews, at the end of his epiſtle, leaves this (with other things) not without great zeal and weight upon them: ‘ Let (ſaith he) your converſation be without covetouſneſs,’ (he reſts not in this generality, but goes on) ‘ and be content with ſuch things as you have; ‘ for God hath ſaid, I will never leave thee, nor forſake thee:’ What then? Muſt we conclude that thoſe who are not content, but ſeek to be rich, have forſaken God? The concluſion ſeems hard; but yet it is natural: for ſuch, ’tis plain, are not content with what they have; they would have more; they covet to be rich, if they may: they live not with thoſe dependencies and regards to Providence, to which they are exhorted: nor is godlineſs, with content, great gain to them.

Heb. xiii. 5.

§. VII. And truly it is a reproach to a man, eſpecially the religious man, that he knows not when he hath enough; when to leave off; when to be ſatisfied: that notwithſtanding God ſends him one plentiful ſeaſon of gain after another, he is ſo far from making that the cauſe of withdrawing from the trafficks of the world, that he makes it a reaſon of launching farther into it; as if the more he hath, the more he may. He therefore reneweth his appetite, beſtirs himſelf more than ever, that he may have his ſhare in the ſcramble, while any thing is to be got: this is as if cumber, not retirement; and gain, not content, were the duty and comfort of a Chriſtian. O that this thing was better conſidered! for by not being ſo obſervable nor obnoxious to the law as other vices are, there is more danger, for want of that check. ’Tis plain that moſt people ſtrive not for ſubſtance, but wealth. Some there be that love it ſtrongly, and ſpend it liberally, when they have got it. Though this be ſinful, yet more commendable than to love money for money's ſake. That is one of the baſeſt paſſions the mind of man can be captivated with: a perfect luſt; and a greater, and more ſoul-defiling one there is not in the whole catalogue of concupiſcence. Which conſidered, ſhould quicken people into a ſerious examination, how far this temptation of love of money hath entered them; and the rather, becauſe the ſteps it maketh into the mind are almoſt inſenſible, which renders the danger greater. Thouſands think themſelves unconcerned in the caution, that yet are perfectly guilty of the evil. How can it be otherwiſe, when thoſe that have, from a low condition, acquired thouſands, labour yet to advance, yea, double and treble thoſe thouſands; and that with the ſame care and contrivance by which they got them. Is this to live comfortably, or to be rich? Do we not ſee how early they riſe; how late they go to bed? how full of the change, the ſhop, the warehouſe, the cuſtom-houſe; of bills, bonds, charter-parties, &c. they are? running up and down as if it were to ſave the life of a condemned innocent. An inſatiable luſt, and therein ungrateful to God, as well as hurtful to men; who giveth it to them to uſe, and not to love: that's the abuſe. And if this care, contrivance and induſtry, and that continually, be not from the love of money, in thoſe that have ten times more than they began with, and much more than they ſpend or need, I know not what teſtimony man can give of his love to any thing.

§. VIII. To conclude, It is an enemy to government in magiſtrates; for it tends to corruption. Wherefore thoſe that God ordained, were ſuch as feared him, and hated covetouſneſs. Next it hurts ſociety; for old traders keep the young ones poor: and the great reaſon why ſome have too little, and ſo are forced to drudge like ſlaves to feed their families, and keep their chin above water, is, becauſe the rich hold faſt, and preſs to be richer, and covet more, which dries up the little ſtreams of profit from ſmaller folks. There ſhould be a ſtandard, both as to the value and time of traffick; and then the trade of the maſter to be ſhared among his ſervants that deſerve it. This were both to help the young to get their livelihood, and to give the old time to think of leaving this world well, in which they have been ſo buſy, that they might obtain a ſhare in the other, of which they have been ſo careleſs.

§. IX. There is yet another miſchief to government; for covetouſneſs leads men to abuſe and defraud it, by concealing or falſifying the goods they deal in: as bringing in forbidden goods by ſtealth, or lawful goods ſo as to avoid the payment of dues, or owning the goods of enemies for gain; or that they are not well made, or full meaſure; with abundance of that ſort of deceit.

§. X.

§. X. But covetouſneſs has cauſed deſtructive feuds in families: for eſtates falling into the hands of thoſe, whoſe avarice has put them upon drawing greater profit to themſelves than was conſiſtent with juſtice, has given birth to much trouble, and cauſed great oppreſſion. It too often falling out, that ſuch executors have kept the right owners out of poſſeſſion with the money they ſhould pay them.

§. XI. But this is not all; for covetouſneſs betrays friendſhip: a bribe cannot be better placed to do an ill thing, or undo a man. Nay, it is a murderer too often both of ſoul and body: of the ſoul, becauſe it kills that life it ſhould have in God: where money maſters the mind, it extinguiſhes all love to better things: of the body, for it will kill for money, by aſſaſſinations, poiſons, falſe witneſs, &c. I ſhall end this head of covetouſneſs, with the ſin and doom of two covetous men, Judas and Simon Magus.

Judas's religion fell in thorny ground: love of money choaked him. Pride and anger in the Jews endeavoured to murder Chriſt; but till covetouſneſs ſet her hand to effect it, they were all at a loſs. They found Judas had the bag, and probably loved money; they would try him, and did. The price was ſet, and Judas betrays his maſter, his Lord (that never did him wrong) into the hands of his moſt cruel adverſaries. But to do him right, he returned the money, and to be revenged on himſelf, was his own hangman. A wicked act, a wicked end. Come on, you covetous! What ſay you now to brother Judas? Was he not an ill man? Did he not very wickedly? Yes, yes. Would you have done ſo? No, no, by no means. Very well; but ſo ſaid thoſe evil Jews of ſtoning the prophets, and that yet crucified the beloved Son of God; he that came to ſave them, and would have done it, if they had received him, and not rejected the day of their viſitation. Rub your eyes well, for the duſt is got into them; and carefully read in your own conſciences, and ſee, if, out of love to money, you have not betrayed the juſt One in yourſelves, and ſo are brethren with Judas in iniquity. I ſpeak for God againſt an idol; bear with me: have you not reſiſted, yea, quenched the good Spirit of Chriſt, in your purſuit after your beloved wealth? 'Examine yourſelves, try yourſelves; know ye not your own ſelves, that if Chriſt 2 Cor. xiii. 5. 'dwell not (if he rule not, and be not above all beloved) in you, you are reprobates;' in an undone condition?

§. XII. The other covetous man is Simon Magus, a believer too; but his faith could Acts viii. 8, not go deep enough for covetouſneſs. He would have driven a bargain with Peter, ſo 9, to 24. much money for ſo much Holy Ghoſt; that he might ſell it again, and make a good trade of it; corruptly meaſuring Peter by himſelf, as if he had only had a better knack of cozening the people than himſelf, who had ſet up in Samaria for the great power of God, before the power of God in Philip and Peter undeceived the people. But what was Peter's anſwer and judgment? 'Thy money (ſays he) periſh with thee: thou haſt neither 'part nor lot in this matter: thou art in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity:' a diſmal ſentence. Beſides, it tends to luxury, and riſes often out of it: For from having much they ſpend much, and ſo become poor by luxury: ſuch are covetous to get, to ſpend more, which temperance would prevent. For if men would not, or could not, by good laws well executed, and a better education, be ſo laviſh in their tables, houſes, furniture, apparel and gaming, there would be no ſuch temptation to covet earneſtly after what they could not ſpend: for there is but here and there a miſer that loves money for money's ſake:---

§. XIII. Which leads to the laſt and baſeſt part of covetouſneſs, which is yet the moſt ſordid; to wit, Hoarding up, or keeping money unprofitably, both to others and themſelves too. This is Solomon's miſer, 'that makes himſelf rich, and hath nothing:' a great Prov. xvii. 7. ſin in the ſight of God. He complained of ſuch, as had ſtored up the labours of the poor Iſa. iii. 14, 15. in their houſes; he calls it their Spoils, and that it is a grinding of the poor, becauſe they ſee it not again. But he bleſſeth thoſe that conſider the poor, and commandeth Pſal. xli. 1. every one, 'to open freely to his brother that is in need;' not only he that is ſpiritually, Deut. xv. 7. but naturally ſo; and, not to withhold his gift from the poor. The apoſtle chargeth Timothy in the ſight of God, and before Jeſus Chriſt, 'that he fail not to charge them 1 Tim. vi. 17. 'that are rich in this world, that they truſt not in their uncertain riches, but in the 'living God, who giveth liberally; and that they do good with them, that they may 'be rich in good works.' Riches are apt to corrupt; and that which keeps them ſweet and beſt, is charity: he that uſes them not, gets them not for the end for which they are given; but loves them for themſelves, and not their ſervice. The avaritious is poor in his wealth: he wants for fear of ſpending; and increaſes his fear with his hope, which is his gain; and ſo tortures himſelf with his pleaſure: the moſt like to the man that hid his talent in a napkin, of all others; for this man's talents are hid in his bags out of ſight, in vaults, under boards, behind wainſcots; elſe upon bonds and mortgages, growing but as under ground; for it doth good to none.

§. XIV. This covetous man is a monſter in nature; for he has no bowels; and is like the poles, always cold. An enemy to the ſtate, for he ſpirits their money away. A diſeaſe to the body politick, for he obſtructs the circulation of the blood, and ought to be removed by a purge of the law: for theſe are vices at heart, that deſtroy by wholeſale. The covetous, he hates all uſeful arts and ſciences, as vain, leſt they ſhould coſt him ſomething the learning: wherefore ingenuity has no more place in his mind, than in his pocket. He lets houſes fall, and highways poche, to prevent the charge of repairs; and for his ſpare diet, plain cloaths, and mean furniture, he would place them to the account of moderation. O monſter of a man! that can take up the croſs for covetouſneſs, and not for Chriſt.

§. XV. But he pretends negatively to ſome religion too; for he always rails at prodigality, the better to cover his avarice. If you would beſtow a box of ſpikenard on a good man's head, to ſave money, and to ſhew righteous, he tells you of the poor: but if the poor come, he excuſes his want of charity with the unworthineſs of the object, or the cauſes of his poverty, or that he can beſtow his money upon thoſe that deſerve it better; who rarely opens his purſe till quarter-day, for fear of loſing it.

§. XVI. But he is more miſerable than the pooreſt; for he enjoys not what he yet fears to loſe; they fear not what they do not enjoy. Thus is he poor by over-valuing his wealth; but he is wretched, that hungers with money in a cook's ſhop: yet having made a god of his gold, who knows, but he thinks it unnatural to eat what he worſhips?

§. XVII. But, which aggravates this ſin, I have myſelf once known ſome, that to get money, have wearied themſelves into the grave; and to be true to their principle, when ſick, would not ſpare a fee to a doctor, to help the poor ſlave to live; and ſo died to ſave charges: a conſtancy that canonizes them martyrs for money.

§. XVIII. But now let us ſee what inſtances the ſcripture will give us in reproof of the ſordid hoarders and hiders of money. A good-like young man came to Chriſt, and enquired the way to eternal life: Chriſt told him he knew the commandments: he replied, he had kept them from his youth: (it ſeems he was no looſe perſon, and indeed ſuch are uſualſy not ſo, to ſave charges) 'and yet lackeſt thou one thing (ſaith Chriſt) 'ſell all, diſtribute it to the poor, and thou ſhalt have treaſure in heaven, and come and 'follow me.' It ſeems Chriſt pinched him in the ſore place; he hit the mark, and ſtruck him to the heart, who knew his heart: by this he tried how well he had kept the commandments, to love God above all. 'Tis ſaid, the young man was very ſorrowful, and went his way; and the reaſon which is given, is, that he was very rich. The tides met, money and eternal life: contrary deſires: but which prevailed? alas! his riches. But what ſaid Chriſt to this? 'How hardly ſhall they that have riches enter into the 'kingdom of God?' He adds, 'It is eaſier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, 'than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven:' that is, ſuch a rich man, to wit a covetous rich man, to whom it is hard to do good with what he has: 'tis more than an ordinary miracle: O who then would be rich and covetous! 'Twas upon theſe rich men that Chriſt pronounced his woe, ſaying, 'Wo unto you that are rich, for 'ye have received your conſolation here:' What! none in the heavens? no, unleſs you become willing to be poor men, can reſign all, live looſe to the world, have it at arm's-end, yea, under foot, a ſervant, and not a maſter.

§. XIX. The other inſtance is a very diſmal one too: 'tis that of Ananias and Sapphira. In the beginning of apoſtolick times, it was cuſtomary for thoſe who received the word of life, to bring what ſubſtance they had, and lay it at the apoſtles feet: of theſe, Joſes, ſurnamed Barnabas, was exemplary. Among the reſt, Ananias and his wife Sapphira, confeſſing to the truth, ſold their poſſeſſion, but covetouſly reſerved ſome of the purchaſe-money from the common purſe, to themſelves, and brought a part for the whole, and laid it at the apoſtle's feet. But Peter, a plain and a bold man, in the majeſty of the Spirit ſaid, 'Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lye to the Holy Ghoſt; and to keep back 'part of the price of the land? whilſt it remained, was it not thine own? and after it 'was ſold, was it not in thine own power? why haſt thou conceived this thing in thine 'heart? thou haſt not lied unto men, but unto God.' But what followed this covetouſneſs and hypocriſy of Ananias? why, Ananias hearing theſe words, 'he fell down, and gave 'up the ghoſt.' The like befel his wife, being privy to the deceit their avarice had led them to. And it is ſaid, that 'great fear came upon all the church, and thoſe that heard of theſe 'things:' and alſo ſhould on thoſe that now read them. For if this judgment was ſhewn and recorded, that we ſhould beware of the like evils, what will become of thoſe, that under the profeſſion of chriſtianity, a religion that teaches men to live looſe from the world, and to yield up all to the will and ſervice of Chriſt and his kingdom, not only retain a part, but all; and cannot part with the leaſt thing for Chriſt's ſake. I beſeech God to incline the hearts of my readers to weigh theſe things. This had not befallen Ananias and Sapphira, if they had acted as in God's preſence, and with that entire love, truth and ſincerity, that became them. O that people would uſe the light that Chriſt hath given them, to ſearch and ſee how far they are under the power of this iniquity! For would they but watch againſt the love of the world, and be leſs in bondage to the things that are ſeen, which are temporal, they would begin to ſet their hearts on things above, that are of an eternal nature. Their life would be hid with Chriſt in God, out of the reach of all the uncertainties of time, and troubles and changes of mortality. Nay, if people would but conſider how hardly riches are got, how uncertainly they are kept, the envy they bring; that they can neither make a man wiſe, nor cure diſeaſes, nor add to life, much leſs give peace in death: no, nor hardly yield any ſolid benefit above food and raiment (which may be had without them) and that if there be any good uſe for them, 'tis to relieve others in diſtreſs; being but ſtewards of the plentiful providences of God, and conſequently accountable for our ſtewardſhip: if, I ſay, theſe conſiderations had any room in our minds, we ſhould not thus poſt to get, nor care to hide and keep ſuch a mean and impotent thing. O that the croſs of Chriſt (which is the Spirit and Power of God in man) might have more place in the ſoul, that it might crucify us more and more to the world, and the world to us; that, like the days of paradiſe, the earth might again be the footſtool; and the treaſure of the earth a ſervant, and not a god, to man!----Many have writ againſt this vice; three I will mention.

§. XX. William Tindal, that worthy apoſtle of the Engliſh Reformation, has an intire diſcourſe, to which I refer the reader, intitled, 'The Parable of the Wicked Mammon.' The next is ----

§. XXI. Peter Charron (a famous Frenchman, and in particular for the book he wrote of Wiſdom) hath a chapter againſt covetouſneſs, part of which take as followeth: "To love and affect riches, is covetouſneſs: not only the love and affection, but alſo every over-curious care and induſtry about riches. The deſire of goods, and the pleaſure we take in poſſeſſing of them, is grounded only upon opinion: the immoderate deſire to get riches, is a gangrene in our ſouls, which with a venomous heat conſumeth our natural affections, to the end it might fill us with virulent humours. So ſoon as it is lodged in our hearts, all honeſt and natural affection, which we owe either to our parents or friends, or ourſelves, vaniſheth away: all the reſt, in reſpect of our profit, ſeemeth nothing; yea, we forget in the end, and condemn ourſelves, our bodies, our minds, for this tranſitory traſh; and as our proverb is, We ſell our horſe to get us hay. Covetouſneſs is the vile and baſe paſſion of vulgar fools, who account riches the principal good of a man, and fear poverty, as the greateſt evil; and not contenting themſelves with neceſſary means, which are forbidden no man, weigh that is good in a goldſmith's ballance, when nature hath taught us to meaſure it by the ell of neceſſity. For, what greater folly can there be, than to adore that which nature itſelf hath put under our feet, and hidden in the bowels of the earth, as unworthy to be ſeen; yea, rather to be contemned, and trampled under foot? This is that which the ſin of man hath only torn out of the entrails of the earth, and brought unto light to kill himſelf. We dig out the bowels of the earth, and bring to light thoſe things, for which we would fight: We are not aſhamed to eſteem thoſe things moſt highly, which are in the loweſt parts of the earth. Nature ſeemeth even in the firſt birth of gold, and the womb from whence it proceedeth, after a ſort to have preſaged the miſery of thoſe that are in love with it; for it hath ſo ordered the matter, that in thoſe countries where it groweth, there groweth with it neither graſs, nor plant, nor other thing that is worth any thing: as giving us to underſtand thereby, that in thoſe minds where the deſire of this metal groweth, there cannot remain ſo much as a ſpark of true honour and virtue. For what thing can be more baſe, than for a man to degrade, and to make himſelf a ſervant and a ſlave to that which ſhould be ſubject unto him? Riches ſerve wiſe men, but command a fool; for a covetous man ſerveth his riches, and not they him: and he is ſaid to have goods as he hath a fever, which holdeth and tyrannizeth over a man, not he over it. What thing more vile, than to love that which is not good, neither can make a good man? yea, is common, and in the poſſeſſion of the moſt wicked in the world; which many times perverts good manners, but never amends them? without which, ſo many wiſe men have made themſelves happy, and by which ſo many wicked men have come to a wicked end. To be brief; what thing more miſerable, than to bind the living to the dead, as Mezentius did, to the end their death might be languiſhing, and the more cruel; to tye the ſpirit unto the excrement and ſcum of the earth, to pierce through his own ſoul with a thouſand torments, which this amorous paſſion of riches brings with it; and to entangle himſelf with the ties and cords of this malignant thing, as the ſcripture calls them; which doth likewiſe term them thorns and thieves, which ſteal away the heart of man; ſnares of the devil, idolatry, and the root of all evil. And truly, he that ſhall ſee the catalogue of thoſe envies and moleſtations, which riches ingender into the heart of man, as their proper thunderbolt and lightning, they would be more hated than they are now loved. Poverty wants many things, but covetouſneſs all: a covetous man is good to none, and worſe to himſelf." Thus much of Charron, a wiſe and great man. My next teſtimony is yielded by an author not unlikely to take with ſome ſort of people for his wit; may they equally value his morality, and the judgment of his riper time.

§. XXII. Abraham Cowley, a witty and ingenious man, yieldeth us the other teſtimony: of avarice he writeth us: "There are two ſorts of avarice; the one is but a baſtard-kind, and that is a rapacious appetite of gain; not for its own ſake, but for the pleaſure of refunding it immediately through all the channels of pride and luxury. The other is the true kind, and properly ſo called, which is a reſtleſs and unſatiable

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“ deſire of riches, not for any farther end or uſe, but only to hoard and preſerve, and perpetually increaſe them. The covetous man of the firſt kind is like a greedy oſtrich, which devoureth any metal, but it is with an intent to feed upon it, and in effect it maketh a ſhift to digeſt and excern it. The ſecond is like the fooliſh chough, which loveth to ſteal money, only to hide it. The firſt doth much harm to mankind, and a little good to ſome few: the ſecond doth good to none, no, not to himſelf. The firſt can make no excuſe to God or angels, or rational men, for his actions: the ſecond can give no reaſon or colour, not to the Devil himſelf, for what he doth: he is a ſlave to Mammon without wages. The firſt maketh a ſhift to be beloved, ay, and envied too, by ſome people: the ſecond is the univerſal object of hatred and contempt. There is no vice hath been ſo pelted with good ſentences, and eſpecially by the poets, who have purſued it with ſatires and fables, and allegories, and alluſions, and moved (as we ſay) every ſtone to fling at it; among all which, I do not remember a more fine correction, than that which was given it by one line of Ovid's:

“ ---- ---- ---- ---- Multa
“ Luxuriæ deſunt, omnia avaritiæ.

“ Which is, Much is wanting to luxury, All to avarice. To which ſaying I have a mind to add one member, and render it thus: Poverty wants ſome, luxury many, avarice all things. Somebody ſaith of a virtuous and wiſe man, that having nothing, he hath all. This is juſt his antipode, who having all things, yet hath nothing.

“ And Oh! what man's condition can be worſe,
“ Than his, whom plenty ſtarves, and bleſſings curſe?
“ The beggars but a common fate deplore;
“ The rich-poor man's emphatically poor.

“ I wonder how it cometh to paſs, that there hath never been any law made againſt him: againſt him, do I ſay? I mean, for him. As there are public proviſions made for all other mad-men, it is very reaſonable that the king ſhould appoint ſome perſons to manage his eſtate during his life (for his heirs commonly need not that care) and out of it to make it their buſineſs to ſee, that he ſhould not want alimony befitting his condition; which he could never get out of his own cruel fingers. We relieve idle vagrants, and counterfeit beggars, but have no care at all of theſe really poor men, who are, methinks, to be reſpectfully treated, in regard of their quality. I might be endleſs againſt them; but I am almoſt choaked with the ſuperabundance of the matter. Too much plenty impoveriſheth me, as it doth them.” Thus much againſt avarice, that moth of the ſoul, and canker of the mind.

CHAP. XIV.

§. 1. *Luxury, what it is, and the miſchief of it to mankind. An enemy to the croſs of Chriſt.* §. 2. *Of luxury in diet, how unlike Chriſt, and contrary to ſcripture.* §. 3. *The miſchief it does to the bodies, as well as minds of people.* §. 4. *Of luxury in the exceſs of apparel, and of recreations: that ſin brought the firſt coat: people not to be proud of the badge of their miſery.* §. 5. *The recreations of the times enemies to virtue: they riſe from degeneracy.* §. 6. *The end of clothes allowable; the abuſe reprehended.* §. 7. *The chiefeſt recreation of good men of old, was to ſerve God, and do good to mankind, and follow honeſt vocations, not vain ſports and paſtimes.* §. 8. *The Heathens knew and did better things. The ſobriety of infidels above chriſtians.* 9. *Luxury condemned in the caſe of Dives.* §. 10. *The doctrine of the ſcripture poſitively againſt a voluptuous life.*

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§. I. I AM now come to the other extream, and that is luxury, which is, An exceſſive indulgence of ſelf in eaſe and pleaſure. This is the laſt great impiety ſtruck at in this diſcourſe of the holy croſs of Chriſt, which indeed is much of the ſubject of its mortifying virtue and power. A diſeaſe as epidemical as killing: it creeps into all ſtations and ranks of men; the pooreſt often exceeding their ability to indulge their appetite; and the rich frequently wallowing in thoſe things that pleaſe the luſts of their eye and fleſh, and the pride of life; as regardleſs of the ſevere diſcipline of Jeſus, whom they call Saviour, as if luxury, and not the croſs, were the ordained way to heaven. ‘ What ſhall we eat, what ſhall we drink, and what ſhall we put on?’ once the care of luxurious Heathens, is now the practice, and (which is worſe) the ſtudy, of pretended Chriſtians. But let ſuch be aſhamed, and repent; remembering that Jeſus did not reproach the Gentiles for thoſe things, to indulge his followers in them. They that will have Chriſt to be theirs, muſt be ſure to be his, to be like-minded, to live in temperance and moderation, as knowing the Lord is at hand. Sumptuous apparel, rich unguents, delicate waſhes, ſtately furniture, coſtly cookery, and ſuch diverſions as balls, maſques, muſick-meetings, plays, romances, &c. which are the delight and entertainment of the times, belong not to the holy path that Jeſus and his true diſciples and followers trod to glory: no, ‘ through many tribulations (ſays none of the leaſt of them) muſt we enter

‘ into the kingdom of God.’ I do earneſtly beſeech the gay and luxurious, into whoſe hands this diſcourſe ſhall be directed, to conſider well the reaſons and examples here advanced againſt their way of living; if haply they may come to ſee how remote it is from true Chriſtianity, and how dangerous to their eternal peace. God Almighty by his grace ſoften their hearts to inſtruction, and ſhed abroad his tender love in their ſouls, that they may be overcome to repentance, and to the love of the holy way of the croſs of Jeſus, the bleſſed Redeemer of men. For they cannot think that he can benefit them, while they refuſe to lay down their ſins for the love of him that laid down his life for the love of them. Or that he will give them a place in heaven, that refuſe him any in their hearts on earth. But let us examine luxury in all its parts.

§. II. Luxury has many parts; and the firſt that is forbidden by the ſelf-denying Jeſus, is the belly: ‘Take no thought (ſays he to his diſciples) ſaying, what ſhall we Mat. vi. 31, 32. ‘eat, or what ſhall we drink?---for after theſe things do the Gentiles ſeek:’ as if he had ſaid, the uncircumciſed, the Heathen, ſuch as live without the true God, and make a god of their belly, whoſe care is to pleaſe their appetite, more than to ſeek God and his kingdom: you muſt not do ſo, but ‘ſeek you firſt the kingdom of God, and his ‘righteouſneſs, and all other things ſhall be added.’ That which is convenient for you will follow: let every thing have its time and order.

This carries a ſerious reprehenſion to the luxurious eater and drinker, who is taken up with an exceſſive care of his palate and belly, what he ſhall eat, and what he ſhall drink: who being often at a loſs what to have next, therefore has an officer to invent, and a cook to dreſs, diſguiſe and drown the ſpecies, that it may cheat the eye, look new and ſtrange; and all to excite an appetite, or raiſe an admiration. To be ſure there is great variety, and that curious and coſtly: the ſauce, it may be, dearer than the meat: and ſo full is he fed, that without it he can ſcarce find out a ſtomach; which is to force an hunger, rather than to ſatisfy it. And as he eats, ſo he drinks; rarely for thirſt, but pleaſure; to pleaſe his palate. For that purpoſe he will have divers ſorts, and he muſt taſte them all: one, however good, is dull and tireſome; variety is more delightful than the beſt; and therefore the whole world is little enough to fill his cellar. But were he temperate in his proportions, his variety might be imputed rather to curioſity than luxury. But what the temperate man uſes as a cordial, he drinks by full draughts, till, inflamed by exceſs, he is fitted to be an inſtrument of miſchief, if not to others, always to himſelf; whom perhaps at laſt he knows not: for ſuch brutality are ſome come to, they will ſip themſelves out of their own knowledge. This is the luſt of the fleſh, that is not of the Father, but of the world: for upon this comes in the muſic and dance, and mirth, and Ecc. ii. 2. the laughter which is madneſs, that the noiſe of one pleaſure may drown the iniquity of another, leſt his own heart ſhould deal too plainly with him. Thus the luxurious live; ‘they forget God, they regard not the afflicted.’ O that the ſons and daughters of men would conſider their wantonneſs and their iniquity in theſe things! How ill do they requite the goodneſs of God in the uſe and abuſe of the plenty he yields them: how cruel are they to his creatures, how laviſh of their lives and virtue, how thankleſs for them; forgetting the giver, and abuſing the gift by their luſts; and deſpiſing counſel, and caſting inſtruction behind them. They loſe tenderneſs, and forget duty, being ſwallowed up of voluptuouſneſs; adding one exceſs to another. God rebuked this ſin in the Jews by the prophet Amos: ‘Ye that put far away the evil day, and cauſe the ſeat Amos vi. 3, ‘of violence to come near; and lie upon beds of ivory, and ſtretch themſelves upon their 4, 5, 6. ‘couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the ſtall; and chant ‘to the ſound of the viol, and invent to themſelves inſtruments of muſick, like David; ‘that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themſelves with the chief ointments: but they are ‘not grieved for the affliction of Joſeph.’----Theſe, it ſeems, were the vices of the degenerate Jews, under all their pretence to religion; and are they not of Chriſtians at this day? Yea, they are; and theſe are the great parts of luxury ſtruck at in this diſcourſe. Remember Dives, with all his ſumptuous fare, went to hell: and the apoſtle pronounces heavy woes upon thoſe ‘whoſe God is their belly;’ for ſuch ‘glory in their ſhame.’ Phil. iii. 19.

Chriſt places theſe things to the courts of worldly kings, not his kingdom; making them unſeemly in his followers: his feaſt therefore (which was his miracle) to the multitude, was plain and ſimple; enough, but without curioſity, or the art of cookery: and it went down well, for they were hungry; the beſt and fitteſt time to eat. And the apoſtle, in his directions to his much beloved Timothy, debaſes the lovers of worldly fulneſs; adviſing him to ‘godlineſs and content, as the chiefeſt gain:’ adding, ‘and hav- 1 Tim. vi. 6, ‘ing food and raiment, let us therewith be content.’ Behold the abſtemious, and moſt 7, 8, 9, 10, contented life of thoſe royal pilgrims, the ſons of heaven, and immortal offspring of the 11. great power of God; they were in faſts and perils often, and eat what was ſet before them; and in all conditions learnt to be contented. O bleſſed men! O bleſſed ſpirits! let my ſoul dwell with yours for ever!

§. III. But the diſeaſes which luxury begets and nouriſhes, make it an enemy to mankind: for beſides the miſchief it brings to the ſouls of people, it undermines health, and ſhortens the life of man, in that it gives but ill nouriſhment, and ſo leaves and feeds corrupt humours, whereby the body becomes rank and foul, lazy and ſcorbutick; unfit for exerciſe, and more for honeſt labour. The ſpirits being thus loaded with ill fleſh, and the mind effeminated, a man is made unactive, and ſo unuſeful in civil ſociety; for idleneſs follows luxury, as well as diſeaſes. Theſe are the burdens of the world, devourers of good things, ſelf-lovers, and ſo forgetters of God: but (which is ſad, and yet juſt) the Pſal. ix. 17. end of thoſe that forget God, is to be 'turned into hell.'

§. IV. But there is another part of luxury, which has great place with vain man and woman, and that is the gorgeouſneſs of apparel; one of the fooliſheſt, becauſe moſt coſtly, empty and unprofitable exceſſes people can well be guilty of. We are taught by the ſcriptures of truth to believe that ſin brought the firſt coat; and if conſent of writers be of force, it was as well without as within: to thoſe that ſo believe, I direct my diſ- Gen. iii. 21. courſe, becauſe they, I am ſure, are the generality. I ſay, if ſin brought the firſt coat, poor Adam's offſpring have little reaſon to be proud or curious in their clothes; for it ſeems their original was baſe, and the finery of them will neither make them noble, nor man innocent again. But doubtleſs bleſſed was that time, when innocence, not ignorance, freed our firſt parents from ſuch ſhifts: they were then naked, and knew no ſhame; but ſin made them aſhamed to be longer naked. Since therefore guilt brought ſhame, and ſhame an apron and a coat, how very low are they fallen, that glory in their ſhame, that are proud of their fall? for ſo they are, that uſe care and coſt to trim and ſet off the very badge and livery of that lamentable lapſe. It is all one, as for a man that had loſt his noſe by a ſcandalous diſtemper, to take pains to ſet out a falſe one, in ſuch ſhape and ſplendor, as ſhould give but the greater occaſion for all to gaze upon him; as if he would tell them, he had loſt his noſe, for fear they ſhould think he had not. But would a wiſe man be in love with a falſe noſe, though ever ſo rich, and however finely made? Surely no: and ſhall people that call themſelves Chriſtians, ſhew ſo much love for clothes, as to neglect innocence, their firſt cloathing? Doth it not ſhew what coſt of time, pains and money, people are at to ſet off their ſhame, with the greateſt ſhew and ſolemnity of folly? is it not to delight in the effect of that cauſe, which they rather ſhould lament? If a thief were to wear chains all his life, would their being gold, and well made, abate his infamy? to be ſure his being choice of them would increaſe it. Why, this is the very caſe of the vain faſhion-mongers of this ſhameleſs age; yet will they be Chriſtians, judges in religion, ſaints, what not? O miſerable ſtate indeed! to be ſo blinded by the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, as to call ſhame decency, and to be curious and expenſive about that which ſhould be their humiliation. And not only are they grown in love with theſe vanities, and thereby expreſs how wide they are from primitive innocence; but 'tis notorious how many faſhions have been and are invented on purpoſe to excite luſt: which ſtill puts them at a greater diſtance from a ſimple and harmleſs ſtate, and enſlaves their minds to baſe concupiſcence.

§. V. Nor is it otherwiſe with recreations, as they call them; for theſe are nearly related. Man was made a noble, rational, grave creature: his pleaſure ſtood in his duty, and his duty in obeying God; which was to love, fear, adore and ſerve him; and in uſing the creation with true temperance and godly moderation; as knowing well that the Lord, his judge, was at hand, the inſpector and rewarder of his works. In ſhort, his happineſs was in his communion with God; his error was to leave that converſation, and let his eyes wander abroad, to gaze on tranſitory things. If the recreations of the age were as pleaſant and neceſſary as they are ſaid and made to be, unhappy then would Adam and Eve have been, that never knew them. But had they never fallen, and the world not been tainted by their folly and ill example, perhaps man had never known the neceſſity or uſe of many of theſe things. Sin gave them birth, as it did the other; they were afraid of the preſence of the Lord, which was the joy of their innocency, when they had ſinned; and then their minds wandered, ſought other pleaſures, and began to forget Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6. God; as he complained afterwards by the prophet Amos: 'They put far away the evil 'day: they eat the fat of the flock: they drink wine in bowls: they anoint themſelves 'with the chief perfumes: they ſtretch themſelves upon beds of ivory: they chant to 'the ſound of the viol, and invent unto themſelves inſtruments of muſick, like David, not heeding or remembering the afflictions and captivity of poor Joſeph;' him they wickedly ſold, innocency was quite baniſhed, and ſhame ſoon began to grow a cuſtom, till they were grown ſhameleſs in the imitation. And truly, 'tis now no leſs a ſhame to approach primitive innocence by modeſt plainneſs, than it was matter of ſhame to Adam that he loſt it, and became forced to tack fig leaves for a covering. Wherefore in vain do men and women deck themſelves with ſpecious pretences to religion, and flatter their miſerable ſouls with the fair titles of chriſtian, innocent, good, virtuous, and the like, whilſt ſuch vanities and follies reign. Wherefore to you all, from the eternal Gal. vi. 7. God, I am bound to declare, 'you mock him that will not be mocked, and deceive 'yourſelves; ſuch intemperance muſt be denied, and you muſt know yourſelves changed, and more nearly approach to primitive purity, before you can be entitled to Rom. viii. 14. Gal. v. 24. what you do but now uſurp; 'for none but thoſe who are led by the Spirit of God, are 'the children of God,' which guides into all temperance and meekneſs.

§. VI. But the chriſtian world (as it would be called) is juſtly reproveable, becauſe the very end of the firſt inſtitution of apparel is groſsly perverted. The utmoſt ſervice that clothes originally were deſigned for, when ſin had ſtripped them of their native innocence, was, as hath been ſaid, to cover their ſhame, therefore plain and modeſt: next, to fence out cold, therefore ſubſtantial: laſtly, to declare ſexes, therefore diſtinguiſhing. So that then neceſſity provoked to cloathing, now pride and vain curioſity: in former times ſome benefit obliged, but now wantonneſs and pleaſure: then they minded them for covering, but now that is the leaſt part; their greedy eyes muſt be provided with gaudy ſuperfluities; as if they made their clothes for trimming, to be ſeen rather than worn; only for the ſake of other curioſities that muſt be tacked upon them, although they neither cover ſhame, fence from cold, nor diſtinguiſh ſexes; but ſignally diſplay their wanton, fantaſtic, full-fed minds, that have them.

§. VII. Then the beſt recreations were to ſerve God, be juſt, follow their vocations, mind their flocks, do good, exerciſe their bodies in ſuch manner as was ſuitable to gravity, temperance and virtue; but now that word is extended to almoſt every folly that carries any appearance above open ſcandalous filth (deteſted of the very actors, when they have done it); ſo much are men degenerated from Adam in his diſobedience; ſo much more confident and artificial are they grown in all impieties: yea, their minds, through cuſtom, are become ſo very inſenſible of the inconveniency that attends the like follies, that what was once mere neceſſity, a badge of ſhame, at beſt but a remedy, is now the delight, pleaſure, and recreation of the age. How ignoble is it! how ignominious and unworthy of a reaſonable creature; man which is endued with underſtanding, fit to contemplate immortality, and made a companion (if not ſuperior) to angels, that he ſhould mind a little duſt; a few ſhameful rags; inventions of mere pride and luxury; toys, ſo apiſh and fantaſtick; entertainments ſo dull and earthy, that a rattle, a baby, a hobby-horſe, a top, are by no means ſo fooliſh in a ſimple child, nor unworthy of his thoughts, as are ſuch inventions of the care and pleaſure of men. It is a mark of great ſtupidity, that ſuch vanities ſhould exerciſe the noble mind of man, and image of the great Creator of heaven and earth.

§. VIII. Of this many among the very Heathens of old had ſo clear a proſpect, that they deteſted all ſuch vanity; looking upon curioſity in apparel, and that variety of recreations now in vogue and eſteem with falſe Chriſtians, to be deſtructive of good manners, in that it more eaſily ſtole away the minds of people from ſobriety to wantonneſs, idleneſs, effeminacy, and made them only companions for the beaſt that periſhes: witneſs thoſe famous men, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtides, Cato, Seneca, Epictetus, &c. who placed true honour and ſatisfaction in nothing below virtue and immortality. Nay, ſuch are the remains of innocence among ſome Moors and Indians in our times, that they do not only traffick in a ſimple poſture, but if a Chriſtian (though he muſt be an odd one) fling out a filthy word, 'tis cuſtomary with them, by way of moral, to bring him water to purge his mouth. How much do the like virtues, and reaſonable inſtances, accuſe people profeſſing chriſtianity, of groſs folly and intemperance? O! that men and women had the fear of God before their eyes! and that they were ſo charitable to themſelves, as to remember whence they came, what they are doing, and to what they muſt return: that ſo, more noble, more virtuous, more rational and heavenly things might be the matters of their pleaſure and entertainment! that they would be once perſuaded to believe how inconſiſtent the folly, vanity and converſation they are moſtly exerciſed in, really are with the true nobility of a reaſonable ſoul; and let that juſt principle, which taught the Heathens, teach them, leſt it be found more tolerable for Heathens than ſuch Chriſtians in the day of account! For if their ſhorter notions, and more imperfect ſenſe of things could yet diſcover ſo much vanity; if their degree of light condemned it, and they, in obedience thereunto, diſuſed it, doth it not behove Chriſtians much more? Chriſt came not to extinguiſh, no, but to improve that knowledge: and they who think they need do leſs now than before, had need to act better than they think. I conclude, that the faſhions and recreations now in repute are very abuſive of the end of man's creation; and that the inconveniencies that attend them, as wantonneſs, idleneſs, prodigality, pride, luſt, reſpect of perſons (witneſs a plume of feathers, or a lace-coat in a country village, whatever be the man that wears them) with the like fruits, are repugnant to the duty, reaſon, and true pleaſure of man, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with that wiſdom, knowledge, manhood, temperance, induſtry, which render man truly noble and good.

§. IX. Again, theſe things which have been hitherto condemned, have never been the converſation or practice of the holy men and women of old times, whom the ſcriptures recommend for holy examples, worthy of imitation. Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, were plain men, and princes, as graſiers are, over their families and flocks. They were not ſolicitous of the vanities ſo much lived in by the people of this generation, for in all things they pleaſed God by faith. The firſt forſook his father's houſe, kindred and country; a true type or figure of that ſelf-denial all muſt know, that would have Abraham to their father. They muſt not think to live in thoſe pleaſures, faſhions and cuſtoms

toms they are called to leave; no, but part with all, in hopes of the great recompence of
reward, ‘ and that better country, which is eternal in the heavens.’ The prophets were
Heb. xi. generally poor mechanicks; one a ſhepherd, another an herdſman, &c. They often
Amos vii. 15, cried out upon the full-fed, wanton Iſraelites to repent, to fear and dread the living God,
16. to forſake the ſins and vanities they lived in; but they never imitated them. John Baptiſt,
the meſſenger of the Lord, who was ſanctified in his mother's womb, preached his
Luke i. 15. embaſſy to the world in a coat of camel's hair, a rough and homely garment. Nor can
Mat. iii. 1, 2, it be conceived that Jeſus Chriſt himſelf was much better apparelled, who according to
3, 4. Mat. xiii. 55. the fleſh, was of poor deſcent, and in life of great plainneſs; inſomuch that it was uſual
Mark vi. 3. in way of deriſion to ſay, ‘ Is not this Jeſus the ſon of Joſeph a carpenter?’ And this
Luke vii. 25. Jeſus tells his followers, that as for ſoft raiment, gorgeous apparel and delicacies, they were for kings courts: implying, that he and his followers were not to ſeek after thoſe things; but ſeems thereby to expreſs the great difference that was betwixt the lovers of the faſhions and cuſtoms of the world, and thoſe whom he had choſen out of it. And he did not only come in that mean and deſpicable manner himſelf, that he might ſtain the pride of all fleſh, but therein became exemplary to his followers, what a ſelf-denying life they muſt lead, if they would be his true diſciples. Nay, he farther leaves it with them in a parable, to the end that it might make the deeper impreſſion, and that they might ſee how inconſiſtent a pompous worldly-pleaſing life is with the kingdom he came to eſtabliſh and call men to the poſſeſſion of: and that is the remarkable ſtory of Dives; who is repreſented, firſt, as a rich man; next, as a voluptuous man, in his rich apparel, his many diſhes, and his pack of dogs; and laſtly, as an uncharitable man, or one who was more concerned how to pleaſe the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, and fare ſumptuouſly every day, than to take compaſſion of poor Lazarus at his gate: no, his dogs were more pitiful and kind than he. But what was the doom of this jolly man, this great Dives? we read it was everlaſting torment; but that of Lazarus eternal joy with Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, in the kingdom of God. In ſhort; Lazarus was a good man, the other a great man: the one poor and temperate, the other rich and luxurious: there are too many of them alive; and 'twere well, if his doom might awaken them to repentance.

§. X. Nor were the twelve apoſtles, the immediate meſſengers of the Lord Jeſus
Mat. iv. 18. Chriſt, other than poor men, one a fiſherman, another a tent-maker; and he that was
Mat. ix. 9. of the greateſt (though perhaps not the beſt employment) was a cuſtom-gatherer. So
Acts xviii. 1, that 'tis very unlikely that any of them were followers of the faſhions of the world: nay,
2, 3. they were ſo far from it, that, as became the followers of Chriſt, they lived poor, afflicted,
John xiii. v. 1 Cor. iv. 9, ſelf-denying lives; bidding the churches to walk as they had them for examples.
10, 11, 12, 13, 14. And to ſhut up this particular, they gave this pathetical account of the holy women in
Phi. iii. 17. former times, as an example of godly temperance, namely, that firſt they did expreſsly
1 Pet. ii. 21. abſtain from gold, ſilver, braided hair, fine apparel, or ſuch like; and next, ‘ that their
Jam. i. 15, 20. 1 Pet. iii. 4, 5. ‘ adornment was a meek and quiet ſpirit, and the hidden man of the heart, which are of
1 Tim. v. 6. ‘ great price with the Lord:’ affirming, ‘ that ſuch as live in pleaſure, are dead whilſt
Luke viii. 14. ‘ they live;’ for that the cares and pleaſures of this life choak and deſtroy the ſeed of the kingdom, and quite hinder all progreſs in the hidden and divine life. Wherefore we find, that the holy men and women of former times were not accuſtomed to theſe pleaſures
Heb. xii. 2, and vain recreations; but having their minds ſet on things above, ſought another
14, 15, 16. kingdom; which conſiſts in ‘ righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit; who
Heb. iv. 9. Rev. xiv. 13. ‘ having obtained a good report, entered into their eternal reſt,’ therefore their works follow, and praiſe them in the gates.

CHAP. XV.

§. 1. *The judgments of God denounced upon the Jews for their luxury; all ranks included.* §. 2. *Chriſt charges his diſciples to have a care of the guilt of it: a ſupplication to the inhabitants of England.* §. 3. *Temperance preſſed upon the churches by the apoſtles.* §. 4. *An exhortation to England to meaſure herſelf by that rule.* §. 5. *What chriſtian recreations are.* §. 6. *Who need other ſports to paſs away their time, are unfit for heaven and eternity.* §. 7. *Man has but a few days: they may be better beſtowed: this doctrine is ungrateful to none that would be truly bleſſed.* § 8. *Not only good is omitted by this luxurious life, but evil committed, as breach of marriage and love, loſs of health and eſtate, &c. Play-houſes and ſtages moſt inſtrumental to this miſchief.* §. 9. *How youth is by them inflamed to vanity: what miſchief comes of revels, gamings, &c. Below the life of noble Heathens.* §. 10. *The true diſciples of Jeſus are mortified in theſe things: the pleaſure and reward of a good employment of time.*

Chap. XV. §. 1. BUT ſuch exceſs in apparel and pleaſure was not only forbid in ſcripture, but it was the ground of that lamentable meſſage by the prophet Iſaiah to the
Iſa. iii. 16. to 26. people of Iſrael: ‘ Moreover the Lord ſaith, Becauſe the daughters of Zion are haughty, ‘ and walk with ſtretched-forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they ‘ go,

The very practice and garb, and vanity of this age, being as liable to the wrath of God which hangs over England and Europe, and is ready to be executed on their rebellious inhabitants.

go, and making a tinkling with their feet; therefore the Lord will ſmite with a ſcab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the Lord will diſcover their ſecret parts; in that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments, and their cauls (or networks, in the Hebrew) and their round tyres like the moon; the chains and the bracelets, and the ſpangled ornaments; the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the head-bands, and the tablets, and the ear-rings, the rings and noſe jewels; the changeable ſuits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the criſping pins; the glaſſes, and the fine linnen, and the hoods and the veils: and it ſhall come to paſs, that inſtead of ſweet ſmells, there ſhall be a ſtink; and inſtead of a girdle, a rent; and inſtead of well-ſet hair, baldneſs; and inſtead of a ſtomacher, a girding of ſack-cloth, and burning inſtead of beauty: thy men ſhall fall by the ſword, and thy mighty in the war; and her gates ſhall lament and mourn, and ſhe, being deſolate, ſhall ſit upon the ground.' Behold, O vain and fooliſh inhabitants of England and Europe, your folly and your doom! Yet read the prophet Ezekiel's viſion of miſerable Tyre, what puniſhment her pride and pleaſure brought upon her; and amongſt many other circumſtances theſe are ſome; ‘ Theſe were thy merchants in all ſorts of things; in blue clothes and broidered work, and in cheſts of rich apparel, emeralds, purple, fine linnen, coral and agat, ſpices, with all precious ſtones and gold, horſes, chariots,' &c. For which hear part of her doom, ‘ Thy riches and thy fairs, thy merchandize, and all thy company, which is in the midſt of thee, ſhall fall into the midſt of the ſea, in the day of thy ruin; and the inhabitants of the iſles ſhall be aſtoniſhed at thee, and their merchants hiſs at thee; thou ſhalt be a terror, and ſhalt be no more.' Thus hath God declared his diſpleaſure againſt the luxury of this wanton world. Yet farther the prophet Zephaniah goes, for thus he ſpeaks: ‘ And it ſhall come to paſs, in the day of the Lord's ſacrifice, that I will puniſh the princes, and the king's children, and all ſuch as are cloathed with ſtrange apparel.' Of how evil conſequence was it in thoſe times, for the greateſt men to give themſelves the liberty of following the vain cuſtoms of other nations; or of changing the uſual end of clothes, or apparel, to gratify fooliſh curioſity?

Ezek. xxvii.

Zeph. i. 8.

§. II. This did the Lord Jeſus Chriſt expreſsly charge his diſciples not to be careful about; inſinuating that ſuch as were, could not be his diſciples: for, ſays he, ‘ Take no thought, ſaying what ſhall we eat? or what ſhall we drink? or wherewithal ſhall we be cloathed? (for after all theſe things do the Gentiles ſeek) for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all theſe things; but ſeek ye firſt the kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe things ſhall be added unto you.' Under which of eating, and drinking, and apparel, he comprehends all external things whatſoever; and ſo much appears, as well becauſe they are oppoſed to the kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs, which are inviſible and heavenly things, as that thoſe very matters he enjoins them not to be careful about, are the moſt neceſſary, and the moſt innocent in themſelves. If then, in ſuch caſes, the minds of his diſciples were not to be ſolicitous, much leſs in fooliſh, ſuperſtitious, idle inventions, to gratify the carnal appetites and minds of men: ſo certain it is, that thoſe who live therein, are none of his followers, but the Gentiles; and (as he elſewhere ſays) ‘ the nations of the world who know not God.' If then the diſtinguiſhing mark between the diſciples of Jeſus, and thoſe of the world, is, that one minds the things of heaven, and God's kingdom, that ‘ ſtands in righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt,' (being not careful of external matters, even the moſt innocent and neceſſary) and that the other minds eating, drinking, apparel, and the affairs of the world, with the luſts, pleaſures, profits and honours that belong to it; be you intreated for your ſouls ſakes, O inhabitants of England, to be ſerious, to reflect a while upon yourſelves, what care and coſt you are at, of time and money, about fooliſh, nay, vicious things: ſo far are you degenerated from the primitive chriſtian life. What buying and ſelling, what dealing and chaffering, what writing and poſting, what toil and labour, what noiſe, hurry, buſtle and confuſion, what ſtudy, what little contrivances and over-reachings, what eating, drinking, vanity of apparel, moſt ridiculous recreations; in ſhort, what riſing early, going to bed late, expence of precious time, is there about things that periſh? View the ſtreets, ſhops, exchanges, plays, parks, coffee-houſes, &c. And is not the world, this fading world, writ upon every face? Say not within yourſelves, How otherwiſe ſhould men live, and the world ſubſiſt? the common, though frivolous objection: there is enough for all; let ſome content themſelves with leſs: a few things plain and decent, ſerve a chriſtian life. 'Tis luſt, pride, avarice, that thruſt men upon ſuch folly: were God's kingdom more the exerciſe of their minds, theſe periſhing entertainments would have but little of their time or thoughts.

Mat. vi. 31, 32, 33.

Luke xii. 22, to 36.

Rom. xiv. 17.

§. III. This ſelf-denying doctrine was confirmed and enforced by the apoſtles in their example, as we have already ſhewn; and in their precepts too, as we ſhall yet evince in thoſe two moſt remarkable paſſages of Paul and Peter; where they do not only tell us what ſhould be done, but alſo, what ſhould be denied and avoided. ‘ In like manner I will, that women adorn themſelves in modeſt apparel: (what's that?) with ſhamefacedneſs and ſobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or coſtly array,

1 Tim. ii. 9, 10.

[then it ſeems theſe are immodeſt] but, which becometh women profeſſing godlineſs, with good works:' abſolutely implying, that thoſe who attire themſelves with gold, ſilver, broidered hair, pearls, coſtly array, cannot in ſo doing be women profeſſing godlineſs; making thoſe very things to be contrary to modeſty and what is good; and conſequently that they are evil, and unbecoming 'women profeſſing godlineſs.' To which the apoſtle Peter joins another precept after the like ſort, viz. 'Whoſe adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plating the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on apparel: (what then?) but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet ſpirit, which is in the ſight of God of great price.' And as an inducement he adds, 'for after this manner in the old time, the holy * women, who ſo truſted in God, adorned themſelves.' Which doth not only intimate, that both holy women were ſo adorned, and that it behoves ſuch as would be holy, and truſt in the holy God, to be ſo adorned; but alſo, that they who uſed thoſe forbidden ornaments, were the women and people in all ages, that (for all their talk) were not holy, nor did truſt in God.' Such are ſo far from truſting in God, that the apoſtle Paul expreſsly ſays, that 'ſhe that liveth in pleaſure is dead (to God) whilſt ſhe liveth:' and the ſame apoſtle farther enjoined, 'that Chriſtians ſhould have their converſation in heaven, and their minds fixed on things above: walk honeſtly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenneſs, not in chambering and wantonneſs, not in envy and ſtrife: let not fornication, uncleanneſs, or covetouſneſs, be once named amongſt you; neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking or jeſting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks: and let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good, to the uſe of edifying, that it may miniſter grace unto the hearers. But put ye on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and make no proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the deſires thereof. And grieve not the Holy Spirit; (intimating ſuch converſation doth) but be ye followers of God, as dear children: walk circumſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe; redeeming the time, becauſe the days are evil.'

* Note, not a word of men, as if this vanity belonged not to the ſex; let them obſerve that.

1 Tim. v. 6.
Phi. iii. 20.
Col. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4.
Rom. xiii. 13, 14.
Eph. v. 2, 3.
ch. iv. 29.
Rom. xiii. 14.
Eph. iv. 30.
ch. v. 1, 15, 16.

§. IV. By this meaſure yourſelves, O inhabitants of this land, who think yourſelves wronged, if not accounted Chriſtians: ſee what proportion your life and ſpirit bears with theſe moſt holy and ſelf-denying precepts and examples. Well, my friends, my ſoul mourns for you: I have been with and among you: your life and paſtime are not ſtrangers to my notice; and with compaſſion, yea, inexpreſſible pity, I bewail your folly. O that you would be wiſe! O that the juſt principle in yourſelves were heard! O that eternity had time to plead a little with you! Why ſhould your beds, your glaſſes, your clothes, your tables, your loves, your plays, your parks, your treats, your recreations (poor periſhing joys) have all your ſouls, your time, your care, your purſe and conſideration? be ye admoniſhed, I beſeech you, in the name of the living God, by one that, ſome of you know, hath had his ſhare in theſe things, and conſequently time to know how little the like vanities conduce to true and ſolid happineſs. No, my friends, God Almighty knows (and would to God, you would believe and follow me) they end in ſhame and ſorrow. Faithful is that moſt Holy One, who hath determined, that every man and woman ſhall reap what they ſow: and will not trouble, anguiſh and diſappointment, be a ſad and dreadful harveſt for you to reap, for all your miſ-ſpent time and ſubſtance about ſuperfluities and vain recreations? Retire then; quench not the Holy Spirit in yourſelves; redeem your precious abuſed time; frequent ſuch converſation as may help you againſt your evil inclinations; ſo ſhall you follow the examples, and keep the precepts of Jeſus Chriſt, and all his followers. For hitherto we have plainly demonſtrated, that no ſuch way of living, as is in requeſt among you of the land, ever was, or can be truly chriſtian.

§. V. But the beſt recreation is to do good: and all chriſtian cuſtoms tend to temperance, and ſome good and beneficial end; which more or leſs may be in every action. For inſtance: if men and women would be diligent to follow their reſpective callings, frequent the aſſemblies of religious people, viſit ſober neighbours to be edified, and wicked ones to reform them; be careful in the tuition of their children, exemplary to their ſervants, relieve the neceſſitous, ſee the ſick, viſit the impriſoned, adminiſter to their infirmities and indiſpoſitions, endeavour peace amongſt neighbours: alſo ſtudy moderately ſuch commendable and profitable arts as navigation, arithmetic, geometry, huſbandry, gardening, handicraft, medicine, &c. And, that women ſpin, ſow, knit, weave, garden, preſerve, and the like houſewifely and honeſt employments (the practice of the greateſt and nobleſt matrons and youth, among the very Heathens) helping others, who for want are unable to keep ſervants, to eaſe them in their neceſſary affairs: often and private retirements from all worldly objects, to enjoy the Lord; ſecret and ſteady meditations on the divine life and heavenly inheritance: which to leave undone, and proſecute other things, under the notion of recreations, is accurſed luſt and damnable impiety. It is moſt vain in any to object, that they cannot do theſe always, and therefore, why may not they uſe theſe common diverſions? For I aſk, what would ſuch be at? what would they do? and what would they have? They that have trades, have not

1 Pet. i. 15.
Heb. x. 25.
1 Pet. iv. 9. 10, 11.
Mat. xxv. 36, 37.
Phi. ii. 4.
ch. iv. 8.
Gen. v. 24.
Pſal. i. 2. lxiii. 6. cxix. 15. cxliii. 5.

time enough to do the half of what hath been recommended. And as for thoſe who have nothing to do, and indeed do nothing, which is worſe, but ſin, which is worſt of all, here is variety of pleaſant, of profitable, nay, of very honourable employments and diverſions for them. Such can with great delight ſit at a play, a ball, a maſque, at cards, Amos vi. 3, to 8. dice, &c. drinking, revelling, feaſting, and the like, an entire day; yea, turn night into day, and invert the very order of the creation, to humour their luſts. And were it not for eating and ſleeping, it would be paſt a doubt, whether they would ever find time to ceaſe from thoſe vain and ſinful paſtimes, till the haſty calls of death ſhould ſummon their appearance in another world. Yet do they think it intolerable, and hardly poſſible for any to ſit ſo long at a profitable or religious exerciſe.

§. VI. But how do theſe think to paſs their vaſt eternity away? 'for as the tree falls Ecc. xi. 3. 'ſo it lies.' Let none deceive themſelves, nor mock their immortal ſouls, with a pleaſant, but moſt falſe and pernicious dream, that they ſhall be changed by a conſtraining and irreſiſtible power, juſt when their ſouls take leave of their bodies: no, no, my Gal. vi. 4, to 9. friends, 'what you ſow, that ſhall you reap:' if vanity, folly, viſible delights, fading Eph. v. 6. pleaſures; no better ſhall you ever reap than corruption, ſorrow, and the woful anguiſh of eternal diſappointments. But alas! what is the reaſon that the cry is ſo common, Muſt we always doat on theſe things? why, moſt certainly it is this, they know not Ph. iv. 6, 7. what is the joy and peace of ſpeaking and acting as in the preſence of the moſt holy Eph. iv. 18, 19, 20. God: that paſſes ſuch vain underſtandings, darkened with the glories and pleaſures of the god of this world; whoſe religion is ſo many mumbled and ignorantly devout-ſaid Mat. xiii. 8, 9. words, as they teach parrots; for if they were of thoſe whoſe hearts are ſet on things Rom. x. 2. above, and whoſe treaſure is in heaven, there would their minds inhabit, and their greateſt pleaſure conſtantly be: and ſuch who call that a burden, and ſeek to be refreſhed by ſuch paſtimes, as a play, a morrice-dance, a punchanello, a ball, a maſque, cards, dice, or the like, I am bold to affirm, they not only never knew the divine excellency of God, and his truth, but thereby declare themſelves moſt unfit for them in another world. For how is it poſſible that they can be delighted to eternity, with that ſatisfaction which is ſo tedious and irkſome for thirty or forty years; that for a ſupply of recreation to their minds, the little toys and fopperies of this periſhing world muſt be brought into practice and requeſt? Surely, thoſe who are to reckon for every idle word, muſt not uſe ſports to Mat. xii. 18. paſs away that time, which they are commanded ſo diligently to redeem; conſidering no leſs work is to be done, than making their 'calling and election ſure:' much leſs ſtudy Eph. v. i. to invent recreations for their vain minds, and ſpend the greateſt part of their days and Ph. iii. 14. months, and years therein, not allowing a quarter of that time toward the great concern- 2 Pet. ii. 10. ment of their lives and ſouls, for which that time was given them. Col. iv. 5.

§. VII. There is but little need to drive away that, by fooliſh divertiſements, which flies away ſo ſwiftly of itſelf; and when once gone, is never to be recalled. Plays, parks, balls, treats, romances, muſics, love-ſonnets, and the like, will be a very invalid plea for any other purpoſe than their condemnation, who are taken and delighted with them, at the revelation of the righteous judgment of God. O my friends! theſe were never invented, but by that mind which had firſt loſt the joy and raviſhing delights of 1 Tim. iv. 5, to 11. God's holy preſence. So that we conclude, firſt, that of thoſe many excellent employments already mentioned, as worthy to poſſeſs ſuch minds as are inclined to theſe vanities, there is ſtore enough of time, not only to take up their ſpare hours, but double ſo much, and that with great delight, diverſion and profit, both to themſelves and others; were they but once weaned from vain and fruitleſs fopperies, and did they but conſider, how great the ſatisfaction, and how certain the rewards are, which attend this, and the other life, for ſuch univerſal benefits and virtuous examples. The ſecond concluſion is, that what is alledged by me can be diſpleaſing and ungrateful to none, but ſuch as know not what it is to walk with God, to prepare for an eternal manſion, to have the mind exerciſed on heavenly and good things, to follow the examples of the holy men and women of former happy ages: ſuch as know not Chriſt's doctrine, life, death, and reſurrection, but only have their minds faſtened to the fleſh, and by the objects of it are allured, deceived, and miſerably ruined: and laſtly, that deſpiſe heaven, and the joys that are not ſeen, though eternal, for a few periſhing trifles that they do ſee, though they are decreed to paſs away. How theſe are baptized with Chriſt, into his holy life, cruel Rom. vi. 3, to 8. ſufferings, ſhameful death, and raiſed with him to immortal deſires, heavenly meditations, a divine new life, growing into the knowledge of heavenly myſteries, and all 1 Cor. xii. 13. Gal. iii. 27. holineſs, even unto the meaſure of the ſtature of Jeſus Chriſt, the great example of all; Col. ii. 12, 13. how (I ſay) theſe reſemble moſt neceſſary chriſtian qualifications, and what ſhare they Eph. iii. 12, 13. have therein, let their conſciences tell them upon a ſerious inquiry in the cool of the day.

§. VIII. But, in the next place, ſuch attire and paſtimes do not only ſhew the exceeding worldlineſs of people's inclinations, and their very great ignorance of the divine joys, but by imitating theſe faſhions, and frequenting theſe places and diverſions, not only much good is omitted, but a certain door is opened to much evil to be committed. As firſt, precious time, that were worth a world on a dying bed, is loſt: money, that might be employed for ſome general good, vainly expended: pleaſure is taken in meer ſhame; luſts are gratified, the minds of people alienated from heavenly things, and exerciſed about meer folly: pride taken in clothes, firſt given to cover nakedneſs, whereby the creature is neglected, and the noble creation of God diſregarded, and men become acceptable by their trims and the alamodeneſs of their dreſs and apparel: from whence reſpect to perſons doth ſo naturally ariſe, that for any to deny it, is to affirm the ſun ſhines not at noon-day: nothing being more notorious, than the cringing, ſcraping, ſirring, and madaming of perſons, according to the gaudineſs of their attire, which is detestable to God, and ſo abſolutely forbidden in the ſcriptures, that to do it, is to break the James ii. 1, to 9. whole law, and conſequently to incur the puniſhment thereof. Next, what great holes do the like practices make in mens eſtates? how are their vocations neglected? young women deluded? the marriage-bed invaded? contentions and family-animoſities begotten? partings of man and wife? diſ-inheriting of children? diſmiſſing of ſervants? On the other hand, ſervants made ſlaves, children diſregarded, wives deſpiſed and ſhamefully abuſed, through the intemperance of their huſbands; which either puts them upon the ſame extravagance, or, laying ſuch cruel injuſtice to heart, they pine away their days in grief and miſery. But of all theſe wretched inventions, the play-houſes, like ſo many helliſh ſeminaries, do moſt perniciouſly conduce to theſe ſad and miſerable ends; where little beſides frothy, wanton, if not directly obſcene and prophane humours, are repreſented; which are of notorious ill conſequence upon the minds of moſt, eſpecially the youth that frequent them. And thus it is that idle and debauched ſtagers are encouraged and maintained; than which ſcarcely a greater abomination can be thought on of that rank of impieties, as will anon particularly be ſhown; and truly, nothing but the exceſſive pleaſure people take therein could blind their eyes from ſeeing it.

§. IX. But laſtly, the grand indiſpoſition of mind in people to ſolid, ſerious and heavenly meditations, by the almoſt continual as well as pleaſant rumination in their minds, Job. xxxv. 13. of thoſe various adventures they have been entertained with, which in the more youthful can never miſs to inflame and animate their boiling and airy conſtitutions. And in the reſt of the common recreations of balls, maſques, treats, cards, dice, &c. there are the like opportunities to promote the like evils. And yet farther; how many quarrels, animoſities, nay murders too, as well as expence of eſtate and precious time, have been the immediate conſequences of the like practices? In ſhort, theſe were the ways of Eph. iv. 17, to 25. the Gentiles that knew not God, but never the practice of them that feared him: nay, the more noble among the Heathens themſelves, namely, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Antiſthenes, Heraclitus, Zeno, Ariſtides, Cato, Tully, Epictetus, Seneca, &c. have left their diſguſt to theſe things upon record, as odious and deſtructive, not only of the honour of the immortal God, but of all good order and government, as leading into looſeneſs, idleneſs, ignorance and effeminacy, the great cankers and bane of all ſtates and empires. But ſuch is the latitudinarian impudence of this age, that they canonize themſelves for ſaints, if not guilty of every New-gate filth, and kennel impiety. And the pretended innocency of theſe things ſteals away their minds from that which is better, into the love of them: nay, it gives them confidence to plead for them, and by no means will they think the contrary: but why? becauſe it is a liberty that feeds the fleſh, and gratifies the luſtful eye and palate of poor mortality: wherefore they think it a laudable condition to be no better than the beaſt that eats and drinks but what his nature doth require, although the number is very ſmall of ſuch. So very exorbitant are men and women grown in this preſent age; for either they do believe their actions are to be ruled by their own will; or elſe, at beſt, that not to be ſtained with the vileſt wickedneſs is matter of great boaſting: and indeed it is ſo, in a time when nothing is too wicked to be done. But certainly, it is a ſign of univerſal impiety, in a land, when not to be guilty of ſins, the very Heathens loathe, is to be virtuous, yes, and Chriſtian too, and that to no ſmall degree of reputation: a diſmal ſymptom to a country! But is it not to be greatly blinded, that thoſe we call infidels ſhould deteſt thoſe practices as infamous, which people, that call themſelves Chriſtians, cannot or will not ſee to be ſuch, but gild them over with the fair titles of ornaments, decency, recreation, and the like; well, my friends, if there were no God, no heaven, no hell, no holy examples, no Jeſus Chriſt, in croſs, doctrine and life to be conformed unto; yet would charity to the poor, help Phil iv. 6, 7, 8, 9. to the needy, peace among neighbours, viſits to the ſick, care of the widow and fatherleſs, Job. xxiv. 12. with the reſt of thoſe temporal good offices already repeated, be a nobler employment, and much more worthy of your expence and pains. Nor indeed is it to be con- Prov. xviii. 14. ceived, that the way to glory is ſmoothed with ſuch variety of carnal pleaſures; for then Pſ. li. 17. conviction, a wounded ſpirit, a broken heart, a regenerate mind; in a word, immor- Mat. v. 4. Luke vi. 25. tality, would prove as meer fictions as ſome make them, and others therefore think them: Rom. ii. 7. no, theſe practices are for ever to be extinguiſhed, and expelled all chriſtian ſociety. For Pſal. xl. 8. Prov. xiii. 21. I affirm, that to one who internally knows God, and hath a ſenſe of his bleſſed preſence, Rom. vii. 22. all ſuch recreations are death; yea, more dangerouſly evil, and more apt to ſteal away Heb. xi. 13, 14, 15, 16. the mind from the heavenly exerciſe, than groſſer impieties. For they are ſo big, they are plainly ſeen; ſo dirty, they are eaſily detected: which education and common temperance, as well as conſtitution in many, teach them to abhor; and if they ſhould be committed, they carry with them a proportionable conviction. But theſe pretended innocents, theſe ſuppoſed harmleſs ſatisfactions, are more ſurprizing, more deſtructive; for as they eaſily gain an admiſſion by the ſenſes, ſo the more they pretend to innocency, the more they ſecure the minds of people in the common uſe of them; till they become ſo inſenſible of their evil conſequences, that with a mighty confidence they can plead for them.

Rom. i. 25, to 39.
Job i. 4.

§. X. But as this is plainly not to deny themſelves, but, on the contrary, to employ the vain inventions of carnal men and women to gratify the deſire of the eye, the deſire of the fleſh, and the pride of life; all which exerciſe the mind below the divine and only true pleaſure, or elſe, tell me what does: ſo, be it known to ſuch, that the heavenly life and chriſtian joys are of another kind, as hath already been expreſſed: nay, that the true diſciples of the Lord Chriſt muſt be hereunto crucified, as to objects and employments that attract downwards, and that their affections ſhould be raiſed to a more ſublime and ſpiritual converſation, as to uſe this world, even in its moſt innocent enjoyments, as if they uſed it not. But if they take pleaſure in any thing below, it ſhould be in ſuch good offices as before-mentioned; whereby a benefit may redound in ſome reſpect to others: in which God is honoured over all viſible things, the nation relieved, the government bettered, themſelves rendered exemplary of good, and thereby juſtly intituled to preſent happineſs, a ſweet memorial with poſterity, as well as to a ſeat at his right hand, where there are joys and pleaſures for ever: than which, there can be nothing more honourable, nothing more certain, world without end.

1 John ii. 15, 16, 17.
Job xxxvi. 7.
Pſal. v. 12.
Pſal. xxxvii. 25, 29.
Prov. x. 7.

CHAP. XVI.

§. 1. *Luxury ſhould not be uſed by chriſtians, becauſe of its inconſiſtency with the ſpirit of Chriſtianity.* §. 2. *The cup of which Chriſt's true diſciples drank.* §. 3. *O! who will drink of this cup?* §. 4. *An objection anſwered of the nature of God's kingdom, and what it ſtands in.* §. 5. *Of the frame of the ſpirit of Chriſt's followers.*

§. I. BUT the luxury oppoſed in this diſcourſe, ſhould not be allowed among Chriſtians, becauſe both that which invents it, delights in it, and pleads ſo ſtrongly for it, is inconſiſtent with the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity; nor doth the very nature of the chriſtian religion admit thereof. For therefore was it, that immortality and eternal life were brought to light, that all the invented pleaſures of mortal life, in which the world lives, might be denied and relinquiſhed; and for this reaſon it is, that nothing leſs than immenſe rewards and eternal manſions are promiſed, that men and women might therefore be encouraged willingly to forſake the vanity and fleſhly ſatisfactions of the world, and encounter with boldneſs the ſhame and ſufferings they muſt expect to receive at the hand of, it may be, their neareſt intimates and relations.

Chap. XVI.
Luke xvi. 15.
John xv. 17, 18, 19.
ch. xvi. 20.
ch. xvii. 15, 16, 17.
Heb. xi. 24, 25, 26, 27.
Rom. viii. 19.
2 Tim. iii. 11, 12.
Heb. xii. 1. 2.

For if the chriſtian religion had admitted the poſſeſſion of this world in any other ſenſe, than the ſimple and naked uſe of thoſe creatures really given of God for the neceſſity and convenience of the whole creation: for inſtance, did it allow all that pride, vanity, curioſity, pomp, exchange of apparel, honours, preferments, faſhions, and the cuſtomary recreations of the world, with whatever may delight and gratify their ſenſes; then what need of a daily croſs, a ſelf-denying life, 'working out ſalvation with fear and 'trembling,' ſeeking the things that are above, having the treaſure and heart in heaven, no idle talking, no vain jeſting, but fearing and meditating all the day long, undergoing all reproach, ſcorn, hard uſage, bitter mockings and cruel deaths? What need theſe things? and why ſhould they be expected in order to that glorious immortality and eternal crown, if the vanity, pride, expence, idleneſs, concupiſcence, envy, malice, and whole manner of living among the (called) Chriſtians, were allowed by the chriſtian religion? no certainly; but as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt well knew in what fooliſh trifles and vain pleaſures, as well as groſſer impieties, the minds of men and women were fixed, and how much they were degenerated from the heavenly principle of life, into a luſtful or unlawful ſeeking after the enjoyments of this periſhing world, nay, inventing daily new ſatisfactions to gratify their carnal appetites, ſo did he not leſs foreſee the difficulty that all would have to relinquiſh and forſake them at his call, and with what great unwillingneſs they would take their leave of them, and be weaned from them. Wherefore to induce them to it, he did not ſpeak unto them in the language of the law, that they ſhould have an earthly Canaan, great dignities, a numerous iſſue, a long life, and the like: no, rather the contrary, at leaſt to take theſe things in their courſe; but he ſpeaks to them in a higher ſtrain, namely, * he aſſures them of a kingdom and a crown that are immortal, that neither time, cruelty, death, grave or hell, with all its inſtruments, ſhall ever be able to diſappoint, or take away, from thoſe who ſhould believe and obey him. Farther, that they ſhould be taken into that near alliance of loving friends, yea, the intimate divine relation of dear brethren, and co-heirs with him of all celeſtial happineſs, and a glorious immortality. Wherefore if it be recorded, that thoſe who heard not Moſes,

Mat. xvi. 24.
Luke ix. 23.
Phil. ii. 12.
Col. iii. 1, 2.
Eph. v. 4, 5.
Neh. xiii.
Pſal. cxii. 1.
Iſa. xxviii. 14.
Pſal. cxix. 97.
Luke xviii. 23.
Heb. xi. 96.
Heb. x. 33.
ch. xi. 37, 38.
* Luke vi. 20.
ch. xii. 32.
ch. xxii. 29.
Col. i. 13.
1 Theſſ. ii. 12.
Heb. xii. 28.
Jam. ii. 5.
John xv. 14, 15.
Rom. viii. 17.
Heb. ii. 11.
ch. xii. 2.
1 Pet. ii. 21.
Luke xii. 29, to 31.
2 Tim. v. 6.
Mat. xix. 27, 28, 29.

Moſes were to die, much more they who refuſe to hear and obey the precepts of this Great and Eternal Rewarder of all that diligently ſeek and follow him.

Luke vi. 22.
John xv. 10.
Mat. x. 37, 38.
Luke xii. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.
Mat. xvi. 19, 20, 31, 32, 33.
1 Tim. vi. 6, to 11.
Mat. viii. 31, to 39.

§. II. And therefore it was that he was pleaſed to give us, in his own example, a taſte of what his diſciples muſt expect to drink deeply of, namely, the cup of ſelf-denial, cruel trials, and moſt bitter afflictions: he came not to conſecrate a way to the eternal reſt through gold and ſilver, ribbons, laces, points, perfumes, coſtly clothes, curious trims, exact dreſſes, rich jewels, pleaſant recreations, plays, treats, balls, maſques, revels, romances, love-ſongs, and the like paſtimes of the world: no, no, alas! but by forſaking all ſuch kind of entertainments, yea, and ſometimes more lawful enjoyments too; and chearfully undergoing the loſs of all on the one hand, and the reproach, ignominy, and the moſt cruel perſecution from ungodly men on the other. He needed never to have wanted ſuch variety of worldly pleaſures, had they been ſuitable to the nature of his kingdom: for he was tempted, as are his followers, with no leſs bait than all the glories of the world: but he that commanded to ‘ ſeek another country, and to ‘ lay up treaſures in the heavens that fade not away,’ and therefore charged them, never to be much inquiſitive about what they ſhould eat, drink, or put on, becauſe (ſaith he) ‘ after theſe things the Gentiles, that knew not God, do ſeek;’ (and Chriſtians that pretend to know him too) ‘ but, having food and raiment, therewith be content:’ he, I ſay, that enjoined this doctrine, and led that holy and heavenly example, even the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, bad them, that would be his diſciples, ‘ take up the ſame croſs, and follow him.’

Heb. ii. 10.
Mat. xx. 22, 23.

§. III. O who will follow him? Who will be true Chriſtians? we muſt not think to ſteer another courſe, nor to drink of another cup than hath the Captain of our ſalvation done before us: no; for it is the very queſtion he aſked James and John, the ſons of Zebedee of old, when they deſired to ſit at his right and left hand in his kingdom, ‘ Are ‘ ye able to drink of the cup that I ſhall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptiſm ‘ that I am baptized withal?’ otherwiſe no diſciples, no Chriſtians. Whoever they are that would come to Chriſt, and be right Chriſtians, muſt readily abandon every delight that would ſteal away the affections of the mind, and exerciſe it from the divine principle of life, and freely write a bill of divorce for every beloved vanity; and all, under the Sun of righteouſneſs, is ſo, compared with him.

Objection 1.
Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5, 6.
Phi. iii. 10.
1 Pet. iv. 13.
Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13.
John i. 9.
Rom. vi. 6.
Gal. ii. 20.
ch. v. 24.
ch, vi. 4.
2 Tim. i. 10.
Gal. v. 11.
1 Cor. i. 17, 18.
ver. 27, 28, 29.
Heb. iv. 1, to 12.
2 Cor. iv. 1, 7, 8.

§. IV. But ſome are ready to object, (who will not ſeem to want ſcripture for their luſts, although it be evidently miſapplied) ‘ The kingdom of God ſtands not in meats, ‘ or in drinks, or in apparel,’ &c. Anſw. Right; therefore it is that we ſtand out of them. But ſurely, you have the leaſt reaſon of any to object this to us, who make thoſe things ſo neceſſary to converſation, as our not conforming to them renders us obnoxious to your reproach; which how Chriſtian, or reſembling it is of the righteouſneſs, peace and joy in which the heavenly kingdom ſtands, let the juſt principle in your own conſciences determine. Our converſation ſtands in temperance, and that ſtands in righteouſneſs, by which we have obtained that kingdom your latitude and exceſs have no ſhare or intereſt in. If none therefore can be true diſciples, but they that come to bear the daily croſs, and that none bear the croſs, but thoſe who follow the example of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, through his baptiſm, and afflictions and temptations; and that none are ſo baptized with him, but thoſe whoſe minds are retired from the vanities in which the generality of the world live, and become obedient to the holy light and divine grace, with which they have been enlightened from on high, and thereby are daily exerciſed to the crucifying of every contrary affection, and bringing of immortality to light; if none are true diſciples but ſuch, (as moſt undoubtedly they are not) then let the people of theſe days a little ſoberly reflect upon themſelves, and they will conclude, that none who live and delight in theſe vain cuſtoms, and this un-chriſt-like converſation, can be true Chriſtians, or diſciples of the crucified Jeſus: for otherwiſe, how would it be a croſs? or the chriſtian life matter of difficulty and reproach? No, the offence of the croſs would ſoon ceaſe, which is the power of God to them that believe; that every luſt and vanity may be ſubdued, and the creature brought into an holy ſubjection of mind to the heavenly will of its Creator. For therefore has it been ſaid, that Jeſus Chriſt was and is manifeſted, that by his holy, ſelf-denying life and doctrine, he might put a baffle upon the proud minds of men, and by the immortality he brought, and daily brings to light, he might ſtain the glory of their fading reſts and pleaſures; that having their minds weaned from them, and being crucified thereunto, they might ſeek another country, and obtain an everlaſting inheritance: ‘ for the things that are ſeen are temporal’ (and thoſe they were, and all true Chriſtians are, to be redeemed from reſting in) but the things that are ‘ not ſeen, are eternal;’ thoſe they were, and all are to be, brought to, and have their affections chiefly fixed upon.

1 Tim. vi. 8.

§. V. Wherefore a true diſciple of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is to have his mind ſo converſant about heavenly things, that the things of this world may be uſed as if they were not: that having ſuch things as are ‘ neceſſary and convenient, he be therewith ‘ content,’ without the ſuperfluity of the world, whereby the pleaſure, that in times of ignorance was taken in the cuſtoms and faſhions of the world, may more abundantly be ſupplied in the hidden and heavenly life of Jeſus: for unleſs there be an abiding in

Chriſt, it will be impoſſible to bring forth that much fruit which he requires at the hands of his followers, and wherein his Father is glorified. But as it is clear, that ſuch as live in the vanities, pleaſures, recreations, and luſts of the world, abide not in him, neither know him, (for they that know him, depart from iniquity) ſo is their abiding and delighting in thoſe bewitching follies, the very reaſon why they are ſo ignorant and inſenſible of him: ‘Him who continually ſtands knocking at the door of their hearts,’ in whom they ought to abide, and whoſe divine power they ſhould know to be the croſs on which every beloved luſt and alluring vanity ſhould be ſlain and crucified; that ſo they might feel the heavenly life to ſpring up in their hearts, and themſelves to be quickened to ſeek the things that are above; ‘that when Chriſt ſhall appear, they might appear ‘with him in glory, who is over all, God bleſſed for ever. Amen.’

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Chap. XVI.
Rom. v. 6, 7, 8.
John xv. 8.
Rev. iii. 20.
Col. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4.
Rom. ix. 5.

CHAP. XVII.

§. The cuſtoms, faſhions, &c. which make up the attire and pleaſure of the age, are enemies to inward retirement. §. 2. Their end is to gratify luſt. §. 3. Had they been ſolid, Adam and Eve had not been happy, that never had them. §. 4. But the confidence and preſumption of Chriſtians (as they would be called) in the uſe of them, is abominable. §. 5. Their authors farther condemn them, who are uſually looſe and vain people. §. 6. Moſtly borrowed of the Gentiles, that knew not God. §. 7. An objection of their uſefulneſs conſidered and anſwered, and the objectors reproved. §. 8. The beſt Heathens abhorring what pretended Chriſtians plead for. §. 9. The uſe of theſe things encourages the authors and makers of them to continue in them. §. 10. The objection of the maintenance of families anſwered. None muſt do evil, that good ſhould follow: but better employs may be found more ſerviceable to the world. §. 11. Another objection anſwered: God no author of their inventions, and ſo not excuſable by his inſtitution. §. 12. People pleading for theſe vanities, ſhew what they are. An exhortation to be weighty and conſiderate. A great part of the way to true diſcipleſhip is, to abandon this ſchool and ſhop of Satan.

§. I. NEXT, thoſe cuſtoms and faſhions, which make up the common attire and converſation of the times, do eminently obſtruct the inward retirement of peoples minds, by which they may come to behold the glories of immortality: who inſtead of ‘fearing their Creator in the days of their youth, and ſeeking the kingdom of ‘God in the firſt place’ (expecting the addition of ſuch other things as may be neceſſary and convenient, according to the injunctions of God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt) as ſoon as they can do any thing, they look after pride, vanity, and that converſation which is moſt delightful to the fleſh, which becomes their moſt delightful entertainment: all which do but evidently beget luſtful conceptions, and inflame to inordinate thoughts, wanton diſcourſes, laſcivious treats, if not at laſt to wicked actions. To ſuch it is tedious and offenſive to ſpeak of heaven, or another life: bid them reflect upon their actions, not grieve the Holy Spirit, conſider of an eternal doom, prepare for judgment; and the beſt return that is uſual, is reproachful jeſts, prophane repartees, if not direct blows. Their thoughts are otherwiſe employed: their mornings are too ſhort for them to waſh, to ſmooth, to paint, to patch, to braid, to curl, to gum, to powder, and otherwiſe to attire and adorn themſelves; whilſt their afternoons are as commonly beſpoke for viſits, and for plays; where their uſual entertainments are ſome ſtories fetched from the more approved romances; ſome ſtrange adventures, ſome paſſionate amours, unkind refuſals, grand impediments, importunate addreſſes, miſerable diſappointments, wonderful ſurprizes, unexpected encounters, caſtles ſurprized, impriſoned lovers reſcued, and meetings of ſuppoſed dead ones: bloody duels, languiſhing voices ecchoing from ſolitary groves, overheard mournful complaints, deep-fetched ſighs ſent from wild deſerts, intrigues managed with unheard of ſubtlety: and whilſt all things ſeem at the greateſt diſtance, then are people alive, enemies friends, deſpair turned to enjoyment, and all their impoſſibilities reconciled; things that never were, are not, nor ever ſhall or can be, they all come to paſs. And as if men and women were too ſlow to anſwer the looſe ſuggeſtions of corrupt nature; or were too intent on more divine ſpeculations and heavenly affairs, they have all that is poſſible for the moſt extravagant wits to invent, not only expreſs lies, but utter impoſſibilities to very nature, on purpoſe to excite their minds to thoſe idle paſſions, and intoxicate their giddy fancies with ſwelling nothings, but airy fictions; which not only conſume their time, effeminate their natures, debaſe their reaſon, and ſet them on work to reduce theſe things to practice, and make each adventure theirs by imitation; but if diſappointed, as who can otherwiſe expect from ſuch mere phantaſms, the preſent remedy is latitude to the greateſt vice. And yet theſe are ſome of their moſt innocent recreations, which are the very gins of Satan to inſnare people: contrived moſt agreeable to their weakneſs, and in a more inſenſible manner maſtering their affections, by entertainments moſt taking to their ſenſes. In ſuch occaſions it is that their hearts breed vanity, their eyes turn interpreters to their thoughts, and their looks do whiſper the ſecret inflammations of their intemperate minds; wander-

Ch. XVII.
Eccl. xii. 1.
Luke xii. 29, 30, 31.
Eccl. iv. 8.
2 Tim. ii. 16, 21, 22.
Eph. iv. 30.
Jer. xviii. 18, 19, 20.
ch. xx. 10.
Tit. ii. 3, 4, 5.
Eph. v. 3, 4.
1 Tim. iv. 2.
1 Tim. iv. 4.
Pſal. xii. 2.
Eccl. i. 11. 17.
ch. vi. 9.
Iſa. v. 12.
ch. xiv. 29.
ch. lix. 3, 4.
Prov. vii. 10, to 21.

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ing ſo long abroad, till their laſcivious actings bring night home, and load their minds and reputations with luſt and infamy.

1 John ii. 15, 16.

§. II. Here is the end of all their faſhions and recreations, 'to gratify the luſt of the 'eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life:' clothes, that were given to cover ſhame, now want a covering for their ſhameful exceſs; and that which ſhould remember men of loſt innocency, they pride and glory in: but the hundredth part of theſe things coſt man the loſs of paradiſe, that now make up the agreeable recreation, ay, the accompliſhment of the times. For as it was Adam's fault to ſeek a ſatisfaction to himſelf, other than what God ordained; ſo it is the exerciſe, pleaſure and perfection of the age, to ſpend the greateſt portion of their time in vanities, which are ſo far from the end of their creation, namely, a divine life, that they are deſtructive of it. Eccl. xii. 1.

§. III. Were the pleaſures of the age true and ſolid, Adam and Eve had been miſerable in their innocency, who knew them not: but as it was once their happineſs, not to know them in any degree, ſo it is theirs, that know Chriſt indeed, to be by his eternal power redeemed and raiſed to the love of immortality: which is yet a myſtery to thoſe who live and have pleaſure in their curious trims, rich and changeable apparel, nicety of dreſs, invention and imitation of faſhions, coſtly attire, mincing gaits, wanton looks, romances, plays, treats, balls, feaſts, and the like converſation in requeſt: for as theſe had never been, if man had ſtaid at home with his Creator, and given the entire exerciſe of his mind to the noble ends of his creation; ſo certain it is, that the uſe of theſe vanities is not only a ſign that men and women are yet ignorant of their true reſt and pleaſure, but it greatly obſtructs and hinders the retirement of their minds, and their ſerious enquiry after thoſe things that are eternal. O, that there ſhould be ſo much noiſe, clutter, invention, traffick, curioſity, diligence, pains and vaſt expence of time and eſtate, to pleaſe and gratify poor vain mortality! and that the ſoul, the very image of Divinity itſelf, ſhould have ſo little of their conſideration! What, O what more pregnant inſtances and evident tokens can be given, that it is the body, the ſenſes, the caſe, a little fleſh and bone covered with ſkin, the toys, fopperies, and very vanities of this mortal life and periſhing world, that pleaſe, that take, that gain them; on which they dote; and think they never have too much time, love or money, to beſtow upon them.

Eph. ii. 1 to 5.
Col. ii. 13.
1 Pet. i. 14, 15,16,17,18.
Tit. ii. 11,12.
Jam. v. 5.
Mat. vii. 17, 18, 19.
Rom. viii. 8.
Mat. xvi. 26.
1 Cor. vi. 13.
Job xxxv. 15.
Iſa. xl. 6.
1 Pet. i. 24.

§. IV. Thus are their minds employed, and ſo vain are they in their imaginations, and dark in their underſtandings, that they not only believe them innocent, but perſuade themſelves they are good Chriſtians all this while; and to rebuke them is worſe than hereſy. Thus are they ſtrangers to the hidden life; and by theſe things are they diverted from all ſerious examination of themſelves; and a little by-rote-babble, with a forced zeal, of half an hour's talk, in other mens words, which they have nothing to do with, is made ſufficient; being no more their ſtates, or at leaſt their intention, as their works ſhew, than it was the young man's in the goſpel, that ſaid, 'he would go, and did not.' But alas! why? Oh, there are other gueſts! What are they? Pharamond, Cleopatra, Caſſandra, Clelia; a play, a ball, a ſpring-garden; the park, the gallant, the exchange, in a word, the World. Theſe ſtay, theſe call, theſe are importunate, and theſe they attend, and theſe are their moſt familiar aſſociates. Thus are their hearts captivated from the divine exerciſe; nay, from ſuch external affairs as immediately concern ſome benefit to themſelves, or needy neighbours; pleaſing themſelves with the received ideas of thoſe toys and fopperies into their looſe and airy minds: and if in all things they cannot practiſe them, becauſe they want the means of it, yet, as much as may be, at leaſt to dote upon them, be taken with them, and willingly ſuffer their thoughts to be hurried after them. All which greatly indiſpoſes the minds, and diſtracts the ſouls of people from the divine life and principle of the holy Jeſus: but, as it hath been often ſaid, more eſpecially the minds of the younger ſort, to whom the like divertiſements (where their inclinations being preſented with what is very ſuitable to them, they become excited to more vanity, than ever they thought upon before) are incomparably dearer than all that can be ſaid of God's fear, a retired life, eternal rewards, and joys unſpeakable and full of glory: ſo vain, ſo blind, and ſo very inſenſible are men and women, of what truly makes a diſciple of Chriſt! O! that they would ponder on theſe things, and watch againſt, and out of all theſe vanities, for the coming of the Lord, leſt being unprepared, and taken up with other gueſts, they enter not into his everlaſting reſt.

Luke viii. 14.
Pro. i. 25, 30.
ch. x. 17.
ch. xii. 1.
ch. xv. 15.
Iſa. lviii. 1, 2, to 10.
Jer. xvi. 19, 20, 21.
2 Tim. iii. 4.
Mat. vi. 7.
Iſa. lix. 4.
Jer. ii. 5.
Eccl. xi. 10.
Rom. xiii. 11, 12.
Mat. xv. 7, to 14.

§. V. That which farther manifeſts the unlawfulneſs of theſe numerous faſhions and recreations is, that they are either the inventions of vain, idle, and wanton minds, to gratify their own ſenſualities, and raiſe the like wicked curioſity in others to imitate the ſame; by which nothing but luſt and folly are promoted: or the contrivances of indigent and impoveriſhed wits, who make it the next way for their maintenance: in both which reſpects, and upon both which conſiderations, they ought to be deteſted. For the firſt licenſes expreſs impiety; and the latter countenances a wretched way of livelihood, and conſequently diverts from more lawful, more ſerviceable, and more neceſſary employments. That ſuch perſons are both the inventors and actors of all theſe follies, cannot be difficult to demonſtrate: for were it poſſible, that any one could bring us father

Adam's girdle, and mother Eve's apron, what laughing, what fleering, what mocking of their homely faſhion would there be? ſurely their taylor would find but little cuſtom, although we read, it was God himſelf 'that made them coats of ſkins.' The like may be aſked of all the other vanities, concerning the holy men and women through all the generations of holy writ. How many pieces of ribband, and what feathers, lace-bands, and the like, did Adam and Eve wear in paradiſe, or out of it? What rich embroideries, ſilks, points, &c. had Abel, Enoch, Noah, and good old Abraham? Did Eve, Sarah, Suſannah, Elizabeth, and the virgin Mary uſe to curl, powder, patch, paint, wear falſe locks of ſtrange colours, rich points, trimmings, laced gowns, embroidered petticoats, ſhoes with ſlip-ſlaps laced with ſilk or ſilver lace, and ruffled like pigeons feet, with ſeveral yards, if not pieces of ribbands? How many plays did Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles recreate themſelves at? What poets, romances, comedies, and the like, did the apoſtles and ſaints make, or uſe to paſs away their time withal? I know they bid all 'redeem their time, to avoid fooliſh talking, vain jeſting, prophane babblings and fabulous ſtories; as what tend to ungodlineſs: and rather to watch, to work out their ſalvation with fear and trembling, to flee fooliſh and youthful luſts, and to follow righteouſneſs, peace, goodneſs, love, charity; and to mind the things that are above, as they would have honour, glory, immortality and eternal life.'

Gen. iii. 21.
Eph. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 15, 16.
2 Tim. ii. 16, 22.
Mat. xxv. 13.
Phil. ii. 12, 13.
Col. iii. 1, 2, 3.
Rom. ii. 6, 7.

§. VI. But if I were aſked, Whence came they then? I could quickly anſwer, From the Gentiles, that knew not God; (for ſome amongſt them deteſted them, as will be ſhown) they were the pleaſures of an effeminate Sardanapalus, a fantaſtick Miracles, a comical Ariſtophanes, a prodigal Charaxus, a luxurious Ariſtippus; and the practices of ſuch women as the infamous Clytemneſtra, the painted Jezebel, the laſcivious Campaſpe, the immodeſt Poſthumia, the coſtly Corinthian Lais, the moſt impudent Flora, the wanton Ægyptian Cleopatra, and moſt inſatiable Meſſalina: perſons whoſe memories have ſtunk through all ages, and that carry with them a perpetual rot: theſe, and not the holy ſelf-denying men and women in ancient times, were devoted to the like recreations and vain delights. Nay, the more ſober of the very Heathens themſelves, and that upon a principle of great virtue, as is by all confeſſed, deteſted the like folly and wanton practices. There is none of them to be found in Plato, or in Seneca's works: Pythagoras, Socrates, Phocion, Zeno, &c. did not accuſtom themſelves to theſe entertainments. The virtuous Penelope, the chaſte Lucretia, the grave Cornelia, and modeſt Pontia, with many others, could find themſelves employment enough amongſt their children, ſervants and neighbours: they, though nobles, next their devotion, delighted moſt in ſpinning, weaving, gardening, needle-work, and ſuch like good houſewifery, and commendable entertainment: who, though called Heathens, expreſſed much more Chriſtianity in all their actions, than do the wanton, fooliſh people of this age, who notwithſtanding will be called Chriſtians. But above all, you playmongers, whence think you came your ſo paſſionately beloved comedies? than which, as there is not any one diverſion, that is more pernicious, ſo not one more in eſteem, and fondly frequented: Why I will tell you. Their great-grand-father was an Heathen, and that not of the beſt ſort: his name was Epicharmus. It is true, he is called a philoſopher, or a lover of wiſdom; but he was only ſo by name, and no more one in reality than the comedians of theſe times are true Chriſtians. It is reported of him by Suidas, a Greek hiſtorian, that he was the firſt man who invented comedies; and by the help of one Phormus, he made alſo fifty fables. But would you know his country, and the reaſon of his invention? His country was Syracuſe, the chief city in Sicily, famous for the infamy of many tyrants; to pleaſe and gratify the luſts of ſome of whom, he ſet his wits to work. And do not you think this an ill original? and is it leſs in any one to imitate or juſtify the ſame, ſince the more ſober Heathens have themſelves condemned them? nay, is it not abominable, when ſuch as call themſelves Chriſtians do both imitate and juſtify the like inventions? Nor had the melancholy tragedies a better parentage, namely, one Theſpis, an Athenian poet; to whom they alſo do aſcribe the original of that impudent cuſtom of painting faces, and the counterfeit or reſpreſentation of other perſons by change of habit, humours, &c. all which are now ſo much in uſe and reputation with the great ones of the times. To theſe let me add that poetical amoroſo, whom an inordinate paſſion of love firſt tranſported to thoſe poetical raptures of admiration (indeed ſordid effeminacy, if not idolatry); they call him Alcman, or Alcina, a Lydian: he, being exceedingly in love with a young woman of his own country, is ſaid to have been the firſt perſon that gave the world a ſight of that kind of folly, namely, love-ſtories and verſes; which have been ſo diligently imitated by almoſt all nations ever ſince in their romances.

Object. 2.

§. VII. I know that ſome will ſay, But we have many comedies and tragedies, ſonnets, catches, &c. that are on purpoſe to reprehend vice, from whence we learn many commendable things. Though this be ſhameful, yet many have been wont, for want of ſhame or underſtanding, or both, to return me this for anſwer. Now I readily ſhall confeſs, that it was the next remedy amongſt the Heathens, againſt the common vices, to the more grave and moral lectures of their philoſophers, of which number I ſhall inſtance two: Euripides, whom Suidas calls a learned tragical poet, and Eupolis, whom the ſame hiſtorian calls a comical poet. The firſt was a man ſo chaſte, and therefore ſo unlike thoſe of our days, that he was called Μισογύνης, or one that hated women, that is wanton ones, for otherwiſe he was twice married: the other he characters as a moſt ſevere reprehender of faults. From which I gather, that their deſign was not to feed the idle, lazy fancies of people, nor merely to get money; but ſince by the means of looſe wits, the people had been debauched, their work was to reclaim them, rendering vice ridiculous, and turning wit againſt wickedneſs. And this appears the rather, from the deſcription given, as alſo that Euripides was ſuppoſed to have been torn in pieces by wanton women; which doubtleſs was for declaiming againſt their impudence: and the other being ſlain in the battle betwixt the Athenians and Lacedemonians, was ſo regretted, that a law was made, that never after ſuch poets ſhould be allowed to bear arms: doubtleſs it was becauſe in loſing him, they loſt a reprover of vice. So that the end of the approved comedians and tragedians of thoſe times was but to reform the people, by making ſin odious: and that not ſo much by a rational and argumentative way, uſual with their philoſophers, as by ſharp jeers, ſevere reflections, and rendering their vicious actions ſhameful, ridiculous and deteſtable; ſo that for reputation ſake they might not longer be guilty of them: which to me is but a little ſofter than a whip, or a Bridewell. Now if you that plead for them, will be contented to be accounted Heathens, and thoſe of the more diſſolute and wicked ſort too, that will ſooner be jeered than argued out of your ſins, we ſhall acknowledge to you, that ſuch comedies and tragedies as theſe may be ſerviceable: but then for ſhame, abuſe not the name of Jeſus Chriſt ſo impudently, as to call yourſelves Chriſtians, whoſe luſts are ſo ſtrong, that you are forced to uſe the low ſhifts of Heathens to repel them: to leave their evils not for the love of virtue, but out of fear, ſhame, or reputation. Is this your love to Jeſus? your reverence to the ſcriptures, that through faith are able to make the ‘ man of ‘ God perfect? Is all your prattle about ordinances, prayers, ſacraments, chriſtianity, and the like come to this; that at laſt you muſt betake yourſelves to ſuch inſtructors, as were by the ſober Heathens permitted to reclaim the moſt vicious of the people that were amongſt them? and ſuch remedies too, as below which there is nothing but corporal puniſhment?

§. VIII. This is ſo far from Chriſtianity, that many of the nobler Heathens, men and women, were better taught and better diſpoſed; they found out more heavenly contemplations, and ſubjects of an eternal nature to meditate upon. Nay, ſo far did they outſtrip the Chriſtians of theſe times, that they not only were exemplary by their grave and ſober converſation, but, for the public benefit, the Athenians inſtituted the Gynæcoſmi, or Twenty Men, who ſhould make it their buſineſs to obſerve the peoples apparel and behaviour; that if any were found immodeſt, and to demean themſelves looſely, they had full authority to puniſh them. But the caſe is altered, it is puniſhable to reprove ſuch: yes, it is matter of the greateſt contumely and reproach. Nay, ſo impudent are ſome grown in their impieties, that they ſport themſelves with ſuch religious perſons; and not only manifeſt a great neglect of piety, and a ſevere life, by their own looſeneſs, but their extreme contempt of it, by rendering it ridiculous through comical and abuſive jeſts on public ſtages. Which, how dangerous it is, and apt to make religion little worth in the peoples eyes, beſide the demonſtration of this age, let us remember, that Ariſtophanes had not a readier way to bring the reputation of Socrates in queſtion with the people, who greatly reverenced him for his grave and virtuous life and doctrine, than by his abuſive repreſentations of him in a play: which made the airy, wanton, unſtable croud rather part with Socrates in earneſt, than Socrates in jeſt. Nor can a better reaſon be given, why the poor Quakers are made ſo much the ſcorn of men, than becauſe of their ſevere reprehenſions of ſin and vanity, and their ſelf-denying converſation amidſt ſo great intemperance in all worldly ſatisfactions: yet can ſuch libertines all this while ſtrut and ſwell for Chriſtians, and ſtout it out againſt precept and example; but we muſt be whimſical, conceited, moroſe, melancholy, or elſe hereticks, deceivers, and what not? O blindneſs! phariſaical hypocriſy! as if ſuch were fit to be judges of religion, or that it were poſſible for them to have a ſight and ſenſe of true religion, or really to be religious, whilſt darkened in their underſtandings by the god of the pleaſures of this world, and their minds ſo wrapped up in external enjoyments, and the variety of worldly delights: no; in the name of the everlaſting God, you mock him, and deceive your ſouls; for the wrath of the Almighty is againſt you all, whilſt in that ſpirit and condition: in vain are all your babbles and ſet performances, God laughs you to ſcorn; his anger is kindling becauſe of theſe things. Wherefore be ye warned to temperance, and repent.

§. IX. Beſides, this ſort of people are not only wicked, looſe and vain, who both invent and act theſe things; but by your great delight in ſuch vain inventions, you encourage them therein, and hinder them from more honeſt and more ſerviceable employments. For what is the reaſon that moſt commodities are held at ſuch exceſſive rates, but becauſe labour is ſo very dear? And why is it ſo, but becauſe ſo many hands are otherwiſe beſtowed, even about the very vanity of all vanities? Nay, how common is it with theſe mercenary procurers to people's folly, that when their purſes begin to grow low, they ſhall preſent them with a new (and pretendedly more convenient) faſhion; and that perhaps, before the former coſtly habits ſhall have done half their ſervice: which either muſt be given away, or new vampt in the cut moſt alamode. O prodigal, yet frequent folly!

Object. 3.

§. X. I know I am coming to encounter the moſt plauſible objection they are uſed to urge, when driven to a pinch, viz. ‘But how ſhall thoſe many families ſubſiſt, whoſe ‘livelihood depends upon ſuch faſhions and recreations as you ſo earneſtly decry?’ I anſwer; It is a bad argument to plead for the commiſſion of the leaſt evil, that never ſo great a good may come of it: if you and they have made wickedneſs your pleaſure and your profit, be ye content that it ſhould be your grief and puniſhment, till the one can learn to be without ſuch vanity, and the others have found out more honeſt employments. 'Tis the vanity of the few great ones that makes ſo much toil for the many ſmall; and the great exceſs of the one occaſions the great labour of the other. Would men learn to be contented with few things, ſuch as are neceſſary and convenient, (the ancient chriſtian life) all things might be at a cheaper rate, and men might live for little. If the landlords had leſs luſts to ſatisfy, the tenants might have leſs rent to pay, and turn from poor to rich, whereby they might be able to find more honeſt and domeſtic employments for children, than becoming ſharpers, and living by their wits, which is but a better word for their ſins. And if the report of the more intelligent in huſbandry be credible, lands are generally improveable ten in twenty: and were there more hands about more lawful and ſerviceable manufactures, they would be cheaper, and greater vent might be made of them, by which a benefit would redound to the world in general: nay, the burden lies the heavier upon the laborious country, that ſo many hands and ſhoulders (as have the luſt-caterers of the cities) ſhould be wanting to the plough and uſeful huſbandry. If men never think themſelves rich enough, they may never miſs of trouble and employment; but thoſe who can take the primitive ſtate and God's creation for their model, may learn with a little to be contented; as knowing that deſires after wealth do not only prevent or deſtroy true faith, but, when got, increaſe ſnares and trouble. It is no evil to repent of evil; but that cannot be, whilſt men maintain what they ſhould repent of: it is a bad argument to avoid temperance, or juſtify the contrary, becauſe otherwiſe the actors and inventors of exceſs would want a livelihood; ſince to feed them that way is to nurſe the cauſe, inſtead of ſtarving it. Let ſuch of thoſe vanity-huckſters as have got ſufficient be contented to retreat, and ſpend it more honeſtly than they have got it; and ſuch as really are poor, be rather helped by charity to better callings: this were more prudent, nay, Chriſtian, than to conſume money upon ſuch fooliſh toys and fopperies. Publick work-houſes would be effectual remedies to all theſe lazy and luſtful diſtempers, with more profit, and a better conſcience. Therefore it is that we cannot, we dare not ſquare our converſation by the world's: no, but by our plainneſs and moderation to teſtify againſt ſuch extravagant vanities; and by our grave and ſteady life to manifeſt our diſlike, on God's behalf, to ſuch intemperate and wanton curioſity; yea, to deny ourſelves what otherwiſe perhaps we lawfully could uſe with a juſt indifferency, if not ſatisfaction, becauſe of that abuſe that is amongſt the generality.

Object. 4.

§. XI. I know, that ſome are ready farther to object; ‘Hath God given us theſe en‘joyments on purpoſe to damn us if we uſe them?’ Anſw. But to ſuch miſerable, poor, ſilly ſouls, who would rather charge the moſt high and holy God with the invention or creation of their dirty vanities, than want a plea to juſtify their own practice, not knowing how for ſhame, or fear, or love, to throw them off; I anſwer, that what God made for man's uſe was good; and what the bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt allowed, or enjoined, or gave us in his moſt heavenly example, is to be obſerved, believed and practiſed. But in the whole catalogue the ſcriptures give of both, I never found the attires, recreations, and way of living, ſo much in requeſt with the generality of the Chriſtians of theſe times: no certainly. God created man an holy, wiſe, ſober, grave, and reaſonable creature, fit to govern himſelf and the world; but Divinity was then the great object of his reaſon and pleaſure; all external enjoyments of God's giving being for neceſſity, convenience, and lawful delight, with this proviſo too, that the Almighty was to be ſeen, and ſenſibly enjoyed and reverenced, in every one of them. But how very wide the Chriſtians of theſe times are from this primitive inſtitution is not difficult to determine, although they make ſuch loud pretenſions to that moſt holy Jeſus, who not only gave the world a certain evidence of an happy reſtoration, by his own coming, but promiſed his aſſiſtance to all that would follow him in the ſelf-denial and way of his holy croſs; and therefore hath ſo ſeverely enjoined no leſs on all, as they would be everlaſtingly ſaved. But whether the minds of men and women are not as profoundly involved in all exceſs and vanity, as thoſe who know him not any farther than by hear-ſay; and whether being thus baniſhed the preſence of the Lord, by their greedy ſeeking the things that are below, and thereby having loſt the taſte of divine pleaſure, they have not feigned to themſelves an imaginary pleaſure, to quiet or ſmother conſcience, and paſs their time without that anguiſh and trouble, which are the conſequences of ſin, that ſo they might be at eaſe and ſecurity while in the world; let their own conſciences declare. Adam's temptation is repreſented by the fruit

Luke viii. 14.
ch. xii. 28, 29, to 31.

John viii. 12.
ch. xv. 6, 7, 8.
ch. xvii. 20.

of a tree; thereby intimating the great influence external objects, as they exceed in beauty, carry with them upon our ſenſes: ſo that unleſs the mind keep upon its conſtant watch, ſo prevalent are viſible things, that hard it is for one to eſcape being enſnared in them; and he ſhall need to be only ſometimes entrapped, to caſt ſo thick a veil of darkneſs over the mind, that not only it ſhall with pleaſure continue in its fetters to luſt and vanity, but proudly cenſure ſuch as refuſe to wear them, ſtrongly pleading for them, as ſerviceable and convenient. That ſtrange paſſion do periſhing objects raiſe in thoſe minds, where way is made, and entertainment given to them. But Chriſt Jeſus is manifeſted in us, and hath given unto us a taſte and underſtanding of him that is true; and to all, ſuch a proportion of his Good Spirit, as is ſufficient, would they obey it, to redeem their minds from that captivity they have been in to luſt and vanity, and intirely ranſom them from the dominion of all viſible objects, and whatſoever may gratify the deſires of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, that they might be regenerated in their minds, changed in their affections, and have their whole hearts ſet on things that are above, where moth nor ruſt can never paſs or enter to harm or deſtroy.

Rom. ii. 8.
Gen. iii. 6.
Mark xiii. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.
1 John v. 20.
1 Theſſ. v. 23

§. XII. But it is a manifeſt ſign, of what mould and make thoſe perſons are, who practiſe and plead for ſuch Egyptian ſhameful rags, as pleaſures. It is to be hoped that they never knew, or to be feared they have forgot, the humble, plain, meek, holy, ſelf-denying and exemplary life, which the Eternal Spirit ſanctifies all obedient hearts into; yea, it is indubitable, that either ſuch always have been ignorant, or elſe that they have loſt ſight, of that good land, that heavenly country and bleſſed inheritance, they once had ſome glimmering proſpect of. O that they would but withdraw a while, ſit down, weigh and conſider with themſelves, where they are, and whoſe work and will they are doing! that they would once believe, the devil hath not a ſtratagem more pernicious to their immortal ſouls, than this of exerciſing their minds in the fooliſh faſhions and wanton recreations of the times! Great and groſs impieties beget a deteſtation in the opinion of ſober education and reputation; and therefore ſince the devil rightly ſees ſuch things have no ſucceſs with many, it is his next and fataleſt deſign to find ſome other entertainments, that carry leſs of infection in their looks, though more of ſecurity, becauſe leſs of ſcandal and more of pleaſure in their enjoyment, on purpoſe to buſy and arreſt people from a diligent ſearch and enquiry after thoſe matters which neceſſarily concern their eternal peace: that being ignorant of the heavenly life, they may not be induced to preſs after it; but, being only formally religious, according to the traditions and precepts of others, proceed to their common pleaſures, and find no check therefrom (their religion and converſation for the moſt part agreeing well together) whereby an improvement in the knowledge of God, a going on from grace to grace, a growing to the meaſure of the ſtature of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, is not known: but as it was in the beginning at ſeven, ſo it is at ſeventy; nay, not ſo innocent, unleſs by reaſon of the old ſaying, Old men are twice children. Oh! the myſtery of godlineſs, the heavenly life, the true Chriſtian, are another thing! Wherefore we conclude, that as the deſign of the devil (where he cannot involve and draw into groſs ſin) is to buſy, delight and allure the minds of men and women by more ſeeming innocent entertainments, on purpoſe that he may more eaſily ſecure them from minding their duty and progreſs and obedience to the only true God, which is eternal life; and thereby take up their minds from heavenly and eternal things: ſo thoſe who would be delivered from theſe ſnares ſhould mind the holy, juſt, grave and ſelf-denying teachings of God's Grace and Spirit in themſelves, that they may reject and for ever abandon the like vanity and evil; and, by a reformed converſation, condemn the world of its intemperance: ſo will the true diſcipleſhip be obtained; for otherwiſe many enormous conſequences, and pernicious effects will follow. 'Tis to encourage ſuch impious perſons to continue and proceed in the like trades of feeding the people's luſts, and thereby ſuch make themſelves partakers of their plagues, who, by continual freſh deſires to the like curioſities, and that way of ſpending time and eſtate, induce them to ſpend more time in ſtudying how to 'abuſe time;' leſt, through their pinching and ſmall allowance, thoſe prodigals ſhould call their Father's houſe to mind; for whatſoever any think, more pleaſant baits, alluring objects, grateful entertainments, cunning emiſſaries, acceptable ſermons, inſinuating lectures, taking orators, the crafty devil has not ever had, by which to entice and enſnare the minds of people, and totally to divert them from heavenly reflections, and divine meditations, than the attire, ſports, plays and paſtimes of this godleſs age, the ſchool and ſhop of Satan, hitherto ſo reaſonably condemned.

Gal. v. 22, 23, 24, 25.
Eph. v. 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16.
Eph. vi. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.
Eph. i. 16, to 23.
ch. iv. 12, 13.
John xvii. 3.
Rom. i. 11.
Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. 1. *But if theſe cuſtoms, &c. were but indifferent, yet being abuſed, they deſerve to be rejected.* §. 2. *The abuſe is acknowledged by thoſe that uſe them, therefore ſhould leave them.* §. 3. *Such as pretend to ſeriouſneſs, ſhould exemplarily withdraw from ſuch latitudes: a wiſe parent weans his child of what it doats too much upon; and we ſhould watch over ourſelves and neighbours.* §. 4. *God, in the caſe of the brazen ſerpent, &c. gives us an example to put away the uſe of abuſed things.* §. 5. *If theſe things were ſome-*

ſometimes convenient, yet when their uſe is prejudicial in example, they ſhould be diſuſed. §. 6. Such as yet proceed to love their unlawful pleaſures more than Chriſt and his croſs, the miſchief they have brought to perſons and eſtates, bodies and ſouls. §. 7. Ingenuous people know this to be true: an appeal to God's Witneſs in the guilty: their ſtate that of Babylon. §. 8. But temperance in food, and plainneſs in apparel, and ſober converſation, conduce moſt to good: ſo the apoſtle teaches in his epiſtles. §. 9. Temperance enriches a land: 'tis a political good, as well as a religious one in all governments. §. 10. When people have done their duty to God, it will be time enough to think of pleaſing themſelves. §. 11. An addreſs to the magiſtrates, and all people, how to convert their time and money to better purpoſes.

Ch. XVIII.

§. I. BUT ſhould theſe things be as indifferent, as they are proved pernicioully unlawful (for I never heard any advance their plea beyond the bounds of mere indifferency) yet ſo great is their abuſe, ſo univerſal the ſad effects thereof, like to an infection, that they therefore ought to be rejected of all, eſpecially thoſe, whoſe ſobriety hath preſerved them on this ſide of that exceſs, or whoſe judgments (though themſelves be guilty) ſuggeſt the folly of ſuch intemperance. For what is an indifferent thing, but that which may be done, or left undone? Granting, I ſay, this were the caſe, yet doth both reaſon and religion teach, that when they are uſed with ſuch an exceſs of appetite, as to leave them would be a croſs to their deſires, they have exceeded the bounds of mere indifferency, and are thereby rendered no leſs than neceſſary. Which being a violation of the very nature of the things themſelves, a perfect abuſe enters; and conſequently they are no longer to be conſidered in the rank of things ſimply indifferent, but unlawful.

§. II. Now that the whole exchange of things againſt which I have ſo earneſtly contended, are generally abuſed by the exceſs of almoſt all ages, ſexes and qualities of people, will be confeſſed by many, who yet decline not to conform themſelves to them; and to whom, as I have underſtood, it only ſeems lawful, becauſe (ſay they) the abuſe of others ſhould be no argument why we ſhould not uſe them. But to ſuch I anſwer, that they have quite forgot, or will not remember, they have acknowledged theſe things to be but of an indifferent nature: if ſo, (and vanity never urged more) I ſay, there can be nothing more clear, than ſince they acknowledge their great abuſe, that they are wholly to be forſaken: for ſince they may as well be let alone as done at any time, ſurely they ſhould then of duty be let alone, when the uſe of them is an abetting the general exceſs, and a mere exciting others to continue in their abuſe, becauſe they find perſons reputed ſober to imitate them, or otherwiſe give them an example: Precepts are not half ſo forcible as examples.

Phil. iii. 17.

§. III. Every one that pretends to ſeriouſneſs ought to inſpect himſelf, as having been too forward to help on the exceſs, and can never make too much haſte out of thoſe inconveniencies, that by his former example he encouraged any to; that by a New one he may put a ſeaſonable check upon the intemperance of others. A wiſe parent ever withdraws thoſe objects, however innocent in themſelves, which are too prevalent upon the weak ſenſes of his children, on purpoſe that they might be weaned. And it is as frequent with men to bend a crooked ſtick as much the contrary way, that they might make it ſtraight at laſt. Thoſe that have more ſobriety than others ſhould not forget their ſtewardſhips, but exerciſe that gift of God to the ſecurity of their neighbours. It was murdering Cain that rudely aſked the Lord, 'Was he his brother's keeper?' for every man is neceſſarily obliged thereto; and therefore ſhould be ſo wiſe, as to deny himſelf the uſe of ſuch indifferent enjoyments, as cannot be uſed by him, without too manifeſt an encouragement to his neighbour's folly.

Rom. xiv. to the end.
Gen. iv. 9.

§. IV. God hath ſufficiently excited men to what is ſaid; for in the caſe of the brazen ſerpent, which was an heavenly inſtitution and type of Chriſt, he with great diſpleaſure enjoined it ſhould be broke to pieces, becauſe they were too fond and doating upon it. Yes, the very groves themſelves, however pleaſant for ſituation, beautiful for their walks and trees, muſt be cut down; and why? only becauſe they had been abuſed to idolatrous uſes. And what is an idol, but that which the mind puts an over-eſtimate or value upon? None can benefit themſelves ſo much by an indifferent thing, as others by not uſing that abuſed liberty.

2 Kings xviii. 3, 4.

§. V. If thoſe things were convenient in themſelves, which is a ſtep nearer neceſſity than mere indifferency, yet when by circumſtances they become prejudicial, ſuch conveniency itſelf ought to be given up; much more what is but indifferent ſhould be denied. People ought not to weigh their private ſatisfactions more than a public good; nor pleaſe themſelves in too free an uſe of indifferent things, at the coſt of being ſo really prejudicial to the public, as they certainly are, whoſe uſe of them (if no worſe) becomes exemplary to others, and begets an impatiency in their minds to have the like. Wherefore it is both reaſonable and incumbent on all, to make only ſuch things neceſſary, as tend to life and godlineſs, and to employ their freedom with moſt advantage to their neighbours. So that here is a twofold obligation; the one, not to be exemplary in the uſe of ſuch things; which, though they may uſe them, yet not without giving too much countenance

Pſal. x. 3, 4.
2 Pet. i. 3.
Eph. v. 7.

to

Rom. xiv. 1. to the end.

to the abuſe and exceſſive vanity of their neighbours. The other obligation is, that they ought ſo far to condeſcend to ſuch religious people who are offended at theſe faſhions, and that kind of converſation, as to reject them.

Lam. iv. 5. Prov. xxi. 17. Job xxi. 13, 14. Pſal. lv. 23. Pſal. xxxvii. 10. Eccl. viii. 12. Pſal. xxxvii. 1, 2. Prov. ii. 22.

§. VI. Now thoſe, who notwithſtanding what I have urged will yet proceed; what is it, but that they have ſo involved themſelves and their affections in them, that it is hardly poſſible to reform them; and that, for all their many proteſtations againſt their fondneſs to ſuch fopperies, they really love them more than Chriſt and his croſs? Such cannot ſeek the good of others, who do ſo little reſpect their own. For, after a ſerious conſideration, what vanity, pride, idleneſs, expence of time and eſtates, have been, and yet are? how many perſons debauched from their firſt ſobriety, and women from their natural ſweetneſs and innocency, to looſe, airy, wanton, and many times more enormous practices? how many plentiful eſtates have been over-run by numerous debts, chaſtity enſnared by accurſed luſtful intrigues? youthful health overtaken by the haſty ſeizure of unnatural diſtempers, and the remaining days of ſuch ſpent upon a rack of their vices procuring, and ſo made ſlaves to the unmerciful but neceſſary effects of their own inordinate pleaſures? in which agony they vow the greateſt temperance; but are no ſooner out of it, than in their vice again.

Jer. xvi. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Iſa. iii. 13, to 16. Jer. l. 8. ch. xv. 6, 7. Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Rev. xviii. 7, 8. ver. 12. ver. 13. ver. 8. ver. 14. Luke xii. 33, 34.

§. VII. That theſe things are the caſe, and almoſt innumerable more, I am perſuaded no ingenuous perſon of any experience will deny: how then, upon a ſerious reflection, any that pretend conſcience, or the fear of God Almighty, can longer continue in the garb, livery, and converſation of thoſe whoſe whole life tends to little elſe than what I have repeated, much leſs join with them in their abominable exceſs, I leave to the Juſt Principle in themſelves to judge. No ſurely! this is not to obey the voice of God, who in all ages did loudly cry to all, ‘Come out (of what?) of the ways, faſhions, converſe and ſpirit of Babylon;’ What is that? the great city of all theſe vain, fooliſh, wanton, ſuperfluous, and wicked practices, againſt which the ſcriptures denounce moſt dreadful judgments; aſcribing all the intemperance of men and women to the cup of wickedneſs ſhe hath given them to drink; whoſe are the things indifferent, if they muſt be ſo. And for witneſs, hear what the Revelations ſay in her deſcription: ‘How much ſhe hath glorified herſelf, and lived deliciouſly, ſo much torment and ſorrow give her. And the kings of the earth, who have lived deliciouſly with her, ſhall bewail and lament her; and the merchants of the earth ſhall weep over her; for no man buyeth their merchandize any more: the merchandize of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, and of pearls and fine linnen, and purple, and ſilk, and ſcarlet, and all manner of veſſels of ivory, and all manner of veſſels of moſt precious wood; and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincenſe, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and beaſts, and ſlaves, and ſouls of men.’ Behold the character and judgment of luxury; and though I know it hath a farther ſignification than what is literal, yet there is enough to ſhew the pomp, plenty, fulneſs, idleneſs, eaſe, wantonneſs, vanity, luſt, and exceſs of luxury that reign in her. But at the terrible day who will go to her exchange any more? who to her plays? who will follow her faſhions then? and who ſhall traffick in her delicate inventions? Not one; for ſhe ſhall be judged. No plea ſhall excuſe, or reſcue her from the wrath of the Judge; for ſtrong is the Lord who will perform it. If yet theſe reaſonable pleas will not prevail, however I ſhall caution ſuch, in the repetition of part of Babylon's miſerable doom: Mind, my friends, more heavenly things; haſten to obey that Righteous Principle, which would exerciſe and delight you in that which is eternal; or elſe with Babylon, the mother of luſt and vanity, the fruits which your ſouls luſt after ſhall depart from you, and all things which are dainty and goodly ſhall depart from you, and you ſhall find them no more! O Dives! no more! Lay your treaſures therefore up in heaven, O ye inhabitants of the earth, where nothing can break through to harm them; but where time ſhall ſhortly be ſwallowed up of eternity!

Col. iv. 5, 6. 1 Theſſ. iv. 11, 12. 1 Pet. iii. 1, 2, 3. 4. Eph. iv. 29, & v. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Tim. iv. 12. Phil. iii. 16, to 20. 1 Pet. ii. 12. Prov. xxxi. 23, to 31. 2 Chr. xiii. 7. Prov. xxiv. 23. James ii. 2, to 9. Luke xii. 22, 30. 1 Tim. iv. 2 Pet. iii. 11. Pſal. xxvi. 6.

§. VIII. But my arguments againſt theſe things end not here; for the contrary moſt of all conduces to good, namely, ‘temperance in food, plainneſs in apparel; with a meek, ſhame-faced and quiet ſpirit, and that converſation which doth only expreſs the ſame in all godly honeſty:’ as the apoſtle ſaith, ‘Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the uſe of edifying, that it may adminiſter grace to the hearers; neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking, nor jeſting, but rather giving of thanks: for let no man deceive you with vain words, becauſe of theſe things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of diſobedience.’ And if men and women were but thus adorned, after this truly chriſtian manner, impudence would ſoon receive a check, and luſt, pride, vanity, and wantonneſs, find a rebuke. They would not be able to attempt ſuch univerſal chaſtity, or encounter ſuch godly auſterity: virtue would be in credit, and vice afraid and aſhamed, and exceſs not dare to ſhew its face. There would be an end of gluttony, and gaudineſs of apparel, flattering titles, and a luxurious life; and then primitive innocency and plainneſs would come back again, and that plain-hearted downright harmleſs life would be reſtored, of not much caring what we ſhould eat, drink, or put on, as Chriſt tells us the Gentiles did, and as we know this age daily does, under all its talk of religion: but as the antients, who with moderate care for neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, devoted themſelves to the concernments of a celeſtial kingdom, more minded their improvement in righteouſneſs, than their increaſe in riches; for they laid their treaſure up in heaven, and endured tribulation for an inheritance that cannot be taken away.

Mat. xxv. 21.

§. IX. But the temperance I plead for, is not only religiouſly, but politically good: it is the intereſt of good government to curb and rebuke exceſſes: it prevents many miſchiefs; luxury brings effeminacy, lazineſs, poverty and miſery; but temperance preſerves the land. It keeps out foreign vanities, and improves our own commodities: now we are their debtors, then they would be debtors to us for our native manufactures. By this means, ſuch perſons, who by their exceſs, not charity, have deeply engaged their eſtates, may in a ſhort ſpace be enabled to clear them from thoſe incumbrances, which otherwiſe (like moths) ſoon eat out plentiful revenues. It helps perſons of mean ſubſtance to improve their ſmall ſtocks, that they may not expend their dear earnings and hard-got wages upon ſuperfluous apparel, fooliſh may-games, plays, dancing, ſhews, taverns, ale-houſes, and the like folly and intemperance; with which this land is more infeſted, and by which it is rendred more ridiculous, than any kingdom in the world: for none I know of is ſo infeſted with cheating mountebanks, ſavage morrice-dancers, pick-pockets, and prophane players and ſtagers; to the ſlight of religion, the ſhame of government, and the great idleneſs, expence and debauchery of the people: for which the Spirit of the Lord is grieved, and the judgments of the Almighty are at the door, and the ſentence ready to be pronounced, ‘ Let him that is unjuſt, be unjuſt ſtill.’ Wherefore it is, that we cannot but loudly call upon the generality of the times, and teſtify, both by our life and doctrine, againſt the like vanities and abuſes, if poſſibly any may be weaned from their folly, and chuſe the good old path of temperance, wiſdom, gravity, and holineſs, the only way to inherit the bleſſings of peace and plenty here, and eternal happineſs hereafter.

Prov. x. 4.
Eccl. x. 16, 17, 18.
Rev. xxii. 11.
Prov. xxi. 4, 29.

§. X. Laſtly, ſuppoſing we had none of theſe foregoing reaſons juſtly to reprove the practice of the land in theſe particulars; however, let it be ſufficient for us to ſay, that when people have firſt learned to fear, worſhip, and obey their Creator, to pay their numerous vicious debts, to alleviate and abate their oppreſſed tenants; but above all outward regards, when the pale faces are more commiſerated, the pinched bellies relieved, and naked backs cloathed; when the famiſhed poor, the diſtreſſed widow, and helpleſs orphan (God's works, and your fellow-creatures) are provided for! then I ſay, (if then) it will be time enough for you to plead the indifferency of your pleaſures. But that the ſweat and tedious labour of the huſbandmen, early and late, cold and hot, wet and dry, ſhould be converted into the pleaſure, eaſe and paſtime of a ſmall number of men; that the cart, the plough, the threſh, ſhould be in that continual ſeverity laid upon nineteen parts of the land, to feed the inordinate luſts and delicious appetites of the twentieth, is ſo far from the appointment of the great Governor of the world, and God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, that to imagine ſuch horrible injuſtice as the effects of his determinations, and not the intemperance of men, were wretched and blaſphemous. As on the other ſide, it would be to deſerve no pity, no help, no relief from God Almighty, for people to continue that expence in vanity and pleaſure, whilſt the great neceſſities of ſuch objects go unanſwered: eſpecially, ſince God hath made the ſons of men but ſtewards to each others exigencies and relief. Yea, ſo ſtrict is it enjoined, that on the omiſſion of theſe things, we find this dreadful ſentence partly to be grounded, ‘ Depart from me, ye curſed, into ‘ everlaſting fire,’ &c. As on the contrary, to viſit the ſick, ſee the impriſoned, relieve the needy, &c. are ſuch excellent properties in Chriſt's account, that thereupon he will pronounce ſuch bleſſed, ſaying, ‘ Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the kingdom ‘ prepared for you,’ &c. So that the great are not (with the Leviathan in the deep) to prey upon the ſmall, much leſs to make a ſport of the lives and labours of the leſſer ones, to gratify their inordinate ſenſes.

Eccl. xii. 1.
Pſal. xxxvii. 21.
Pſal. x. 2.
Pſal. iv. 2.
Pſal. lxxix. 12.
Pſal. lxxxii. 3, 4.
Prov. xxii. 7.
Iſa. iii. 14, 15.
Ezek. xxii. 29.
Amos v. 11, 12.
ch. viii. 4. 7, 8.
Iſa. i. 16, 17, 18.
Jer. vii. 6.
Rom. xii. 20.
2 Cor. ix. 7.
Pſal. xl. 4.
Acts x. 34.
Rom. ii. 11.
Eph. vi. 9.
Col. iii. 25.
1 Pet. i. 17.
Jam. v. 4, 5.
Pſal. xli. 1.
Mat. xxv. 34, 35, 36.
Jam. ii. 15, 16.
Pſal. cxii. 9.

§. XI. I therefore humbly offer an addreſs to the ſerious conſideration of the civil magiſtrate, That if the money which is expended in every pariſh in ſuch vain faſhions, as wearing of laces, jewels, embroideries, unneceſſary ribbons, trimming, coſtly furniture and attendance, together with what is commonly conſumed in taverns, feaſts, gaming, &c. could be collected into a public ſtock, or ſomething in lieu of this extravagant and fruitleſs expence, there might be reparation to the broken tenants, work-houſes for the able, and alms-houſes for the aged and impotent. Then ſhould we have no beggars in the land, the cry of the widow and the orphan would ceaſe, and charitable reliefs might eaſily be afforded towards the redemption of poor captives, and refreſhment of ſuch diſtreſſed proteſtants as labour under the miſeries of perſecution in other countries: nay, the exchequer's needs, on juſt emergencies, might be ſupplied by ſuch a bank: this ſacrifice and ſervice would pleaſe the juſt and merciful God: it would be a noble example of gravity and temperance to foreign ſtates, and an unſpeakable benefit to ourſelves at home.

Prov. xiv. 21.
Mat. xix. 21.

Alas! why ſhould men need perſuaſions to what their own felicity ſo neceſſarily leads them to? had theſe vitioſos of the times but a ſenſe of heathen Cato's generoſity, they would rather deny their carnal appetites, than leave ſuch noble enterpriſes unattempted.

But that they ſhould eat, drink, play, game and ſport away their health, eſtates, and above all, their irrevocable precious time, which ſhould be dedicated to the Lord, as a neceſſary introduction to a bleſſed eternity, and than which (did they but know it) no worldly ſolace could come in competition; I ſay, that they ſhould be continually employed about theſe poor, low things, is to have the Heathens judge them in God's day, as well as Chriſtian precepts and examples condemn them. And their final doom will prove the more aſtoniſhing, in that this vanity and exceſs are acted under a profeſſion of the ſelf-denying religion of Jeſus, whoſe life and doctrine are a perpetual reproach to the moſt of Chriſtians. For he (bleſſed man) was humble, but they are proud; he forgiving, they revengeful; he meek, they fierce; he plain, they gaudy; he abſtemious, they luxurious; he chaſte, they laſcivious; he a pilgrim on earth, they citizens of the world: in fine, he was meanly born, poorly attended, and obſcurely brought up: he lived deſpiſed, and died hated of the men of his own nation. O you pretended followers of this crucified Jeſus! 'examine yourſelves, try yourſelves; know you not your ownſelves, if he dwell not (if he rule not) in you, that you are reprobates? be ye not deceived, for God will not be mocked (at laſt with forced repentances); ſuch as you ſow, ſuch (ſuch you muſt) reap in God's day.' I beſeech you hear me, and remember you were invited and intreated to the ſalvation of God. I ſay, as you ſow you reap: if you are enemies to the croſs of Chriſt, (and you are ſo, if you will not bear it, but do as you liſt, and not as you ought) if you are uncircumciſed in heart and ear (and you are ſo, if you will not hear and open to him that knocks at the door within), and if you reſiſt and quench the Spirit in yourſelves, that ſtrives with you to bring you to God (and that you certainly do, who rebel againſt its motions, reproofs and inſtructions) then 'you ſow to the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof, and of the fleſh will you reap the fruits of corruption, woe, anguiſh and tribulation, from God the judge of quick and dead, by Jeſus Chriſt.' But if you will daily bear the holy croſs of Chriſt, and ſow to the Spirit; if you will liſten to the light and grace that comes by Jeſus, and which he has given to all people for ſalvation, and ſquare your thoughts, words and deeds thereby (which leads and teaches the lovers of it, to deny all ungodlineſs, and the world's luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly in this preſent evil world) then may you with confidence look for the 'bleſſed hope, and joyful coming, and glorious appearance of the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.' Let it be ſo, O you Chriſtians, and eſcape the wrath to come! why will you die? let the time paſt ſuffice: remember, that No Croſs, No Crown. 'Redeem then the time, for the days are evil, and yours but very few. Therefore gird up the loins of your minds, be ſober, fear, watch, pray and endure to the end;' calling to mind, for your encouragement and conſolation; that all ſuch, as 'through patience and well-doing wait for immortality, ſhall reap glory, honour and eternal life, in the kingdom of the Father; whoſe is the kingdom, the power and the glory for ever.' Amen.

2 Cor. xiii. 5.
Gal. vi. 7, 8.
Rom. ii. 8.
Tit. iii. 11, 12, 13.
Eph. v. 16.
Rom. ii. 7. 9.

The Second PART.

Containing an account of the living and dying Sayings of men eminent for their Greatneſs, Learning or Virtue; and that of divers periods of time, and nations of the world. All concurring in this one teſtimony, "That a life of ſtrict virtue, viz. To do well, and bear Ill, is the "way to laſting happineſs." Collected in favour of the truth delivered in the Firſt Part.

By WILLIAM PENN.

The PREFACE.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN ſhould have ended here; but that the power examples and authorities have put upon the minds of people, above the moſt reaſonable and preſſing arguments, inclined me to preſent my readers with ſome of thoſe many inſtances that might be given, in favour of the virtuous life recommended in our diſcourſe. I choſe to caſt them into three ſorts of teſtimonies (not after the threefold ſubject of the book, but) ſuitable to the times, qualities, and circumſtances of the perſons that gave them forth; whoſe divers excellencies and ſtations have tranſmitted their names with reputation to our own times. The firſt teſtimony comes from thoſe called Heathens, the ſecond from Profeſſed Chriſtians, and the laſt from Retired, Aged, and Dying Men;

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being their laſt and ſerious reflections, to which no oſtentation or worldly intereſts could induce them. Where it will be eaſy for the conſiderate reader to obſerve how much the pride, avarice, and luxury of the world, ſtood reprehended in the judgments of perſons of great credit amongſt men; and what was that life and conduct, that in their moſt retired meditations, when their ſight was cleareſt, and judgment moſt free and diſabuſed, they thought would give peace here, and lay foundations of eternal bleſſedneſs.

CHAP. XIX.

The teſtimonies of ſeveral great, learned, and virtuous Perſonages among the Gentiles, urged againſt the exceſſes of the age, in favour of the ſelf-denial, temperance, and piety herein recommended.

1. *Among the Greeks, viz.* §. 1. *Of Cyrus.* §. 2. *Artaxerxes.* §. 3. *Agathocles.* §. 4. *Philip.* §. 5. *Alexander.* §. 6. *Ptolomy.* §. 7. *Xenophanes.* §. 8. *Antigonus.* §. 9. *Themiſtocles.* §. 10. *Ariſtides.* §. 11. *Pericles.* §. 12. *Phocion.* §. 13. *Clitomachus.* §. 14. *Epaminondas.* §. 15. *Demoſthenes.* §. 16. *Aguſicles.* §. 17. *Ageſilaus.* §. 18. *Agis.* §. 19. *Alcamenes.* §. 20. *Alexandridas.* §. 21. *Anaxilas.* §. 22. *Ariſton.* §. 23. *Archidamus.* §. 24. *Cleomenes.* §. 25. *Derſyllidas.* §. 26. *Hippodamus.* §. 27. *Leonidas.* §. 28. *Lyſander.* §. 29. *Pauſanias.* §. 30. *Theopompus, &c.* §. 31. *The manner of life and government of the Lacedæmonians in general.* §. 32. *Lycurgus their lawgiver.* (II) *Among the Romans, viz.* §. 33. *Of Cato.* §. 34. *Scipio Africanus.* §. 35. *Auguſtus.* §. 36. *Tiberius.* §. 37. *Veſpaſian.* §. 38. *Trajan.* §. 39. *Adrian.* §. 40. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.* §. 41. *Pertinax.* §. 42. *Peſcennius.* §. 43. *Alexander Severus.* §. 44. *Aurelianus.* §. 45. *Diocleſian.* §. 46. *Julian.* §. 47. *Theodoſius.* (III.) *The lives and doctrines of ſome of the Heathen philoſophers among the Greeks and Romans, viz.* §. 48. *Thales.* §. 49. *Pythagoras.* §. 50. *Solon.* §. 51. *Chilon.* §. 52. *Periander.* §. 53. *Bias.* §. 54. *Cleobulus.* §. 55. *Pittacus.* §. 56. *Hippias.* §. 57. *The Gymnoſophiſtæ.* §. 58. *The Bamburacii.* §. 59. *The Gynæcoſmi.* §. 60. *Anacharſis.* §. 61. *Anaxagoras.* §. 62. *Heraclitus.* §. 63. *Democritus.* §. 64. *Socrates.* §. 65. *Plato.* §. 66. *Antiſthenes.* §. 67. *Xenocrates.* §. 68. *Bion.* §. 69. *Demonax.* §. 70. *Diogenes.* §. 71. *Crates.* §. 72. *Ariſtotle.* §. 73. *Mandanis.* §. 74. *Zeno.* §. 75. *Quintillian.* §. 76. *Seneca.* §. 77. *Epictetus.* (IV.) *Of virtuous Heathen Women, viz.* §. 78. *Penelope.* §. 79. *Theoxena.* §. 80. *Pandora and Protagenia.* §. 81. *Hipparchia.* §. 82. *Lucretia.* §. 83. *Cornelia.* §. 84. *Pontia.* §. *Arria.* §. 86. *Pompeja Plautina.* §. 87. *Plotina.* §. 88. *Pompeja Paulina.* §. 89. *A reproof to voluptuous women of the times.*

Ch. XIX.

§. I. CYRUS (than whom a greater monarch we hardly find in ſtory) is more famous for his virtue, than his power; and indeed it was that which gave him power. God calls him his ſhepherd: now let us ſee the principles of his conduct and life. So temperate was he in his youth, that when Aſtyages urged him to drink wine, he anſwered, I am afraid leſt there ſhould be poiſon in it; having ſeen thee reel and ſottiſh after having drank thereof. And ſo careful was he to keep the Perſians from corruption of manners, that he would not ſuffer them to leave their rude and mountainous country, for one more pleaſant and fruitful, leſt through plenty and eaſe, luxury at laſt might debaſe their ſpirits. And ſo very chaſte was he, that having taken a lady of quality, a moſt beautiful woman, his priſoner, he refuſed to ſee her, ſaying, I have no mind to be a captive to my captive. It ſeems, he claimed no ſuch propriety; but ſhunned the occaſion of evil. The comptroller of his houſhold aſking him one day what he would pleaſe to have for his dinner? Bread, ſaid he; for I intend to encamp nigh the water: a ſhort and eaſy bill of fare: but this ſhews the power he had over his appetite as well as his ſoldiers; and that he was fit to command others, that could command himſelf; according to another ſaying of his, No man (ſaith he) is worthy to command, who is not better than thoſe who are to obey: and when he came to die, he gave this reaſon of his belief of immortality, I cannot, ſaid he, perſuade myſelf to think, that the ſoul of man, after having ſuſtained itſelf in a mortal body, ſhould periſh, when delivered out of it, for want of it: a ſaying of perhaps as great weight, as may be advanced againſt atheiſm from more enlightened times.

§. II. ARTAXERXES Mnemon, being upon an extraordinary occaſion reduced to eat barley bread, and dried figs, and drink water; What pleaſure (ſaith he) have I loſt till now through my delicacies and exceſs!

§. III. AGATHOCLES becoming king of Sicily, from being the ſon of a potter, always, to humble his mind to his original, would be daily ſerved in earthen veſſels upon his table: an example of humility and plainneſs.

§. IV. PHILIP king of Macedon, upon three ſorts of good news arriving in one day, feared too much ſucceſs might tranſport him immoderately; and therefore prayed for ſome diſappointments to ſeaſon his proſperity, and caution his mind under the enjoyment of it. He refuſed to oppreſs the Greeks with his garriſons, ſaying, I had rather retain them by kindneſs, than fear; and to be always beloved, than for a while terrible. One of his minions perſuading him to decline hearing of a cauſe, wherein a particular friend was intereſted; I had much rather, ſays he, thy friend ſhould loſe his cauſe, than I my reputation. Seeing his ſon Alexander endeavour to gain the hearts of the Macedonians by gifts and rewards, Canſt thou believe, ſays he, that a man that thou haſt corrupted to thy intereſts will ever be true to them? When his court would have had him quarrel and correct the Peloponnenſes for their ingratitude to him, he ſaid, By no means; for if they deſpiſe and abuſe me, after being kind to them, what will they do if I do them harm? A great example of patience in a king, and wittily ſaid. Like to this was his reply to the ambaſſadors of Athens, whom aſking after audience, If he could do them any ſervice, and one of them ſurlily anſwering, The beſt thou canſt do us is, to hang thyſelf; he was nothing diſturbed, though his court murmured; but calmly ſaid to the ambaſſador, Thoſe who ſuffer injuries, are better people than thoſe that do them. To conclude with him, being one day fallen along the ground, and ſeeing himſelf in that poſture, he cried out, What a ſmall ſpot of earth do we take up! and yet the whole world cannot content us.

§. V. ALEXANDER was very temperate and virtuous in his youth: a certain governor having written to him, that a merchant of the place had ſeveral fine boys to ſell, he returned him this anſwer with great indignation, What haſt thou ſeen in any act of my life, that ſhould put thee upon ſuch a meſſage as this? and avoided the woman his courtiers flung in his way to debauch him. Nay, he would not ſee the wife of Darius, famed for the moſt beautiful princeſs of the age; which with his other virtues made Darius (the laſt Perſian king) to ſay, If God has determined to take my empire from me, I wiſh it into the hands of Alexander, my virtuous enemy. He hated covetouſneſs; for though he left great conqueſts, he left no riches; which made him thus to anſwer one that aſked him dying, Where he had hid his treaſures; Among my friends, ſays he. He was wont to ſay, He owed more to his maſter for his education, than to his father for his birth; by how much it was leſs to live, than to live well.

§. VI. PTOLOMY, ſon of Lagus, being reproached for his mean original, and his friends angry that he did not reſent it; We ought, ſays he, to bear reproaches patiently.

§. VII. XENOPHANES being jeered for refuſing to play at a forbidden game, anſwered, I do not fear my money, but my reputation: they that make laws, muſt keep them. A commendable ſaying.

§. VIII. ANTIGONUS being taken ſick, he ſaid, It was a warning from God to inſtruct him of his mortality. A poet flattering him with the title of the Son of God; he anſwered, My ſervant knows the contrary. Another ſycophant telling him, that the will of kings is the rule of juſtice: No, ſaith he, rather juſtice is the rule of the will of kings. And being preſſed by his minions to put a garriſon into Athens, to hold the Greeks in ſubjection, he anſwered, He had not a ſtronger garriſon than the affections of his people.

§. IX. THEMISTOCLES, after all the honour of his life, ſits down with this concluſion, That the way to the grave is more deſirable than the way to worldly honours. His daughter being courted by one of little wit and great wealth, and another of little wealth and great goodneſs; he choſe the poor man for his ſon-in-law; For, ſaith he, I will rather have a man without money, than money without a man; reckoning, that not money, but worth, makes the man. Being told by Symmachus, that he would teach him the art of memory; he gravely anſwered, He had rather learn the art of forgetfulneſs; adding, He could remember enough, but many things he could not forget, which were neceſſary to be forgotten; as the honours, glories, pleaſures and conqueſts he had ſpent his days in, too apt to tranſport to vain glory.

§. X. ARISTIDES, a wiſe and juſt Greek, of greateſt honour and truſt with the Athenians; he was a great enemy to cabals in government: the reaſon he renders is, Becauſe, ſaith he, I would not be obliged to authorize injuſtice. He ſo much hated covetouſneſs, though he was thrice choſen treaſurer of Athens, that he lived and died poor, and that of choice: for being therefore reproached by a rich uſurer, he anſwered, Thy riches hurt thee, more than my poverty hurts me. Being once baniſhed by a contrary faction in the ſtate, he prayed to God, That the affairs of his country might go ſo well, as never to need his return; which however cauſed him preſently to be recalled. Whereupon he told them, That he was not troubled for his exile with reſpect to himſelf, but the honour of his country. Themiſtocles, their general, had a project to propoſe to render Athens miſtreſs of Greece, but it required ſecrecy: the people obliged him to communicate it to Ariſtides, whoſe judgment they would follow. Ariſtides having privately heard it from Themiſtocles, publickly anſwered to the people, True, there was nothing more advantageous, nor nothing more unjuſt: which quaſhed the project.

§. XI. PERICLES, as he mounted the tribunal, prayed to God, That not a word might fall from him that might ſcandalize the people, wrong the public affairs, or hurt his own. One of his friends praying him to ſpeak falſly in his favour: We are friends, ſaith he, but not beyond the altar; meaning not againſt religion and truth. Sophocles, being his companion, upon ſight of a beautiful woman, ſaid to Pericles, Ah, what a lovely creature is that! to whom Pericles replied, It becometh a magiſtrate not only to have his hands clean, but his tongue and eyes alſo.

§. XII. PHOCION, a famous Athenian, was honeſt and poor, yea, he contemned riches: for a certain governor making rich preſents, he returned them; ſaying, I refuſed Alexander's. And when ſeveral perſuaded him to accept of ſuch bounty, or elſe his children would want, he anſwered, If my ſon be virtuous, I ſhall leave him enough; and if he be vicious, more would be too little. He rebuked the exceſs of the Athenians, and that openly, ſaying, He that eateth more than he ought, maketh more diſeaſes than he can cure. To condemn or flatter him, was to him alike. Demoſthenes telling him, Whenever the people were enraged, they would kill him; he anſwered, And thee alſo, when they are come to their wits. He ſaid, An orator was like a cypreſs tree, fair and great, but fruitleſs. Antipater, preſſing him to ſubmit to his ſenſe, he anſwered, Thou canſt not have me for a friend and flatterer too. Seeing a man in office to ſpeak much, and do little, he aſked, How can that man do buſineſs, that is already drunk with talking? After all the great ſervices of his life, he was unjuſtly condemned to die; and going to the place of execution, lamented of the people, one of his enemies ſpit in his face; he took it without any diſorder of mind, only ſaying, Take him away. Before execution, his friends aſked him, Whether he had nothing to ſay to his ſon? Yes, ſaid he, let him not hate my enemies, nor revenge my death: I ſee it is better to ſleep upon the earth with peace, than with trouble upon the ſofteſt bed: that he ought to do that which is his duty, and what is more is vanity: that he muſt not carry two faces: that he promiſe little, but keep his promiſes: the world does the contrary.

§. XIII. CLITOMACHUS had ſo great a love to virtue, and practiſed it with ſuch exactneſs, that if at any time in company he heard wanton or obſcene diſcourſe, he was wont to quit the place.

§. XIV. EPAMINONDAS being invited to a ſacrificial feaſt, ſo ſoon as he had entred he withdrew, becauſe of the ſumptuous furniture and attire of the place and people; ſaying, I was called at Leuctra to a ſacrifice, but I find it is a debauch. The day after the great battle which he obtained upon his enemies he ſeemed ſad and ſolitary, which was not his ordinary temper; and being aſked why? anſwered, I would moderate the joy of yeſterday's triumphs. A Theſſalian general, and his collegue in a certain enterprize, knowing his poverty, ſent him two thouſand crowns to defray his part of the charges; but he ſeemed angry, and anſwered, This looks like corrupting me; contenting himſelf with leſs than five pounds, which he borrowed of one of his friends for that ſervice. The ſame moderation made him refuſe the preſents of the Perſian emperor, ſaying, They were needleſs, if he only deſired of him what was juſt; if more, he was not rich enough to corrupt him. Seeing a rich man refuſe to lend one of his friends money that was in affliction; he ſaid, Art not thou aſhamed to refuſe to help a good man in neceſſity? After he had freed Greece from trouble, and made the Thebans his countrymen triumph over the Lacedæmonians, (till then invincible) that ungrateful people arraigned him and his friends, under pretence of acting ſomething without authority; he, as general, took the blame upon himſelf, juſtified the action both from neceſſity and ſucceſs, arraigning his judges for ingratitude, whilſt himſelf was at the bar; which cauſed them to withdraw with fallen countenances, and hearts ſmitten with guilt and fear. To conclude, he was a man of great truth and patience, as well as wiſdom and courage; for he was never obſerved to lye, in earneſt or in jeſt. And notwithſtanding the ill and croſs humours of the Thebans, aggravated by his incomparable hazards and ſervices for their freedom and renown, it is reported of him, that he ever bore them patiently; often ſaying, That he ought no more to be revenged of his country, than of his father. And being wounded to death in the battle of Mantine, he adviſed his countrymen to make peace, none being fit to command: which proved true. He would not ſuffer them to pull the ſword out of his body, till he knew he had gained the victory; and then he ended his days, with this expreſſion in his mouth, I die contentedly, for it is in defence of my country; and I am ſure I ſhall live in the eternal memory of good men. This, for a Gentile and a general, hath matter of praiſe and example in it.

§. XV. DEMOSTHENES, the great orator of Athens, had theſe ſentences: That wiſe men ſpeak little; and that therefore nature hath given men two ears and one tongue, to hear more than they ſpeak. To one that ſpoke much he ſaid, How cometh it, that he who taught thee to ſpeak, did not teach thee to hold thy tongue? He ſaid of a covetous man, That he knew not how to live all his life-time, and that he left it for another to live after he was dead. That it was an eaſy thing to deceive one's ſelf, becauſe it was eaſy to perſuade one's ſelf to what one deſired. He ſaid, That calumnies were eaſily received, but time would always diſcover them. That there was nothing more uneaſy to good men, than not to have the liberty of ſpeaking freely: and that if one knew what one had to ſuffer from the people, one would never meddle to govern them. In fine, That man's happineſs was to be like God; and to reſemble him, we muſt love truth and juſtice.

§. XVI. AGASICLES, king of the Lacedæmonians (or Spartans, which are one) was of the opinion, That it was better to govern without force: And, ſays he, the means to do it, is to govern the people as a father governs his children.

§. XVII. AGESILAUS, king of the ſame people, would ſay, That he had rather be maſter of himſelf, than of the greateſt city of his enemies: and to preſerve his own liberty, than to uſurp the liberty of another man. A prince, ſays he, ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf from his ſubjects by his virtue, and not by his ſtate or delicacy of life. Wherefore he wore plain, ſimple cloathing; his table was as moderate, and his bed as hard, as that of any ordinary ſubject. And when he was told, that one time or other he would be obliged to change his faſhion; No, ſaith he, I am not given to change, even in a change: and this I do, ſaith he, to remove from young men any pretence of luxury; that they may ſee their prince practiſe what he counſels them to do. He added, That the foundation of the Lacedæmonian laws was, to deſpiſe luxury, and to reward with liberty: Nor, ſaith he, ſhould good men put a value upon that which mean and baſe ſouls make their delight. Being flattered by ſome with divine honour, he aſked them, If they could not make gods too? If they could, why did they not begin with themſelves?--- The ſame auſtere conduct of life made him refuſe to have his ſtatue erected in the cities of Aſia: nor would he ſuffer his picture to be taken; and his reaſon is good; For, ſaith he, the faireſt portraiture of men is their own actions.---Whatſoever was to be ſuddenly done in the government, he was ſure to ſet his hand firſt to the work, like a common perſon. He would ſay, It did not become men to make proviſion to be rich, but to be good. Being aſked the means to true happineſs, he anſwered, To do nothing that ſhould make a man fear to die: another time, To ſpeak well, and do well. Being called home by the Ephori, (or ſupreme magiſtrates, the way of the Spartan conſtitution) he returned; ſaying, It is not leſs the duty of a prince to obey laws, than to command men. He conferred places of truſt and honour upon his enemies, that he might conſtrain their hatred into love. A lawyer aſking him for a letter to make a perſon judge, that was of his own friends; My friends, ſays he, have no need of a recommendation to do juſtice.---- A comedian of note wondering that Ageſilaus ſaid nothing to him, aſked, if he knew him? Yes, ſaith he, I know thee; art not thou the buffoon Callipedes?---One calling the king of Perſia the great king, he anſwered, He is not greater than I, unleſs he hath more virtue than I.---One of his friends catching him playing with his children, he prevented him thus; Say nothing, till thou art a father too.---He had great care of the education of youth; often ſaying, We muſt teach children what they ſhall do when they are men. The Egyptians deſpiſing him becauſe he had but a ſmall train and a mean equipage; Oh, ſaith he, I will have them to know, royalty conſiſts not in vain pomp, but in virtue.

§. XVIII. AGIS, another king of Lacedæmonia, impriſoned for endeavouring to reſtore their declining diſcipline, being aſked, whether he repented not of his deſign? anſwered, No; for, ſaith he, good actions never need repentance. His father and mother deſiring of him to grant ſomething he thought unjuſt, he anſwered, I obeyed you when I was young; I muſt now obey the laws, and do that which is reaſonable.---As he was leading to the place of execution, one of his people wept; to whom he ſaid, Weep not for me; for the authors of this unjuſt death are more in fault than I.

§. XIX. ALCAMENES, king of the ſame people, being aſked, which was the way to get and preſerve honour? anſwered; To deſpiſe wealth. Another wondering why he refuſed the preſents of the Meſſenians, he anſwered, I make conſcience to keep the laws that forbid it. To a miſer accuſing him of being ſo reſerved in his diſcourſe, he ſaid, I had rather conform to reaſon, than thy covetouſneſs; or, I had rather be covetous of my words, than money.

§. XX. ALEXANDRIDAS hearing an exile complain of his baniſhment, ſaith he, Complain of the cauſe of it (to wit his deſerts); for there is nothing hurtful but vice. Being aſked, why they were ſo long in making the proceſs of criminals in Lacedæmonia? Becauſe, ſaith he, when they are once dead, they are paſt repentance. This ſhews their belief of immortality and eternal bleſſedneſs; and that even poor criminals, through repentance, may obtain it.

§. XXI. ANAXILAS would ſay, That the greateſt advantage kings had over other men, was their power of excelling them in good deeds.

§. XXII. ARISTON, hearing one admire this expreſſion, We ought to do good to our friends, and evil to our enemies; anſwered, By no means, we ought to do good to all; to keep our friends, and to gain our enemies. A doctrine the moſt difficult to fleſh and blood, of all the precepts of Chriſt's ſermon upon the mount: nay, not allowed to be his doctrine; but both ‘An eye for an eye;’ defended, againſt his expreſs command, and oftentimes an eye put out, an eſtate ſequeſtered, and life taken away, under a ſpecious zeal for religion too; as if ſin could be chriſtened, and impiety entitled to the doctrine of Chriſt. Oh, will not ſuch Heathens riſe up in judgment againſt our worldly Chriſtians in the great day of God!

§. XXIII. **Archidamus**, alſo king of Sparta, being aſked, who was maſter of Lacedæmonia? The laws, ſaith he, and after them the magiſtrates.---One praiſing a muſician in his preſence, Ah! ſaith he, but when will you praiſe a good man?---Another ſaying, That man is an excellent muſician: That is all one, ſaith he, as if thou wouldſt ſay, There is a good cook: counting both trades of voluptuouſneſs.---Another promiſing him ſome excellent wine; I care not, ſaith he, for it will only put my mouth out of taſte to my ordinary liquor; which it ſeems was water.---Two men choſe him an arbitrator; to accept it, he made them promiſe to do what he would have them: Then, ſaid he, ſtir not from this place till you have agreed the matter between yourſelves; which was done. ---Dennis, king of Sicily, ſending his daughters rich apparel, he forbad them to wear it, ſaying, You will ſeem to me but the more homely.---This great man certainly was not of the mind to breed up his children at the exchanges, dancing ſchools and play-houſes.

§. XXIV. **Cleomenes**, king of the ſame people, would ſay, That kings ought to be pleaſant; but not to cheapneſs and contempt. He was ſo juſt a man in power, that he drove away Demaratus, his fellow-king, (for they always ha dtwo) for offering to corrupt him in a cauſe before them, Leſt, ſaith he, he ſhould attempt others leſs able to reſiſt him, and ſo ruin the ſtate.

§. XXV. **Dersyllidas** perceiving that Pyrrhus would force a prince upon his countrymen the Lacedæmonians, whom they lately ejected, ſtoutly oppoſed him, ſaying, If thou art God, we fear thee not, becauſe we have done no evil; and if thou art but a man, we are men too.

§. XXVI. **Hippodamus**, ſeeing a young man aſhamed, that was caught in bad company, he reproved him ſharply, ſaying, For time to come keep ſuch company as thou needeſt not bluſh at.

§. XXVII. **Leonidas**, brother to Cleomenes, and a brave man, being offered by Xerxes to be made an emperor of Greece, anſwered, I had rather die for my own country, than have an unjuſt command over other mens. Adding, Xerxes deceived himſelf, to think it a virtue to invade the right of other men.

§. XXVIII. **Lysander**, being aſked by a perſon, what was the beſt frame of government? That, ſaith he, where every man hath according to his deſerts. Though one of the greateſt captains that Sparta bred, he had learned by his wiſdom to bear perſonal affronts: Say what thou wilt, ſaith he, (to one that ſpoke abuſively to him) Empty thyſelf, I ſhall bear it. His daughters were contracted in marriage to ſome perſons of quality; but he dying poor, they refuſed to marry them; upon which the Ephori condemned each of them in a great ſum of money, becauſe they preferred money before faith and engagement.

§. XXIX. **Pausanias**, ſon of Cleombrotus, and collegue of Lyſander, beholding among the Perſian ſpoils they took, the coſtlineſs of their furniture, ſaid, It had been much better if they had been worth leſs, and their maſters more. And after the victory of Platee, having a dinner dreſt according to the Perſian manner, and beholding the magnificence and furniture of the treat; What, ſaith he, do theſe people mean, that live in ſuch wealth and luxury, to attack our meanneſs and poverty?

§. XXX. **Theopompus** ſaith, The way to preſerve a kingdom is, to embrace the counſel of one's friends, and not to ſuffer the meaner ſort to be oppreſſed. One making the glory of Sparta to conſiſt in commanding well, he anſwered, No, it is in knowing how to obey well. He was of opinion, That great honours hurt a ſtate; adding, That time would aboliſh great and augment moderate honours among men; meaning that men ſhould have the reputation they deſerve, without flattery and exceſs.

A rhetorician bragging himſelf of his art, was reproved by a Lacedæmonian, Doſt thou call that an art, ſaith he, which hath not truth for its object? Alſo a Lacedæmonian being preſented with an harp after dinner by a muſical perſon, I do not, ſaith he, know how to play the fool. Another being aſked, What he thought of a poet of the times, anſwered, Good for nothing but to corrupt youth. Nor was this only the wiſdom and virtue of ſome particular perſons, which may be thought to have given light to the dark body of their courts; but their government was wiſe and juſt, and the people generally obeyed it; making virtue to be true honour, and that honour dearer to them than life.

§. XXXI. **Lacedæmonian** cuſtoms, according to Plutarch, were theſe: ‘They were very temperate in their eating and drinking, their moſt delicate diſh being a pottage made for the nouriſhment of ancient people. They taught their children to write and read, to obey the magiſtrates, to endure labour, and to be bold in danger: the teachers of other ſciences were not ſo much as admitted in Lacedæmonia. They had but one garment, and that new but once a year. They rarely uſed baths or oil, the cuſtom of thoſe parts of the world. Their youth lay in troops upon mats; the boys and girls apart. They accuſtomed their youth to travel by night without light, to uſe them not to be afraid. The old governed the young; and thoſe of them ‘who obeyed not the aged, were puniſhed. It was a ſhame not to bear reproof among the youth; and among the aged, matter of puniſhment not to give it. They made ordinary cheer, on purpoſe to keep out luxury; holding, that mean fare kept the ſpirit free, and the body fit for action. The muſic they uſed was ſimple, without art of changings; their ſongs compoſed of virtuous deeds of good men, and their harmony mixed with ſome religious extaſies, that ſeemed to carry their minds above the fear of death. They permitted not their youth to travel, leſt they ſhould corrupt their manners; and for the ſame reaſon, they permitted not ſtrangers to dwell amongſt them, that conformed not to their way of living. In this they were ſo ſtrict, that ſuch of their youth that were not educated in their cuſtoms, enjoyed not the privileges of natives. They would ſuffer neither comedies nor tragedies to be acted in their country. They condemned a ſoldier but for painting his buckler of ſeveral colours: and publicly puniſhed a young man, for having learnt but the way to a town given to luxury. They alſo baniſhed an orator for bragging that he could ſpeak a whole day upon any ſubject; for they did not like much ſpeaking, much leſs for a bad cauſe. They buried their dead without any ceremony or ſuperſtition; for they only uſed a red cloth upon the body, broidered with olive leaves: this burial had all degrees. Mourning they forbad, and epitaphs too. When they prayed to God, they ſtretched forth their arms; which with them was a ſign that they muſt do good works, as well as make good prayers. They aſked of God but two things, patience in labour, and happineſs in well-doing.’

This account is moſtly the ſame with Xenophon’s: adding, ‘that they eat moderately, and in common; the youth mixed with the aged, to awe them, and give them good example. That in walking, they would neither ſpeak, nor turn their eyes aſide, any more than if they were ſtatues of marble. The men were bred baſhful, as well as the women, not ſpeaking at meals, unleſs they were aſked a queſtion. When they were fifteen years of age, inſtead of leaving them to their own conduct, as in other places, they had moſt care of their converſation, that they might preſerve them from the miſchiefs that age is incident to. And thoſe that would not comply with theſe rules, were not counted always honeſt people. And in this their government was excellent; That they thought there was no greater puniſhment for a bad man, than to be known and uſed as ſuch, at all times, and in all places: for they were not to come into the company of perſons of reputation; they were to give place to all others; to ſtand when they ſat; to be accountable to every honeſt man that met them, of their converſation; that they muſt keep their poor kindred; that they uſed not the ſame freedoms that honeſt people might uſe: by which means they kept virtue in credit, and vice in contempt. They uſed all things neceſſary for life, without ſuperfluity, or want; deſpiſing riches, and ſumptuous apparel and living: judging, that the beſt ornament of the body is health; and of the mind, virtue. And ſince (ſaith Xenophon) it is virtue and temperance that render us commendable, and that it is only the Lacedæmonians that reverence it publicly, and have made it the foundation of their ſtate; their government, of right, merits preference to any other in the world. But that, ſaith he, which is ſtrange, is, that all admire it, but none imitate it.’ Nor is this account and judgment fantaſtical.

§. XXXII. Lycurgus, their famous founder and lawgiver, inſtilled theſe principles, and by his power with them made them laws to rule them. Let us hear what he did: Lycurgus, willing to reclaim his citizens from a luxurious to a virtuous life, and ſhew them how much good conduct and honeſt induſtry might meliorate the ſtate of mankind, applied himſelf to introduce a new model of government, perſuading them to believe, that though they were deſcended of noble and virtuous anceſtors, if they were not exerciſed in a courſe of virtue, they would, like the dog in the kitchen, rather leap at the meat, than run at the game. In fine, they agreed to obey him. The firſt thing then that he did, to try his power with them, was, to divide the land into equal portions, ſo that the whole Laconick country ſeemed but the lots of brethren. This grieved the rich; but the poor, which were the moſt, rejoiced. He rendered wealth uſeleſs, by community; and forbad the uſe of gold and ſilver: he made money of iron, too baſe and heavy to make a thief: he retrenched their laws of building, ſuffering no more ornament than could be made with a hatchet and a ſaw: and their furniture was like their houſes. This courſe diſbanded many trades; no merchant, no cooks, no lawyer, no flatterer, no divine, no aſtrologer, was to be found in Lacædemonia. Injuſtice was baniſhed their ſociety, having cut up the root of it, which is avarice, by introducing a community, and making gold and ſilver uſeleſs. To prevent the luxury of tables as well as of apparel, he ordained public places of eating, where all ſhould publicly be ſerved; thoſe that refuſed to come thither were reputed voluptuous, and reproved, if not corrected. He would have virgins labour, as well as young men, that their bodies being uſed to exerciſe might be the ſtronger and healthier, when married, to bring forth children. He forbad that they ſhould have any portions, to the end that none might make ſuit to them for their wealth, but perſon and worth; by which means the poor went off as well as the rich: and that their virtue might prefer them, they were denied to uſe any ornaments. He would not let the young people marry, till they arrived at the flower of their age, to the end, that their children might be ſtrong and vigorous. Chaſtity was ſo general, and ſo much in requeſt, that no law was made againſt adultery; believing, that where luxury, and the arts leading to it, were ſo ſeverely forbid, it was needleſs. He forbad coſtly offerings in the temple, that they might offer often; for that God regardeth the heart, not the offering. Theſe, and ſome more, were the laws he inſtituted; and whilſt the Spartans kept them, it is certain they were the firſt ſtate of Greece, which laſted about five hundred years. It is remarkable that he would never ſuffer the laws to be written, to avoid barratry; and that the judges might not be tied religiouſly to the letter of the law, but left to the circumſtances of fact; in which no inconvenience was obſerved to follow.

II. The Romans alſo yield us inſtances to our point in hand.

§. XXXIII. Cato, that ſage Roman, ſeeing a luxurious man loaden with fleſh, Of what ſervice, ſaith he, can that man be, either to himſelf, or the common-wealth? One day beholding the ſtatues of ſeveral perſons erecting, that he thought little worthy of remembrance, that he might deſpiſe the pride of it; I had rather, ſaid he, they ſhould aſk, why they ſet not up a ſtatue to Cato, than why they do. He was a man of ſeverity of life, both example and judge. His competitors in the government, hoping to be preferred, took the contrary humour, and mightily flattered the people: this good man deſpiſed their arts, and with an unuſual fervency cried out, That the diſtempers of the commonwealth did not require flatterers to deceive them, but phyſicians to cure them: which ſtruck ſo great an awe upon the people, that he was firſt choſen of them all. The fine dames of Rome became governors to their huſbands; he lamented the change, ſaying, It is ſtrange that thoſe who command the world ſhould yet be ſubject to women. He thought thoſe judges, that would not impartially puniſh malefactors, greater criminals than the malefactors themſelves: a good leſſon for judges of the world. He would ſay, That it was better to loſe a gift than a correction; for, ſays he, the one corrupts us, but the other inſtructs us. That we ought not to ſeparate honour from virtue; for then there would be few any more virtuous. He would ſay, No man is fit to command another, that cannot command himſelf. Great men ſhould be temperate in their power, that they may keep it. For men to be too long in offices in a government, is to have too little regard to others, or the dignity of the ſtate. They that do nothing will learn to do evil. That thoſe who have raiſed themſelves by their vices ſhould gain to themſelves credit by virtue. He repented him, that ever he paſſed one day without doing good. And that there is no witneſs any man ought to fear, but that of his own conſcience. Nor did his practice fall much ſhort of his principles.

§. XXXIV. Scipio Africanus, though a great general, loaded with honours and triumphs, preferred retirement to them all; being uſed to ſay, That he was never leſs alone than when he was alone: implying, that the moſt buſy men in the world are the moſt deſtitute of themſelves; and that external ſolitarineſs gives the beſt company within. After he had taken Carthage, his ſoldiers brought him a moſt beautiful priſoner; he anſwered, 'I am your general;' refuſing to debaſe himſelf, or diſhonour her.

§. XXXV. Augustus, eating at the table of one of his friends, where a poor ſlave breaking a cryſtal veſſel fell upon his knees, begging him, that his maſter might not fling him to the lampreys, as he had uſed to do, for food, with ſuch of them as offended him; Auguſtus, hating his friend's cruelty, broke all his friend's cryſtal veſſels, both reproving his luxury and his ſeverity. He never recommended any of his own children, but he always added, If they deſerve it. He reproved his daughter for her exceſs in apparel, and both rebuked and impriſoned her for her immodeſt latitudes. The people of Rome complaining that wine was dear, he ſent them to the fountains, telling them, They were cheap.

§. XXXVI. Tiberius would not ſuffer himſelf to be called Lord, nor yet His Sacred Majeſty: For, ſays he, they are divine titles, and belong not to man. The commiſſioners of his treaſury adviſing him to increaſe his taxes upon the people, he anſwered, No, it was fit to ſhear, but not to flay the ſheep.

§. XXXVII. Vespasian was a great and an extraordinary man, who maintained ſomething of the Roman virtue in his time. One day ſeeing a young man finely dreſſed, and richly perfumed, he was diſpleaſed with him, ſaying, I had rather ſmell the poor man's garlick, than thy perfume; and took his place and government from him. A certain perſon being brought before him, that had conſpired againſt him, he reproved him, and ſaid, That it was God who gave and took away empires. Another time, conferring favour upon his enemy, and being aſked why he did ſo? he anſwered, That he ſhould remember the right way.

§. XXXVIII. Trajan would ſay, That it became an Emperor to act towards his people, as he would have his people act towards him. The governor of Rome having delivered the ſword into his hand, and created him emperor, Here, ſaith he, take it again: if I reign well, uſe it for me; if ill, uſe it againſt me. An expreſſion which ſhews great humility and goodneſs, making power ſubſervient to virtue.

§. XXXIX. Adrian, alſo emperor, had ſeveral ſayings worthy of notice: one was, That a good prince did not think the eſtates of his ſubjects belonged to him. He would ſay, That kings ſhould not always act the king: that is, ſhould be juſt, and mix ſweetneſs with greatneſs, and be converſible by good men. That the treaſures of princes are like the ſpleen, that never ſwells but it makes other parts ſhrink: teaching princes thereby to ſpare their ſubjects. Meeting one that was his enemy before he was emperor, he cried out to him, Now thou haſt no more to fear: intimating, that having power to revenge himſelf, he would rather uſe it to do him good.

§. XL. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, a good man (the Chriſtians of his time felt it) commended his ſon for weeping at his tutor's death; anſwering thoſe that would have rendered it unſuitable to his condition, Let him alone, ſays he, it is fit he ſhould ſhew himſelf a man, before he be a prince. He refuſed to divorce his wife, at the inſtigation of his courtiers, though reputed naught; anſwering, I muſt divorce the empire too; for ſhe brought it: refuſing them, and defending his tenderneſs. He did nothing in the government without conſulting his friends; and would ſay, It is more juſt that one ſhould follow the advice of many, than many the mind of one. He was more philoſopher than emperor; for his dominions were greater within than without: and having commanded his own paſſions by a circumſpect conformity to virtuous principles, he was fit to rule thoſe of other men. Take ſome of his excellent ſayings, as followeth.----Of my grandfather Verus I have learned to be gentle and meek, and to refrain from all anger and paſſion. From the fame and memory of him that begot me, ſhame-facedneſs and man-like behaviour. I obſerved his meekneſs, his conſtancy without wavering, in thoſe things, which after a due examination and deliberation he had determined; how free from all vanity he carried himſelf in matter of honour and dignity! his laboriouſneſs and aſſiduity! his readineſs to hear any man that had ought to ſay tending to any common good! how he did abſtain from all unchaſte love of youth! his moderate condeſcending to other men's occaſions as an ordinary man. Of my mother, to be religious and bountiful, and to forbear not only to do, but to intend, any evil: to content myſelf with a ſpare diet, and to fly all ſuch exceſs as is incident to great wealth. Of my grandfather, both to frequent public ſchools and auditories, and to get me good and able teachers at home; and that I ought not to think much, if upon ſuch occaſions I were at exceſſive charge. I gave over the ſtudy of rhetorick and poetry, and of elegant neat language. I did not uſe to walk about the houſe in my ſenator's robe, nor to do any ſuch things. I learned to write letters without any affectation and curioſity; and to be eaſy, and ready to be reconciled, and well pleaſed again with them that had offended me, as ſoon as any of them would be content to ſeek unto me again. To obſerve carefully the ſeveral diſpoſitions of my friends, and not to be offended with ideots, nor unreaſonably to ſet upon thoſe that are carried away with the vulgar opinions, with the theorems and tenets of philoſophers. To love the truth and juſtice, and to be kind and loving to all them of my houſe and family, I learned from my brother Severus: and it was he that put me in the firſt conceit and deſire of an equal common-wealth, adminiſtered by juſtice and equality; and of a kingdom, wherein ſhould be regarded nothing more than the good and welfare (or liberty) of the ſubjects. As for God, and ſuch ſuggeſtions, helps and inſpirations, as might be expected, nothing did hinder but that I might have begun long before to live according to nature. Or that even now, that I was not yet partaker, and in preſent poſſeſſion of that life, that I myſelf (in that I did not obſerve thoſe inward motions and ſuggeſtions; yea, and almoſt plain and apparent inſtructions and admonitions of God) was the only cauſe of it. I that underſtand the nature of that which is good, that it is to be deſired; and of that which is bad, that it is odious and ſhameful: who know moreover, that this tranſgreſſor, whoſoever he be, is my kinſman, not by the ſame blood and ſeed, but by participation of the ſame Reaſon, and of the ſame Divine Particle, or Principle: how can I either be hurt by any of theſe, ſince it is not in their power to make me incur any thing that is reproachful, or be angry and ill-affected towards him, who, by nature, is ſo near unto me? for we are all born to be fellow-workers, as the feet, the hands, and the eye-lids; as the rows of upper and under teeth: for ſuch therefore to be in oppoſition, is againſt nature. He ſaith, It is high time for thee to underſtand the true nature, both of the world, whereof thou art a part, and of that Lord and Governor of the world, from whom, as a channel from the ſpring, thou thyſelf didſt flow. And that there is but a certain limit of time appointed unto thee, which if thou ſhalt not make uſe of, to calm and allay the many diſtempers of thy ſoul, it will paſs away, and thou with it, and never after return. Do, ſoul, do abuſe and contemn thyſelf yet a while! and the time for thee to repent thyſelf will be at an end! Every man's happineſs depends upon himſelf; but behold, thy life is almoſt at an end, whilſt, not regarding thyſelf as thou oughteſt, thou doſt make thy happineſs to conſiſt in the ſouls and conceits of other men. Thou muſt alſo take heed of another kind of wandering; for they are idle in their actions who toil and labour in their life, and have no certain ſcope to which to direct all their motions and deſires. As for life and death, honour and diſhonour, labour and pleaſure, riches and poverty, all theſe things happen unto men indeed, both good and bad equally, but as things which of themſelves are neither good nor bad, becauſe of themſelves neither ſhameful nor praiſe-worthy. Conſider the nature of all worldly viſible things; of thoſe eſpecially, which either enſnare by pleaſure, or for their irkſomeneſs are dreadful, or for their outward luſtre and ſhew are in great eſteem and requeſt; how vile and contemptible, how baſe and corruptible, how deſtitute of all true life and being they are. There is nothing more wretched than that ſoul, which, in a kind of circuit, compaſſeth all things; ſearching even the very depths of all the earth, and, by all ſigns and conjectures, prying into the very thoughts of other men's ſouls; and yet of this is not ſenſible, that it is ſufficient for a man to apply himſelf wholly, and confine all his thoughts and cares to the guidance of that Spirit which is within him, and truly and really ſerve him. For even the leaſt things ought not to be done without relation unto the end: and the end of the reaſonable creature is, To follow and obey him who is the reaſon, as it were, and the law, of this great city and moſt ancient commonwealth. Philoſophy doth conſiſt in this; For a man to preſerve that ſpirit which is within him from all manner of contumelies and injuries, and above all pains and pleaſures; never to do any thing either raſhly, or feignedly, or hypocritically: he that is ſuch, is He ſurely; indeed a very prieſt and miniſter of God; well acquainted, and in good correſpondence, with Him eſpecially that is ſeated and placed within himſelf: to whom alſo he keeps and preſerveth himſelf; neither ſpotted by pleaſure, nor daunted by pain; free from any manner of wrong or contumely. Let thy God that is in thee, to rule over thee, find by thee that he hath to do with a man, an aged man, a ſociable man, a Roman, a prince, and that hath ordered his life as one that expecteth, as it were, nothing but the ſound of the trumpet, ſounding a retreat to depart out of this life with all readineſs. Never eſteem of any thing as profitable, which ſhall ever conſtrain thee either to break thy faith or to loſe thy modeſty; to hate any man, to ſuſpect, to curſe, to diſſemble, to luſt after any thing that requireth the ſecret of walls or veils. But he that preferreth before all things his rational part and ſpirit, and the ſacred myſteries of virtue which iſſue from it, he ſhall never want either ſolitude or company; and, which is chiefeſt of all, he ſhall live without either deſire or fear. If thou ſhalt intend that which is preſent, following the rule of right and reaſon, carefully, ſolidly, meekly; and ſhalt not intermix any other buſineſs; but ſhalt ſtudy this, to preſerve thy ſpirit unpolluted and pure; and, as one that were even now ready to give up the ghoſt, ſhalt cleave unto him, without either hope or fear of any thing, in all things that thou ſhalt either do or ſpeak; contenting thyſelf with heroical truth, thou ſhalt live happily; and from this there is no man that can hinder thee. Without relation to God, thou ſhalt never perform aright any thing human; nor, on the other ſide, any thing divine. At what time ſoever thou wilt, it is in thy power to retire into thyſelf, and to be at reſt; for a man cannot retire any whither to be more at reſt, and freer from all buſineſs, than into his own ſoul. Afford then thyſelf this retiring continually, and thereby refreſh and renew thyſelf. Death hangeth over thee whilſt yet thou liveſt; and, whilſt thou mayeſt, be good. How much time and leiſure doth he gain who is not curious to know what his neighbour hath ſaid, or hath done, or hath attempted, but only what he doth himſelf, that it may be juſt and holy. Neither muſt he uſe himſelf to cut off actions only, but thoughts and imaginations alſo that are not neceſſary; for ſo will unneceſſary conſequent actions the better be prevented and cut off. He is poor that ſtands in need of another, and hath not in himſelf all things needful for his life. Conſider well, whether magnanimity rather, and true liberty and true ſimplicity, and equanimity, and holineſs, whether theſe be not moſt reaſonable and natural. Honour that which is chiefeſt and moſt powerful in the world, and that is It which makes uſe of all things, and governs all things: ſo alſo in thyſelf, honour that which is chiefeſt and moſt powerful, and is of one kind and nature with that; for it is the very ſame, which being in thee, turneth all other things to its own uſe, and by whom alſo thy life is governed. What is it that thou doſt ſtay for? an extinction or a tranſlation? for either of them, with a propitious and contented mind. But till that time come, what will content thee? what elſe, but to worſhip and praiſe God, and to do good unto men? As he lay a-dying, and his friends about him, he ſpake thus; Think more of death than of me, and that you and all men muſt die, as well as I. Adding, I recommend my ſon to you, and to God, if he be worthy.

§. XLI. PERTINAX, alſo emperor, being adviſed to ſave himſelf from the fury of the mutineers, anſwered, No, what have I done that I ſhould do ſo? ſhewing, that innocence is bold, and ſhould never give ground where it can ſhow itſelf, be heard, and have fair play.

§. XLII. PESCENNIUS ſeeing the corruption that reigned among officers of juſtice, adviſed, That judges ſhould have firſt ſalaries, that they might do their duty without any bribes or perquiſites. He ſaid, He would not offend the living, that he might be praiſed when he was dead.

§. XLIII. ALEXANDER SEVERUS, having taſted both of a private life, and the ſtate of an emperor, had this cenſure, Emperors, ſays he, are ill managers of the public revenue, to feed ſo many unuſeful mouths. Wherefore he retrenched his family from pompous

pous to ſerviceable. He would not employ perſons of quality in his domeſtick ſervice, thinking it too mean for them, and too coſtly for him: adding, That perſonal ſervice was the work of the loweſt order of the people. He would never ſuffer offices of juſtice to be ſold; For, ſaith he, it is not ſtrange that men ſhould ſell what they buy; meaning juſtice. He was impartial in correction: My friends, ſays he, are dear to me, but the common-wealth is dearer. Yet he would ſay, That ſweetening power to the people made it laſting. That we ought to gain our enemies, as we keep our friends; that is, by kindneſs. He ſaid, That we ought to deſire happineſs, and to bear afflictions: that thoſe things which are deſirable may be pleaſant; but the troubles we avoid may have moſt profit in the end. He did not like pomp in religion; for it is not gold that recommends the ſacrifice, but the piety of him that offers it. An houſe being in conteſt betwixt ſome Chriſtians and keepers of taverns, the one to perform religion, the other to ſell drink therein, he decided the matter thus; That it were much better that it were any way employed to worſhip God, than to make a tavern of it. Behold! by this we may ſee the wiſdom and virtue that ſhined among Heathens.

§. XLIV. AURELIANUS, the emperor, having threatened a certain town that had rebelled againſt him, That he would not leave a dog alive therein; and finding the fear he raiſed brought them eaſily to their duty, bid his ſoldiers go kill all their dogs; and pardoned the people.

§. XLV. DIOCLESIAN would ſay, That there was nothing more difficult than to reign well; and the reaſon he gave was, That thoſe who had the ears of princes do ſo continually lay ambuſhes to ſurprize them to their intereſts, that they can hardly make one right ſtep.

§. XLVI. JULIAN coming to the empire, drove from the palace troops of eunuchs, cooks, barbers, &c. His reaſon was this, That having no women, he needed no eunuchs; and loving ſimple plain meat, he needed no cooks: and he ſaid, One barber would ſerve a great many. A good example for the luxurious Chriſtians of our times.

§. XLVII. THEODOSIUS the younger was ſo merciful in his nature, that inſtead of putting people to death, he wiſhed it were in his power to call the dead to life again.

Theſe were the ſentiments of the ancient grandees of the world, to wit, emperors, kings, princes, captains, ſtateſmen, &c. not unworthy of the thoughts of perſons of the ſame figure and quality now in being: and for that end they are here collected, that ſuch may with more eaſe and brevity behold the true ſtatues of the ancients, not loſt, or leſſened by the decays of time.

III. I will now proceed to report the virtuous doctrines and ſayings of men of more retirement; ſuch as philoſophers and writers, of both Greeks and Romans, who in their reſpective times were maſters in the civility, knowledge and virtue that were among the Gentiles, being moſt of them many ages before the coming of Chriſt.

§. XLVIII. THALES, an ancient Greek philoſopher, being aſked by a perſon that had committed adultery, if he might ſwear? anſwered, By no means; for perjury is not leſs ſinful than adultery; and ſo thou wouldeſt commit two ſins to cover one. Being aſked, What was the beſt condition of a government? he anſwered, That the people be neither rich nor poor; for he placed external happineſs in moderation. He would ſay, That the hardeſt thing in the world was, to know a man's ſelf; but the beſt, to avoid thoſe things which we reprove in others: an excellent and cloſe ſaying. That we ought to chuſe well, and then to hold faſt. That the felicity of the body conſiſts in health, and that in temperance; and the felicity of the ſoul in wiſdom. He thought that God was without beginning or end; that he was the ſearcher of hearts; that he ſaw thoughts, as well as actions: for being aſked of one, if he could ſin, and hide it from God? he anſwered, No, how can I, when he that thinks evil, cannot?

§. XLIX. PYTHAGORAS, a famous and virtuous philoſopher of Italy, being aſked, when men might take the pleaſure of their paſſions? anſwered, When they have a mind to be worſe. He ſaid, The world was like a comedy, and the true philoſophers the ſpectators. He would ſay, That luxury led to debauchery, and debauchery to violence, and that to bitter repentance. That he who taketh too much care of his body makes the priſon of his ſoul more inſufferable. That thoſe who do reprove us are our beſt friends. That men ought to preſerve their bodies from diſeaſes by temperance; their ſouls from ignorance by meditation; their will from vice, by ſelf-denial; and their country from civil war, by juſtice. That it is better to be loved than feared. That virtue makes bold; But, ſaith he, there is nothing ſo fearful as an evil conſcience. He ſaid, That men ſhould believe of a Divinity, that it is, and that it overlooks them, and neglecteth them not; there is no being nor place without God. He told the ſenators of Crotonia (being two thouſand) praying his advice, That they received their country as a depoſitum or truſt from the people; wherefore they ſhould manage it accordingly, ſince they were to reſign their account, with their truſt, to their own children. That the way to do it, was to be equal to all the citizens, and to excel them in nothing more than juſtice. That every one of them ſhould ſo govern their family, that he might refer himſelf to his own houſe, as to a court of judicature, taking great care to preſerve natural affection. That they be examples of temperance in their own families, and to the city. That in courts of judicature none atteſt God by an Oath, but uſe themſelves ſo to ſpeak, as they may be believed without an oath. That the diſcourſe of that philoſopher is vain, by which no paſſion of man is healed: for, as there is no benefit of medicine, if it expel not diſeaſes out of bodies; ſo neither of philoſophy, if it expel not evil out of the ſoul. Of God, an heavenly life and ſtate, he ſaith thus, They mutually exhorted one another, that they ſhould not tear aſunder 'God which is in them.' Their ſtudy and friendſhip, by words and actions, had reference to ſome divine temperament; and to union with God, and to unity with the Mind, and the Divine Soul. That all which they determine to be done aims and tends to the acknowledgment of the Deity. This is the principle; and the whole life of man conſiſts in this, 'That he follow God;' and this is the ground of philoſophy. He ſaith,

Hope all things; for to none belongs deſpair:
All things to God eaſy and perfect are.

The work of the Mind is life. The work of God is immortality, eternal life. The Mind in man is termed God, by participation: the rational ſoul, if directed by the Mind, it inclines the will to virtue, and is termed the good Dæmon, Genius, or Spirit. If by phantaſy and ill affections, it draws the will to vices, the evil Dæmon: whence Pythagoras deſired of God, to keep us from evil, and to ſhew every one the Dæmon, or good Spirit, he ought to uſe. The rational man is more noble than other creatures, as more divine; not content ſolely with one operation (as all other things drawn along by nature, which always acts after the ſame manner) but endued with various gifts, which he uſeth according to his free will; in reſpect of which liberty,

----Men are of heavenly race,
Taught by Diviner Nature what t'imbrace.

By Diviner Nature, is meant the intellectual ſoul; as to intellect, man approaches nigh to God; as to inferior ſenſes, he recedeth from God. By chorus, the infinite joy of the bleſſed ſpirits, their immutable delight, ſtiled by Homer, ἄσβεστος γέλως (inextinguiſhable laughter). For what greater pleaſure, than to behold the ſerene aſpect of God, and next him the ideas and forms of all things, more purely and tranſparently, than ſecondarily, in created beings. The Pythagoreans had this diſtich, among thoſe commonly called the Golden Verſes:

Rid of this body, if the heavens free
You reach, henceforth immortal you ſhall be.

Or thus:

Who after death, arrive at th' heavenly plain,
Are ſtraight like Gods, and never die again.

§. L. Solon, eſteemed, as Thales, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, a noble philoſopher, and a law-giver to the Athenians, was ſo humble, that he refuſed to be prince of that people, and voluntarily baniſhed himſelf, when Piſiſtratus uſurped the government there; reſolving, never to out-live the laws and freedom of his country. He would ſay, That to make a government laſt, the magiſtrates muſt obey the laws, and the people the magiſtrates. It was his judgment, that riches brought luxury, and luxury brought tyranny. Being aſked by Cræſus, king of Lydia, when ſeated in his throne, richly clothed, and magnificently attended, if he had ever ſeen any thing more glorious? He anſwered, Cocks, peacocks, and pheaſants; by how much their beauty is natural. Theſe undervaluing expreſſions of wiſe Solon meeting ſo pat upon the pride and luxury of Cræſus, they parted: the one deſirous of toys and vanities; the other an example and inſtructor of true nobility and virtue, that contemned the king's effeminacy. Another time Cræſus aſked him, who was the happieſt man in the world? expecting he ſhould have ſaid, Cræſus, becauſe the moſt famous for wealth in thoſe parts; he anſwered, Tellus; who, though poor, yet was an honeſt and good man, and contented with what he had: that after he had ſerved the commonwealth faithfully, and ſeen his children and grand-children virtuouſly educated, died for his country in a good old age, and was carried by his children to his grave. This much diſpleaſed Cræſus, but he diſſembled it. Whilſt Solon recommended the happineſs of Tellus, Cræſus, moved, demanded whom he aſſigned the next place to, (making no queſtion but himſelf ſhould be named) Cleobis, ſaith he, and Bito; brethren that loved well, had a competency, were of great health and ſtrength, moſt tender and obedient to their mother, religious of life; who, after ſacrificing in the temple, fell aſleep, and waked no more. Hereat Cræſus growing angry, Strange! ſaith he; doth our happineſs ſeem ſo deſpicable, that thou wilt not rank us equal with private perſons? Solon anſwered, Doſt thou enquire of us about human affairs? knoweſt thou not, that Divine Providence is ſevere, and often full of alteration? Do not we, in proceſs of time, ſee many things we would not? Aye, and ſuffer many things we would not? Count man's life at ſeventy years, which makes * twenty ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty and odd days, there is ſcarcely one day like

Plutarch.
Herod.

Plutarch.
Laert.

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* According to the Athenian account.

Herodot. Halicar.
Stob. Sent. 3.
Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

like another: ſo that every one, O Cræſus, is attended with croſſes. Thou appeareſt to me very rich, and king over many people; but the queſtion thou aſkeſt, I cannot reſolve, till I hear thou haſt ended thy days happily: for he that hath much wealth is not happier than he that gets his bread from day to day; unleſs Providence continue thoſe good things, and that he dieth well. In every thing, O king, we muſt have regard to the end; for man, to whom God diſpenſeth worldly good things, he at laſt utterly deſerts. Solon, after his diſcourſe, not flattering Cræſus, was diſmiſſed, and accounted unwiſe, that he neglected the preſent good, out of regard to the future. Æſop, that wrote the Fables, being then at Sardis, ſent for thither by Cræſus, and much in favour with him, was grieved to ſee Solon ſo unthankfully diſmiſſed; and ſaid to him, Solon, We muſt either tell kings nothing at all, or what may pleaſe them: No, ſaith Solon, either nothing at all, or what is beſt for them. However it was not long ere Cræſus was of another mind; for, being taken priſoner by Cyrus, the founder of the Perſian monarchy, and by his command fetteredan d put on a pile of wood to be burned, Cræſus ſighed deeply, and cried, O Solon, Solon! Cyrus bid the interpreter aſk, on whom he called? He was ſilent; but at laſt, preſſing him anſwered, Upon him, whom I deſire, above all wealth, to have ſpoken with all tyrants. This not underſtood, upon farther importunity he told them, Solon, an Athenian; who long ſince, ſays he, came to me, and ſeeing my wealth, deſpiſed it; beſides, what he told me is come to paſs: nor did his counſel belong to me alone, but to all mankind, eſpecially thoſe that think themſelves happy. Whilſt Cræſus ſaid thus, the fire began to kindle, and the out-parts to be ſeized by the flame: Cyrus, informed of the interpreters what Cræſus ſaid, began to be troubled; and knowing himſelf to be a man, and that to uſe another, not inferior to himſelf in wealth, ſo ſeverely, might one day be retaliated, inſtantly commanded the fire to be quenched, and Cræſus and his friends to be brought off; whom, ever after, as long as he lived, Cyrus had in great eſteem. Thus Solon gained due praiſe, that of two kings; his advice ſaved one, and inſtructed the other. And as it was in Solon's time that Tragical plays were firſt invented, ſo was he moſt ſevere againſt them; foreſeeing the inconveniencies that followed, upon the people's been affected with that novelty of pleaſure. It is reported of him, that he went himſelf to the play, and after it was ended, he went to Theſpis, the great actor, and aſked him, If he were not aſhamed to tell ſo many lyes in the face of ſo great an auditory? Theſpis anſwered, as it is now uſual, There is no harm nor ſhame to act ſuch things in jeſt. Solon, ſtriking his ſtaff hard upon the ground, replied, But in a ſhort time, we who approve of this kind of jeſt ſhall uſe it in earneſt in our common affairs and contracts. In fine, he abſolutely forbad him to teach or act plays; conceiving them deceitful and unprofitable; diverting youth and tradeſmen from more neceſſary and virtuous employments. He defined them happy, who are competently furniſhed with their outward callings, that live temperately and honeſtly. He would ſay, That cities are the common-ſhore of wickedneſs. He affirmed that to be the beſt family, which got not unjuſtly, kept not unfaithfully, ſpent not with repentance. Obſerve (ſaith he) honeſty in thy converſation, 'more ſtrictly than an Oath.' Seal words with ſilence; ſilence with opportunity. Never lye, but ſpeak the truth. Fly pleaſure, for it brings ſorrow. Adviſe not the people what is moſt pleaſant, but what is beſt. Make not friends in haſte, nor haſtily part with them. Learn to obey, and thou wilt know how to command. Be arrogant to none; be mild to thoſe that are about thee. Converſe not with wicked perſons. Meditate on ſerious things. Reverence thy parents. Cheriſh thy friend. Conform to Reaſon; and in all things take counſel of God. In fine, his two ſhort ſentences were theſe, Of nothing Too much; and, Know Thyſelf.

§. LI. CHILON, another of the Wiſe Men of Greece, would ſay, That it was the perfection of a man to foreſee and prevent miſchiefs. That herein good people differ from bad ones, their hopes were firm and aſſured. That God was the great touch-ſtone, or rule of mankind. That mens tongues ought not to out-run their judgment. That we ought not to flatter great men, leſt we exalt them above their merit and ſtation; nor to ſpeak hardly of the helpleſs. They that would govern a ſtate well, muſt govern their families well. He would ſay, That a man ought ſo to behave himſelf, that he fall neither into hatred nor diſgrace. That that common-wealth is happieſt, where the people mind the law more than the lawyers. Men ſhould not forget the favours they receive, nor remember thoſe they do. Three things he ſaid were difficult, yet neceſſary to be obſerved, To keep ſecrets, forgive injuries, and uſe time well. Speak not ill, (ſays he) of thy neighbour. Go ſlowly to the feaſts of thy friends, but ſwiftly to their troubles. Speak well of the dead. Shun buſy-bodies. Prefer loſs before covetous gain. Deſpiſe not the miſerable. If powerful, behave thyſelf mildly, that thou mayeſt be loved, rather than feared. Order thy houſe well: bridle thy anger: graſp not at much: make not haſte, neither dote upon any thing below. A prince (ſaith he) muſt not take up his time about tranſitory and mortal things; eternal and immortal are fitteſt for him. To conclude: he was ſo juſt in all his actions, that Laertius tells us, he profeſſed in his old age, that he had never done any thing contrary to the conſcience of an upright man; only, that of one thing he was doubtful, having given ſentence againſt his friend, according to law, he adviſed his friend to appeal from him (his judge), ſo to preſerve both his friend and the law. Thus true and tender was conſcience in Heathen Chilon.

§. LII. PERIANDER (a prince and philoſopher too) would ſay, That pleaſures are mortal, but virtues immortal. In ſucceſs, be moderate; in diſappointments, patient and prudent. Be alike to thy friends, in proſperity and in adverſity. Peace is good; raſhneſs, dangerous; gain, ſordid. Betray not ſecrets. Puniſh the guilty. Reſtrain men from ſin. They that would rule ſafely muſt be guarded by love, not arms. To conclude, ſaith he, live worthy of praiſe, ſo wilt thou die bleſſed.

Baart. Suid. Protag. Stob. 28.

§. LIII. BIAS, one of the Seven Wiſe Men, being in a ſtorm with wicked men, who cried mightily to God; Hold your tongues, ſaith he, it were better he knew not you were here: a ſaying that hath great doctrine in it; the devotion of the wicked doth them no good: it anſwers to that paſſage in ſcripture, 'The prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord.' An ungodly man aſking him, What godlineſs was? he was ſilent; but the other murmuring, ſaith he, What is that to thee? that is not thy concern. He was ſo tender in his nature, that he ſeldom judged any criminal to death, but he wept; adding, One part goeth to God, and that other part I muſt give the law. That man is unhappy, ſaith he, that cannot bear affliction. It is a diſeaſe of the mind, to deſire that which cannot, or is not fit to be had. It is an ill thing not to be mindful of other men's miſeries. To one who aſked, What is hard? he anſwered, To bear chearfully a change for the worſe. Thoſe, ſays he, who buſy themſelves in vain knowledge, reſemble owls that ſee by night, and are blind by day; for they are ſharp-ſighted in vanity, but dark at the approach of true light and knowledge. He adds, Undertake deliberately; but then go through. Speak not haſtily, leſt thou ſin. Be neither ſilly nor ſubtil. Hear much; ſpeak little and ſeaſonably. Make profeſſion of God every where; and impute the good thou doſt, not to thyſelf, but to the power of God. His country being invaded, and the people flying with the beſt of their goods, aſked, Why he carried none of his? I, ſaith he, carry my goods within me. Valerius Maximus adds, In his breaſt; not to be ſeen by the eye, but to be prized by the ſoul; not to be demoliſhed by mortal hands; preſent with them that ſtay, and not forſaking thoſe that fly.

Laert. Stob.

Prov. xv. 8.

§. LIV. CLEOBULUS, a prince and philoſopher of Lyndus. He would ſay, That it was man's duty to be always employed upon ſomething that was good. Again, Be never vain nor ungrateful. Beſtow your daughters virgins in years, but matrons in diſcretion. Do good to thy friend, to keep him; to thy enemy, to gain him. When any man goeth forth, let him conſider what he hath to do; when he returneth, examine what he hath done. Know, that to reverence thy father is thy duty. Hear willingly, but truſt not haſtily. Obtain by perſuaſion, not by violence. Being rich, be not exalted; poor, be not dejected. Forego enmity: inſtruct thy children: pray to God, and perſevere in godlineſs.

Laert. Plut. Sympoſ. Sap. Sep. Stob. Ser.

§. LV. PITTACUS being aſked, What was beſt? he anſwered, To do the preſent thing well. He would ſay, What thou doſt take ill in thy neighbour, do not thyſelf. Reproach not the unhappy; for the hand of God is upon them. Be true to thy truſt. Bear with thy neighbour; love thy neighbour. Reproach not thy friend, tho' he recede from thee a little. He would ſay, That common-wealth is beſt ordered, where the wicked have no command; and that family, which hath neither ornament nor neceſſity. To conclude: he adviſed to acquire honeſty; love diſcipline; obſerve temperance; gain prudence; mind diligence; and keep truth, faith, and piety. He had a brother, who dying without iſſue left him his eſtate; ſo that when Cræſus offered him wealth, he anſwered, I have more by half than I deſire. He alſo affirmed That family the beſt, who got not unjuſtly, kept not unfaithfully, ſpent not with repentance: and, That happineſs conſiſts in a virtuous and honeſt life, in being content with a competency of outward things, and in uſing them temperately. And to conclude, he earneſtly enjoined all to flee corporal pleaſure; for, ſays he, it certainly brings ſorrow: but to obſerve an honeſt life more ſtrictly than an oath; and meditate on ſerious things.

Plutarch. Stob. 28.

§. LVI. HIPPIAS, a philoſopher: It is recorded of him, that he would have every one provide his own neceſſaries; and, that he might do what he taught, he was his own tradeſman. He was ſingular in all ſuch arts and employments, inſomuch that he made the very buſkins he wore. A better life than an Alexander's.

Cic. lib. de Orat.

§. LVII. The Gymnoſophiſtæ were a ſect of philoſophers in Ægypt, that ſo deſpiſed gaudy apparel, and the reſt of the world's intemperance, that they went almoſt naked; living poorly, and with great meanneſs; by which they were enabled againſt all cold, and overcame that luſt by innocence, which people, that are called Chriſtians, tho' covered, are overcome withal.

Plin. 7. 2. Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. 5.

§. LVIII. The Bambycatii were a certain great people, that inhabited about the river Tygris in Aſia; who obſerving the great influence gold, ſilver, and precious jewels had upon their minds, agreed to bury all in the earth, to prevent the corruption of their manners. They uſed inferior metals, and lived with very ordinary accommodation; wearing moſtly but one very grave and plain robe to cover nakedneſs. It were well, if Chriſtians would mortify their unſatiable appetites after wealth and vanity any way, for Heathens judge their exceſs.

Plin.

§. LXIX.

1668. Ch. XIX. Vid. Suid.

§. LIX. The Athenians had two diſtinct numbers of men, called the Gynaecoſmi and Gynaeconomi. Theſe were appointed by the magiſtrates to overlook the actions of the people: the firſt was to ſee that they apparelled and behaved themſelves gravely; eſpecially that women were of modeſt behaviour: and the other was to be preſent at their treats and feſtivals, to ſee that there was no exceſs, nor diſorderly carriage: and in caſe any were found criminal, they had full power to puniſh them. When, alas! when ſhall this care and wiſdom be ſeen among the Chriſtians of theſe times, that ſo intemperance might be prevented? But it is too evident they love the power and the profits, but deſpiſe the virtue, of government; making it an end, inſtead of a means to that happy end, viz. The well-ordering the manners and converſation of the people, and equally diſtributing rewards and puniſhments.

Cic. Tuſ. Queſt. 5. Clem. Alex. Stro.

§. LX. Anacharsis, a Scythian, was a great philoſopher; Cræſus offered him large ſums of money, but he refuſed them. Hanno did the like; to whom he anſwered, My apparel is a Scythian rug; my ſhoes, the hardneſs of my feet; my bed, the earth; my ſauce, hunger: you may come to me as one that is contented; but thoſe gifts which you ſo much eſteem, beſtow either on your citizens, or in ſacrifice to the immortal Gods.

Plut. contra. Uſur. Lyſand. Cic. Tuſ. Queſt. 5.

§. LXI. Anaxagoras, a nobleman, but true philoſopher, left his great patrimony to ſeek out wiſdom: and being reproved by his friends for the little care he had of his eſtate, anſwered, It is enough that You care for it. One aſked him, Why he had no more love for his country than to leave it? Wrong me not, ſaith he, my greateſt care is my country, pointing his finger towards heaven. Returning home, and taking a view of his great poſſeſſions, If I had not diſregarded them (ſaith he) I had periſhed. He was a great clearer and improver of the doctrine of One Eternal God, denying divinity to ſun, moon and ſtars; ſaying, God was infinite, not confined to place; the Eternal Wiſdom and Efficient Cauſe of all things; the Divine Mind and Underſtanding; who, when matter was confuſed, came and reduced it to order, which is the world we ſee. He ſuffered much from ſome magiſtrates for his opinion; yet, dying, was admired by them: his epitaph in Engliſh thus:

> Here lies, who through the trueſt paths did paſs
> To th' world cæleſtial, Anaxagoras.

§. LXII. Heraclitus was invited by king Darius, for his great virtue and learning, to this effect; Come, as ſoon as thou canſt, to my preſence and royal palace; for the Greeks, for the moſt part, are not obſequious to wiſe men, but deſpiſe the good things which they deliver. With me thou ſhalt have the firſt place, and daily honour and titles: thy way of living ſhall be as noble as thy inſtructions. But Heraclitus refuſing his offer, returned this anſwer; Heraclitus to Darius the king, health. Moſt men refrain from juſtice and truth, and purſue inſatiableneſs and vain-glory, by reaſon of their folly; but I, having forgot all evil, and ſhunning the ſociety of inbred envy and pride, will never come to the kingdom of Perſia, being contented with a little, according to my own mind. He alſo ſlighted the Athenians. He had great and clear apprehenſions of the nature and power of God, maintaining his divinity againſt the idolatry in faſhion. This definition he gives of God; He is not made with hands. The whole world, adorned with his creatures, is his manſion. Where is God? Shut up in temples? Impious men! who place their God in the dark. It is a reproach to a man, to tell him he is a ſtone; yet the God you profeſs is born of a rock. You ignorant people! you know not God: his works bear witneſs of him. Of himſelf he ſaith, O ye men, will ye not learn why I never laugh? it is not that I hate men, but their wickedneſs. If you would not have me weep, live in peace: you carry ſwords in your tongues; you plunder wealth, raviſh women, poiſon friends, betray the truſt people repoſe in you: ſhall I laugh, when I ſee men do theſe things? their garments, beards, and heads, adorned with unneceſſary care; a mother deſerted by a wicked ſon; or young men conſuming their patrimony; a citizen's wife taken from him; a virgin raviſhed; a concubine kept as a wife; others filling their bellies at feaſts, more with poiſon than with dainties? Virtue would ſtrike me blind, if I ſhould laugh at your wars. By muſic, pipes, and ſtripes, you are excited to things contrary to all harmony. Iron, a metal more proper for ploughs and tillages, is fitted for ſlaughter and death: men, raiſing armies of men, covet to kill one another; and puniſh men that quit the field for not ſtaying to murder men. They honour, as valiants, ſuch as are drunk with blood; but lions, horſes, eagles, and other creatures, uſe not ſwords, bucklers, and inſtruments of war: their limbs are their weapons, ſome their horns, ſome their bills, ſome their wings; to one is given ſwiftneſs; to another, bigneſs; to a third, ſwimming. No irrational creature uſeth a ſword, but keeps itſelf within the laws of its creation; except Man, that doth not ſo; which brings the heavier blame, becauſe he hath the greateſt underſtanding. You muſt leave your wars, and your wickedneſs, which you ratify by a law, if you would have me leave my ſeverity. I have overcome pleaſure, I have overcome riches, I have overcome ambition, I have maſtered flattery: fear hath nothing to object againſt me, drunkenneſs hath nothing to charge upon me, anger is afraid of me: I have won the garland, in fighting againſt theſe enemies.----This, and much more, did he write in his epiſtles to Hermodorus, of his complaints againſt the great degeneracy of the Epheſians. And in an epiſtle to Aphidamus,

mus, he writes, I am fallen ſick, Aphidamus, of a dropſy. Whatſoever is of us, if it get the dominion, it becomes a diſeaſe. Exceſs of heat is a fever; exceſs of cold, a palſy; exceſs of wind, a colick: my diſeaſe cometh from exceſs of moiſture. The ſoul is ſomething divine, which keeps all theſe in a due proportion. I know the nature of the world; I know that of man; I know diſeaſes; I know health: I will cure myſelf, ‘I ‘will imitate God,’ who makes equal the inequalities of the world. But if my body be overpreſſed, it muſt deſcend to the place ordained; however, my ſoul ſhall not deſcend; but, being a thing immortal, ſhall aſcend on high, where an heavenly manſion ſhall receive me.----A moſt weighty and pathetical diſcourſe: they that know any thing of God, may ſavour ſomething divine in it. Oh! that the degenerate Chriſtians of theſe times would but take a view of the virtue, temperance, zeal, piety and faith of this Heathen, who, notwithſtanding that he lived five hundred years before the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, had theſe excellent ſentences! Yet again; he taught that God puniſheth not by taking away riches; he rather alloweth them to the wicked, to diſcover them; for poverty may be a veil. Speaking of God, How can that light which never ſets be ever hidden or obſcured? Juſtice, ſaith he, ſhall ſeize one day upon defrauders and witneſſes of falſe things. Unleſs a man hopes to the end, for that which is to be hoped for, he ſhall not find that which is unſearchable; which Clemens, an ancient father, applied to Iſa. vi. ‘Unleſs you believe, you ſhall not underſtand.’ Heraclitus derided the ſacrifices of creatures: Do you think, ſaith he, to pacify God, and cleanſe yourſelves, by polluting yourſelves with blood? as if a man ſhould go into the dirt to cleanſe himſelf. Which ſhewed a ſight of a more ſpiritual worſhip, than that of the ſacrifices of beaſts. He lived ſolitary in the mountains; had a ſight of his end: and as he was prepared for it, ſo he rejoiced in it. Theſe certainly were the men, ‘who having not a ‘law without them, became a law unto themſelves, ſhewing forth the work of the law ‘written in their hearts.’ And who, for that reaſon, ſhall judge the circumciſion, and receive the reward of ‘Well done,’ by him who is judge of quick and dead.

Rom. ii. 14.

§. LXIII. Democritus would ſay, That he had lived to an extraordinary age, by keeping himſelf from luxury and exceſs. That a little eſtate went a great way with men that were neither covetous nor prodigal. That luxury furniſhed great tables with variety; and temperance furniſheth little ones. That riches do not conſiſt in the poſſeſſion, but right uſe, of wealth. He was a man of great retirement, avoiding public honours and employments: bewailed by the people of Abdera as mad, whilſt indeed he only ſmiled at the madneſs of the world.

§. LXIV. Socrates, the moſt religious and learned philoſopher of his time (and of whom it is reported Apollo gave this character, That he was the wiſeſt man on earth) was a man of a ſevere life, and inſtructed people gratis in juſt, grave and virtuous manners: for which being envied by Ariſtophanes, the vain comical wit of that age, as one ſpoiling the trade of plays, and exerciſing the generality of the people with more noble and virtuous things; he was repreſented by him in a play, in which he rendered Socrates ſo ridiculous, that the vulgar would rather part with Socrates in earneſt, than Socrates in jeſt; which made way for their impeaching him, as an enemy to their gods; for which they put him to death. But in a ſhort ſpace, his eighty judges, and the whole people, ſo deeply repented the loſs, that they ſlew many of his accuſers: ſome hanged themſelves; none would trade with them, nor anſwer them a queſtion. They erected ſeveral ſtatues to his praiſe; they forbad his name to be mentioned, that they might forget their injuſtice: they called home his baniſhed friends and ſcholars. And, by the moſt wiſe and learned men of that age, it is obſerved, that famous city was puniſhed with the moſt dreadful plagues that ever raged amongſt them; and all Greece, with it, never proſpered in any conſiderable undertaking; but from that time always decayed. Amongſt many of his ſober and religious maxims, upon which he was accuſtomed to diſcourſe with his diſciples, theſe are ſome:

Plat. Apolog.
Diog. Laert.
Helvie. Cic.
Tuſ Queſt. 1.
Xenoph. Brut.
Cic. Orat.
Liban. Apol.
Varro Hiſt.
Schol. Ariſt.

He taught every-where, That an upright man, and an happy man, are all one. They that do good, are employed; they that ſpend their time in recreations, are idle. To do good is the beſt courſe of life; he only is idle, who might be better employed. An horſe is not known by his furniture, but qualities; ſo men are to be eſteemed for virtue, not wealth. Being aſked, Who lived without trouble? he anſwered, Thoſe who are conſcious to themſelves of no evil thing. To one who demanded, What was nobility? he anſwered, A good temper and diſpoſition of ſoul and body. They who know what they ought to do, and do it not, are not wiſe and temperate, but fools and ſtupid. To one that complained, he had not been benefited by his travels; Not without reaſon (ſays Socrates) thou didſt travel with thy Self: intimating, he knew not the eternal Mind of God to direct and inform him. Being demanded, What wiſdom was? ſaid, A virtuous compoſure of the ſoul. And being aſked, who were wiſe? anſwered, Thoſe that ſin not. Seeing a young man rich, but ignorant of heavenly things, and purſuing earthly pleaſures; Behold (ſays he) a golden ſlave. Soft ways of living beget neither a good conſtitution of body nor mind. Fine and rich cloaths are only for comedians. Being de-

Clem. Alex.
Strom. 7.417.
Xen. me. 3.
p. 720. Xen.
me. 3. p. 778.
779, 780.
Stob. Ech.
Storm. 1. 11.
Stob. 4. 6.
Stob. 2. 18.
Xenoph.
Mem. 3.
Senec. Epiſt.
1. 103.
Stob. 28.
Stob. 32.
Xen. Mem. 1.
Ælian. 9.
Stob. 37.
Stob. 37.
Stob. 87.

Xen. Mem. 3. 4. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. 9. Stob. 37. Xenoph. Mem. 4. 802. Plat. Phæd.

manded from what things men and women ought to refrain? he anſwered, Pleaſure. Being aſked, What continence and temperance were? he ſaid, Government of corporal deſires and pleaſures. The wicked live to eat, &c. but the good eat to live. Temperate perſons become the moſt excellent; eat that which neither hurts the body nor mind, and which is eaſy to be gotten. One ſaying, It was a great matter to abſtain from what one deſires; But (ſays he) it is better not to deſire at all. [This is deep religion, even very hard to profeſſed Chriſtians.] "It is the property of God, to need nothing; and they that need, and are contented with, leaſt, come neareſt to God. The only and beſt way to worſhip God is, to mind and obey whatſoever he commands. That the ſouls of men and women partake of the Divine Nature. That God is ſeen of the virtuous mind. That by waiting upon him, they are united unto him, in an inacceſſible place of purity and happineſs. Which God, he aſſerted always to be near him."

Xen. Mem. 1. p. 710.

Xen. Mem. 4. Plato de Legib.

Many more are the excellent ſayings of this great man, who was not leſs famous for his ſayings, than his example, with the greateſt nations; yet died he a ſacrifice to the ſottiſh fury of the vain world. The hiſtory of his life reports, that his father was told, He ſhould have the Guide of his life WITHIN him, which ſhould be more to him than five hundred maſters; which proved true: inſtructing his ſcholars herein, charging them not to neglect theſe divine affairs, which chiefly concern man, to mind or enquire after ſuch things as are without in the viſible world. He taught the uſe of outward things only as they were neceſſary to life and commerce; forbidding ſuperfluities and curioſities. He was martyred for his doctrine, after having lived ſeventy years the moſt admired, followed, and viſited, of all men in his time, by kings and commonwealths; and than whom, antiquity mentions none with more reverence and honour. Well were it for poor England, if her conceited Chriſtians were true Socrates's; whoſe ſtrict, juſt and ſelf-denying life doth not beſpeak him more famous, than it will Chriſtians infamous at the revelation of the righteous judgment; where Heathens virtue ſhall aggravate Chriſtians intemperance; and their humility, the others exceſſive pride: and juſtly too, ſince a Greater than Socrates is come, whoſe name they profeſs, but they will not obey his law.

Plato de Rep.

Diog. Laert.

Laert. in vit. Xen. Crat. Stob. Ælian.

Alchinous.

§. LXV. PLATO, that famous philoſopher and ſcholar to Socrates, was ſo grave, and devoted to divine things, nay, ſo diſcreetly politick, that in his Commonwealth he would not ſo much as harbour poetical fancies (much leſs open ſtages) as being too effeminate, and apt to withdraw the minds of youth from more noble, more manly, as well as more heavenly exerciſes. Plato ſeeing a young man play at dice, reproved him ſharply; the other anſwered, What! for ſo ſmall a matter? Cuſtom (ſaith Plato) is no ſmall thing: let idle hours be ſpent more uſefully. Let youth (ſaid he) take delight in good things; for pleaſures are the baits of evil. Obſerve; the momentary ſweetneſs of a delicious life is followed with eternal ſorrow; the ſhort pain of the contrary with eternal pleaſure. Being commanded to put on a purple garment by the king of Sicily, he refuſed, ſaying, He was a man, and ſcorned ſuch effeminacies. Inviting Timothy, the Athenian general, to ſupper, he treated him with herbs, water, and ſuch ſpare diet as he was accuſtomed to eat. Timothy's friends next day laughing, aſked, how he was entertained? he anſwered, Never better in his life; for he ſlept all night after his ſupper: thereby commending his temperance. He addicted himſelf to religious contemplations; and is ſaid to have lived a virtuous and ſingle life, always eyeing and obeying the MIND, which he ſometimes called GOD, the Father of all things; affirming, Who lived ſo, ſhould become like him, and ſo be related to, and joined with, the Divinity itſelf. This ſame Plato, upon his dying-bed, ſent for his friends about him, and told them, The whole world was out of the way, in that they underſtood not, nor regarded, the Mind, (that is, God, or the Word, or Begotten of God) aſſuring them, Thoſe men died moſt comfortably, that lived moſt conformable to Right Reaſon, and ſought and adored the Firſt Cauſe, meaning God.

Laert. vit. Socr. Ælian.

Laert.

§. LXVI. ANTISTHENES, an Athenian philoſopher, had taught in the ſtudy of eloquence ſeveral years; but upon hearing Socrates treat of the ſeriouſneſs of religion, of the divine life, eternal rewards, &c. 'bad all his ſcholars ſeek them a new maſter; for he had 'found one for himſelf.' Wherefore ſelling his eſtate, he diſtributed it to the poor, and betook himſelf wholly to the conſideration of heavenly things; going chearfully ſix miles every day, to hear Socrates.---But where are the like preachers and converts amongſt the people called Chriſtians! Obſerve the daily pains of Socrates; ſurely he did not ſtudy a week to read a written ſermon: we are aſſured of the contrary; for it was frequent with him to preach to the people at any time of the day, in the very ſtreets, as occaſion ſerved, and his Good Genius moved him. Neither was he an hireling, or covetous; for he did it gratis: ſurely then he had not fat benefices, tithes, glebes, &c. And let the ſelf-denial and diligence of Antiſthenes be conſidered, who, of a philoſopher and maſter, became a ſcholar, and that a daily one: ſurely, it was then matter of reproach, as it is now; ſhewing thereby both want of knowledge, (tho' called a philoſopher) and his great deſire to obtain it of one that could teach him. None of theſe uſed to go to plays, balls, treats, &c. They found more ſerious employments for their minds, and were examples of temperance to the world. I will repeat ſome of his grave ſentences, as reported by Laertius and others;

others, namely, That thoſe only are noble who are virtuous. That virtue was ſelf-ſufficient to happineſs. That it conſiſteth in actions, not requiring many words, nor much learning, and is ſelf-ſufficient to wiſdom: for that all other things have reference thereunto. That men ſhould not govern by force, nor by laws, unleſs good, but by juſtice. To a friend, complaining he had loſt his notes, Thou ſhouldeſt have writ them upon thy mind (ſaith he) and not in a book. Thoſe who would never die, muſt live juſtly and piouſly. Being aſked, What learning was beſt? That, ſaith he, which unlearneth evil. To one that praiſed a life full of pleaſures and delicacies; Let the ſons of my enemies, ſaith he, live delicately: counting it the greateſt miſery. We ought, ſays he, to aim at ſuch pleaſures as follow honeſt labour; and not thoſe which go before it. When at any time he ſaw a woman richly dreſſed, he would, in a way of reproach, bid her huſband bring out his horſe and arms: meaning, if he were prepared to juſtify the injuries ſuch wantonneſs uſeth to produce, he might the better allow thoſe dangerous freedoms: otherwiſe, ſaith he, pluck off her rich and gaudy attire. He is ſaid to exclaim bitterly againſt pleaſures; often ſaying, I had rather be mad, than addicted to pleaſure, and ſpend my days in decking and feeding my carcaſe. Thoſe, ſays he, who have once learned the way to temperance and virtue, let them not offer to entangle themſelves again with fruitleſs ſtories, and vain learning; nor be addicted to corporal delicacies, which will dull the mind, and will divert and hinder them from the purſuit of thoſe more noble and heavenly virtues. Upon the death of his beloved maſter, Socrates, he inſtituted a ſect called Cynicks; out of whom came the great ſect of the Stoicks: both which had theſe common principles, which they daily, with great and unwearied diligence, did maintain, and inſtruct people in the knowledge of, viz. No man is wiſe or happy, but the good and virtuous man. That not much learning, nor ſtudy of many things, was neceſſary. That a wiſe man is never drunk nor mad: that he never ſinneth. That a wiſe man is void of paſſion: that he is ſincere, religious, grave: that he only is divine. That ſuch only are prieſts and prophets, who have God in themſelves. And that his law is imprinted in their minds, and the minds of all men. That ſuch an one ONLY can pray; is innocent, meek, temperate, ingenuous, noble; a good magiſtrate, father, ſon, maſter, ſervant, and worthy of praiſe. On the contrary, that wicked men can be one of theſe. "That the ſame belongs to men and women."

Stob. ibid. 117. Diog. Laert.
Agel. lib. 9. c. 5.
Laert. vir. mem.
Laert. Plut. de rep. Stoi. Stob. Cic. de nat. Deo. lib. ii. Lect. de Ira Dei, cap. 10.

Their diet was ſlender, their food only what would ſatisfy nature. Their garments exceeding mean. Their habitations ſolitary and homely. They affirmed, thoſe who lived with feweſt things, and were contented, moſt nearly approached God, who wants nothing. They voluntarily deſpiſed riches, glory and nobility, as fooliſh ſhews, and vain fictions, that had no true and ſolid worth or happineſs in them. They made all things to be good and evil, and flatly denied the idle ſtories of fortune and chance.

Plut. Pl. Ph. 16. Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. 4. Diog. Laert. vit. Mem. Stob.

Certainly theſe were they, who having no external law, 'became a law unto themſelves;' and did not abuſe the knowledge they had of the inviſible God; but to their capacities inſtructed men in the knowledge of that righteous, ſerious, ſolid and heavenly Principle, which leads to true and everlaſting happineſs all thoſe that embrace it.

§. LXVII. XENOCRATES refuſed Alexander's preſent, yet treated his ambaſſadors after his temperate and ſpare manner; ſaying, You ſee I have no need of your maſter's bounty, that am ſo well pleaſed with this. He would ſay, That one ought not to carry one's eyes or one's hands into another man's houſe; that is, be a buſy-body. That one ought to be moſt circumſpect of one's actions before children, leſt by example one's faults ſhould out-live one's ſelf. He ſaid, Pride was the greateſt obſtruction to true knowledge. His chaſtity and integrity were remarkable, and reverenced in Athens: Phryne, the famous Athenian courtezan, could not place a temptation upon him; nor Philip, king of Macedon, a bribe; though the reſt ſent in the embaſſy were corrupted. And being once brought for a witneſs, the judges roſe up, and cried out, Tender no oath to Xenocrates, for he will ſpeak the truth! A reſpect they did not allow to one another. Holding his peace at ſome detracting diſcourſe, they aſked him, why he ſpoke not? Becauſe, ſaith he, I have ſometimes repented of ſpeaking, but never of holding my peace.

Laert. Val. Max. 4. 3. 2. 16. Cic. pro Fal. Val. Max. 7. 2.

§. LXVIII. BION would ſay, That great men walk in ſlippery places. That it is a great miſchief not to bear affliction. That ungodlineſs is an enemy to aſſurance. He ſaid to a covetous man, That he did not poſſeſs his wealth, but his wealth poſſeſſed him; abſtaining from uſing it, as if it were another man's. In fine, That men ought to purſue a courſe of virtue, without regard to the praiſe or reproach of men.

§. LXIX. DEMONAX, ſeeing the great care that men had of their bodies, more than of their minds; They deck the houſe, ſaith he, but ſlight the maſter. He would ſay, That many are inquiſitive after the make of the world, but are little concerned about their own, which were a ſcience much more worthy of their pains. To a city that would eſtabliſh the gladiators, or prize-fighters, he ſaid, That they ought firſt to overthrow the Altar of Mercy: intimating the cruelty of ſuch practices. One aſking him, why he turned philoſopher? Becauſe, ſaith he, I am MAN. He would ſay of the prieſts of Greece, If they could better inſtruct the people, they could not give them too much; but if not, the people

ple could not give them too little. He lamented the unprofitableneſs of good laws, by being in bad mens hands.

§. LXX. **Diogenes** was angry with criticks, that were nice of words, and not of their own actions; with muſicians, that tune their inſtruments, but could not govern their paſſions; with aſtrologers, that have their eyes in the ſky, and look not to their own goings; with orators, that ſtudy to ſpeak well, but not to do well; with covetous men, that take care to get, but never uſe their eſtates; with thoſe philoſophers, that deſpiſe greatneſs, and yet court great men; and with thoſe that ſacrifice for health, and yet ſurfeit themſelves with eating their ſacrifices. One time, diſcourſing of the nature, pleaſure and reward of virtue, and the people not regarding what he ſaid, he fell a ſinging; at which every one preſſed to hear: whereupon he cried out, in abhorrence of their ſtupidity, 'O God, how 'much more is the world in love with folly, than with wiſdom!' Seeing a man ſprinkling himſelf with water, after having done ſome ill thing; Unhappy man! ſaith he, doſt thou not know that the errors of life are not to be waſhed away with water? To one who ſaid, Life is an ill thing; he anſwered, Life is not an ill thing; but an ill life is an ill thing. He was very temperate, for his bed and his table he found every-where. One ſeeing him waſh herbs, ſaid, If thou hadſt followed Dionyſius, king of Sicily, thou wouldeſt not have needed to have waſhed herbs: he anſwered, If thou hadſt waſhed herbs, thou neededſt not to have followed Dionyſius. He lighted a candle at noon, ſaying, I look for a Man; implying, that the world was darkened by vice, and men effeminated. To a luxurious perſon, that had waſted his means, ſupping upon olives; If, ſaith he, thou hadſt uſed to dine ſo, thou wouldeſt not have needed to ſup ſo. To a young man dreſſing himſelf neatly, If this, ſaith he, be for the ſake of men, thou art unhappy; if for women, thou art unjuſt. Another time, ſeeing an effeminate young man; Art not thou aſhamed, ſaith he, to uſe thyſelf worſe than nature hath made thee? ſhe hath made thee a man, but thou wilt force thyſelf to be a woman. To one that courted a bad woman; O wretch! ſaid he, what meaneſt thou, to aſk for that which is better loſt than found? To one that ſmelled of ſweet unguents, Have a care, ſaith he, this perfume make not thy life ſtink. He compared covetous men to ſuch as have the dropſy: Thoſe are full of money, yet deſire more; theſe of water, yet thirſt for more. Being aſked, What beaſts were the worſt? In the field, ſaith he, bears and lions; in the city, uſurers and flatterers. At a feaſt, one giving him a great cup of wine, he threw it away; for which being blamed, If I had drank it, ſaith he, not only the wine would have been loſt, but I alſo. One aſking him, how he might order himſelf beſt? he ſaid, By reproving thoſe things in thyſelf, which thou blameſt in others. Another demanding, what was hardeſt? he anſwered, To know ourſelves, to whom we are partial. An aſtrologer diſcourſing to the people of the wandering ſtars; No, ſaith he, it is not the ſtars, but theſe (pointing to the people that heard him). Being aſked, what men were moſt noble, They ſaith he, who contemn wealth, honour and pleaſure, and endure the contraries, to wit, poverty, ſcorn, pain and death. To a wicked man, reproaching him for his poverty; I never knew, ſaith he, any man puniſhed for his poverty, but many for their wickedneſs. To one bewailing himſelf that he ſhould not die in his own country; Be of comfort, ſaith he, for the way to heaven is alike in every place. One day he went backwards; whereat the people laughing, Are ye not aſhamed, ſaith he, to do that all your life-time, which you deride in me?

Laert. §. LXXI. **Crates**, a Theban, famous for his ſelf-denial and virtue; deſcended from the houſe of Alexander, of great eſtate, at leaſt two hundred talents; which, having moſtly diſtributed among the poor citizens, he became a conſtant profeſſor of the Cynick philoſophy. He exceedingly inveighed againſt common women. Seeing at Delphos a golden image, that Phryne, the courtezan, had ſet up, by the gains of her trade, cried out, This is a trophy of the Greeks intemperance. Seeing a young man highly fed, and fat; Unhappy youth, ſaith he, do not fortify thy priſon. To another, followed by a great many paraſites; Young man, ſaith he, I am ſorry to ſee thee ſo much alone. Walking one day upon the exchange, where he beheld people mighty buſy after their divers callings; Theſe people, ſaith he, think themſelves happy; but I am happy that have nothing to do with them: for I place my happineſs in poverty, not in riches. Oh! men do not know how much a wallet, a meaſure of lupins, with ſecurity, is worth. Of his wife, Hipparchia, a woman of wealth and extraction, but nobler for her love to true philoſophy, and how they came together, there will be occaſion to make mention in its place.

Stob. Strom. 45. §. LXXII. **Ariſtotle**, a ſcholar to Plato, and the oracle of philoſophy to theſe very times, tho' not ſo divinely contemplative as his maſter, neverthleſs follows him in this; That luxury ſhould by good diſcipline be exiled human ſocieties. Ariſtotle ſeeing a youth finely dreſt, ſaid, Art thou not aſhamed, when nature hath made thee a man, to make thyſelf a woman? And to another, gazing on his fine cloak; Why doſt thou boaſt of a ſheep's fleece? He ſaid, It was the duty of a good man to live ſo under laws, as he ſhould do if there were none.

Stob. 161. ibid. 46.

§. LXXIII.

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§. LXXIII. Mandanis, a great and famous philoſopher of the Gymnoſophiſts, whom Alexander the Great required to come to the feaſt of Jupiter's ſon (meaning himſelf), declaring, That if he came, he ſhould be rewarded; if not, he ſhould be put to death. The philoſopher contemned his meſſage, as vain and ſordid: he firſt told them, That he denied him to be Jupiter's ſon (a mere fiction). Next, That as for his gifts, he eſteemed them nothing worth; his own country could furniſh him with neceſſaries; beyond which he coveted nothing. And laſtly, As for the death he threatned, he did not fear it; but of the two, he wiſhed it rather; in that, ſaith he, it is a change to a more bleſſed and happy ſtate. Stob. 161. ibid. 46.

§. LXXIV. Zeno, the great Stoick, and author of that philoſophy, had many things admirable in him; who not only ſaid, but practiſed. He was a man of that integrity, and ſo reverenced for it by the Athenians, that they depoſited the keys of the city in his hands, as the only perſon fit to be intruſted with their liberties: yet by birth a ſtranger, being of Pſittacon in Cyprus. Antigonus, king of Macedonia, had a great reſpect for him, and deſired his company, as the following letter expreſſeth: Stob. 161. Laert.

'King Antigonus to Zeno the philoſopher, health: I think that I exceed thee in fortune and glory; but in learning and diſcipline, and that perfect felicity which thou haſt attained, I am exceeded by thee; wherefore I thought it expedient to write to thee, that thou wilt come to me, aſſuring myſelf thou wilt not deny it. Uſe all means therefore to come to us; and know, thou art not to inſtruct me only, but all the Macedonians: for he who teacheth the king of Macedonia, and guideth him to virtue, it is evident, that he doth likewiſe inſtruct all his ſubjects in virtue: for ſuch as is the prince, ſuch for the moſt part are thoſe who live under his government.'

Zeno anſwered thus: 'To king Antigonus, Zeno wiſheth health: I much eſteem thy earneſt deſire of learning, in that thou aimeſt at philoſophy; not popular, which perverteth manners; but that true diſcipline which conferreth profit; avoiding that generally commended pleaſure, which effeminates the ſouls of men. It is manifeſt that thou art inclined to generous things, not only by nature, but by choice; with indifferent exerciſe and aſſiſtance thou mayeſt eaſily attain to virtue. But I am very infirm of body, being fourſcore years of age, and ſo not well able to come; yet I will ſend thee ſome of my chief diſciples, who, in thoſe things concerning the ſoul, are nothing inferior to me; and whoſe inſtructions, if thou wilt follow them, will conduct thee to perfect bleſſedneſs.'----Thus Zeno refuſed Antigonus, but ſent Perſaus his countryman, and Philonides, a Theban. He would ſay, That nothing was more unſeemly than pride, eſpecially in youth, which was a time of learning. He therefore recommended to young men modeſty in three things; in their walking, in their behaviour, and in their apparel: often repeating thoſe verſes of Euripides, in honour of Capaneus:

He was not puſt up with his ſtore;
Nor thought himſelf above the poor.

Seeing a man very finely dreſſed, ſtepping lightly over a kennel; That man, ſaith he, doth not care for the dirt, becauſe he could not ſee his face in it. He alſo taught, The people ſhould not affect delicacy of diet, no not in their ſickneſs. To one that ſmelt with unguents; Who is it, ſaith he, that ſmells ſo effeminately? Seeing a friend of his taken too much up with the buſineſs of his land; Unleſs thou loſe thy land, ſaith he, thy land will loſe thee. Being demanded, Whether a man that doth wrong, may conceal it from God? No, ſaith he, nor yet he who thinks it. Which teſtifies to the omnipreſence of God. Being aſked, Who was his beſt friend? he anſwered, My other ſelf; intimating the Divine part that was in him. He would ſay, The end of man was not to live, eat and drink; but to uſe this life ſo, as to obtain an happy life hereafter. He was ſo humble, that he converſed with mean and ragged perſons; whence Timon thus:

And for companions gets of ſervants ſtore,
Of all men the moſt empty, and moſt poor.

He was patient, and frugal in his houſhold expences. Laertius ſaith, he had but one ſervant: Seneca avers, he had none. He was mean in his clothes: in his diet by Philemon thus deſcribed:

He water drinks, then broth and herbs doth eat;
Teaching his ſcholars almoſt without meat.

His chaſtity was ſo eminent, that it became a proverb; As chaſte as Zeno. When the news of his death came to Antigonus, he broke forth into theſe words, What an object have I loſt? And being aſked, Why he admired him ſo much? Becauſe, ſaith he, tho' I beſtowed many great things upon him, he was never therewith exalted nor dejected. The Athenians, after his death, by a public decree, erected a ſtatue to his memorial; it runs thus: 'Whereas Zeno, the ſon of Mnaſeas, a Scythian, has profeſſed philoſophy about fifty-eight years in this city, and in all things performed the office of a good man, encouraging thoſe young men, who applied themſelves to him, to the love of virtue and temperance, leading himſelf a life ſuitable to the doctrine which he profeſſed; a pattern to the beſt to imitate; the people have thought fit to do honour to Zeno, and to crown him with a crown of gold, according to law, in reward of his virtue and temperance, and

1668. ‘ to build a tomb for him, publicly in the Ceramick,’ &c. Theſe two were his epitaphs, one by Antipater:

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Here Zeno lies, who tall Olympus ſcal’d;
Not heaping Pelion on Oſſa’s head:
Nor by Herculean labours ſo prevail’d;
But found out virtue’s paths, which thither led.

The other by Xenodotus, the Stoick, thus:

Zeno, thy years to hoary age were ſpent,
Not with vain riches, but with ſelf-content.

§. LXXV. Seneca, a great and excellent philoſopher (who, with Epictetus, ſhall conclude the teſtimonies of the men of their character) hath ſo much to our purpoſe, that his works are but a kind of continued evidence for us: he ſaith, Nature was not ſo much an enemy, as to give an eaſy paſſage of life to all other creatures, and that man alone ſhould not live without ſo many arts: ſhe hath commanded us none of theſe things. We have made all things difficult to us, by diſdaining things that are eaſy: houſes, clothes, meats, and nouriſhment of bodies, and thoſe things which are now the care of life, were eaſy to come by, freely gotten, and prepared with a light labour: for the meaſure of theſe things was neceſſity, not voluptuouſneſs: but we have made them pernicious and admirable; they muſt be ſought with art and ſkill. Nature ſufficeth to that which ſhe requireth.

Appetite hath revolted from nature, which continually inciteth itſelf, and increaſeth with the ages, helping vice by wit. Firſt, it began to deſire ſuperfluous, then contrary things: laſt of all, it ſold the mind to the body, and commanded it to ſerve the luſts thereof. All theſe arts, wherewith the city is continually ſet at work, and maketh ſuch a ſtir, do center in the affairs of the body, to which all things were once performed as to a Servant, but now are provided as for a Lord. Hence the ſhops of engravers, perfumers, &c. hence of thoſe that teach effeminate motions of the body, and vain and wanton ſongs: for natural behaviour is deſpiſed, which completed deſires with neceſſary help: now it is clowniſhneſs and ill-breeding, to be contented with as much as is requiſite. What ſhall I ſpeak of rich marbles curiouſly wrought, wherewith temples and houſes do ſhine? what of ſtately galleries, and rich furniture? Theſe are but the devices of moſt vile ſlaves, the inventions of men, not of wiſe men: for wiſdom ſits deeper; it is the miſtreſs of the mind. Wilt thou know what things ſhe hath found out, what ſhe hath made? Not unſeemly motions of the body, nor variable ſinging by trumpet or flute; nor yet weapons, wars, or fortifications: ſhe endeavoureth profitable things; ſhe favours peace, and calls all mankind to an agreement: ſhe leadeth to a bleſſed eſtate: ſhe openeth the way to it, and ſhews what is evil from what is good, and chaſeth vanity out of the mind: ſhe giveth ſolid greatneſs, but debaſeth that which is puffed up, and would be ſeen of men: ſhe bringeth forth the ‘ Image of God to be ſeen in the ſouls of men:’ and ſo from corporeal, ſhe tranſlateth into incorporeal things. Thus in the 90th epiſtle to Lucilius.----To Gallio he writeth thus: “ All men, brother Gallio, are deſirous to live happy; yet blind to the means of that bleſſedneſs, as long as we wander hither and thither, and follow not our Guide, but the diſſonant clamour of thoſe that call on us to undertake different ways. Our ſhort life is wearied and worn away amongſt errors, altho’ we labour to get us a good mind. There is nothing therefore to be more avoided, than following the multitude without examination, and believing any thing without judging. Let us enquire what is beſt to be done, not what is moſt uſually done; and what planted us in the poſſeſſion of eternal felicity; not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worſt interpreter of truth. I call the Multitude as well thoſe that are cloathed in White, as thoſe in other colours: for I examine not the colours of the garments, wherewith their bodies are cloathed: I truſt not mine eyes to inform me what a man is; ‘ I have a better and truer Light, whereby I can diſtinguiſh truth from ‘ falſhhood.’ Let the ſoul find out the Good of the ſoul. If once ſhe may have leiſure to withdraw into herſelf, oh! how will ſhe confeſs, I wiſh all I have done were undone; and all I have ſaid, when I recollect it, I am aſhamed of it, when I now hear the like in others. Theſe things below, whereat we gaze, and whereat we ſtay, and which one man with admiration ſhews unto another, do outwardly ſhine, but are inwardly empty. Let us ſeek out ſomewhat that is good, not in appearance, but ſolid, united and beſt, in that which leaſt appears: let us diſcover this. Neither is it far from us; we ſhall find it, if we ſeek it. For it is wiſdom, not to wander from that Immortal Nature, but to form ourſelves according to his law and example. Bleſſed is the man who judgeth rightly: bleſſed is he who is contented with his preſent condition: and bleſſed is he who giveth ear to that Immortal Principle, in the government of his life.”---An whole volume of theſe excellent things hath he written. No wonder a man of his doctrine and life, eſcaped not the cruelty of brutiſh Nero, under whom he ſuffered death; as alſo did the apoſtle Paul, with whom, it is ſaid, Seneca had converſed. When Nero’s meſſenger brought him the news that he was to die; with a compoſed and undaunted countenance he received the errand, and preſently called for pen, ink and paper, to write his laſt will and teſtament; which the captain refuſing, he turned towards his friends, and took his leave thus: ‘Since, my loving friends, I cannot bequeath you any other thing in acknowledgement of what I owe you, I leave you at leaſt the richeſt and beſt portion I have, that is, The Image of my Manners and Life; which doing, you will obtain true happineſs.’ His friends ſhewing great trouble for the loſs of him, Where, ſaith he, are thoſe memorable precepts of philoſophy; and what is become of thoſe proviſions, which for ſo many years together we have laid up againſt the brunts and afflictions of providence? Was Nero's cruelty unknown to us? What could we expect better at his hands, that killed his brother, and murdered his mother, but that he would alſo put his tutor and governor to death? Then turning to his wife, Pompeja Paulina, a Roman lady, young and noble, beſeeched her, for the love ſhe bore him and his philoſophy, to ſuffer patiently his affliction; For (ſaith he) my hour is come, wherein I muſt ſhew, not only by diſcourſe, but by death, the fruit I have reaped by my meditations. I embrace it without grief; wherefore do not diſhonour it with thy tears. Aſſuage thy ſorrow, and comfort thyſelf in the knowledge thou haſt had of me, and of my actions; and lead the reſt of thy life with that honeſt induſtry thou haſt addicted thyſelf unto. And dedicating his life to God, he expired.

LXXVI. EPICTETUS, contemporary with Seneca, and an excellent man, thought no man worthy of the profeſſion of philoſophy, that was not purified from the errors of his nature. His morals were very excellent, which he compriſed under theſe two words, Suſtaining and Abſtaining; or Bearing and Forbearing: To avoid evil, and patiently to ſuffer afflictions: which do certainly comprize the Chriſtian doctrine and life, and are the perfection of the beſt philoſophy that was at any time taught by Egyptians, Greeks or Romans, when it ſignified virtue, ſelf-denial, and a life of religious ſolitude and contemplation.

How little the Chriſtians of the times are true philoſophers, and how much more theſe philoſophers were Chriſtians than they, let the Righteous Principle in every conſcience judge. But is it not then intolerable, that they ſhould be eſteemed Chriſtians, who are yet to learn to be good Heathens; that prate of Grace and Nature, and know neither; who will preſume to determine what is become of Heathens, and know not where they are themſelves, nor mind what may become of them; that can run readily over a tedious liſt of famous perſonages, and calumniate ſuch as will not, with them, celebrate their memories with extravagant and ſuperfluous praiſes, whilſt they make it laudable to act the contrary; and none ſo ready a way to become vile, as not to be vicious? A ſtrange paradox, but too true: ſo blind, ſo ſtupified, ſo beſotted are the fooliſh ſenſualiſts of the world, under their great pretences to religion, faith and worſhip. Ah! did they but know the peace, the joy, the unſpeakable raviſhments of ſoul, that inſeparably attend the innocent, harmleſs, ſtill and retired life of Jeſus; did they but weigh within themſelves the authors of their vain delights and paſtimes, the nature and diſpoſition, they are ſo grateful to, the dangerous conſequence of exerciſing the mind and its affections below, and arreſting and taking them up from their due attendance and obedience to the moſt holy crying voice in their conſciences, Repent, Return, ‘All is vanity ‘and vexation of ſpirit;’ were but theſe things reflected upon; were the inceſſant wooings of Jeſus, and his importunate knocks and intreaties, by his Light and Grace, at the door of their hearts, but kindly anſwered, and He admitted to take up his abode there; and laſtly, were ſuch reſolved to give up to the inſtructions and holy guidance of his Eternal Spirit, in all the humble, heavenly and righteous converſation it requires, and of which he is become our captain and example; then, oh! then, both root and branch of vanity, the nature that invented, and that which delights herſelf therein, with all the follies themſelves, would be conſumed and vaniſh. But they, alas! cheat themſelves, by miſconſtrued ſcriptures, and daub with the untempered mortar of miſapplied promiſes. They will be ſaints, whilſt they are ſinners; and in Chriſt, whilſt in the ſpirit of the world, walking after the fleſh, and not after the Spirit, by which the true children of God are led. My friends, mind the Juſt Witneſs and Holy Principle in yourſelves, that you may experimentally know more of the divine life; in which (and not in a multitude of vain repetitions) true and ſolid felicity eternally conſiſts.

IV. Nor is this reputation, wiſdom and virtue, only to be attributed to Men: there were Women alſo, in the Greek and Roman ages, that honoured their ſex by great examples of meekneſs, prudence and chaſtity: and which I do the rather mention, that the honour ſtory yields to their virtuous conduct may raiſe an allowable emulation in thoſe of their own ſex, at leaſt, to equal the noble character given them by antiquity. I will begin with

§. LXXVII. PENELOPE, wife to Ulyſſes, a woman eminent for her beauty and quality, but more for her ſingular chaſtity. Her huſband was abſent from her twenty years; partly in ſervice of his country, and partly in exile; and being believed to be dead, ſhe was earneſtly ſought by divers lovers, and preſſed by her parents to change her condition; but all the importunities of the one, or perſuaſions of the other, not prevailing, her lovers ſeemed to uſe a kind of violence, that where they could not intice, they would compel: to which ſhe yielded, upon this condition; That they would not preſs her to marry, till ſhe had ended the work ſhe had in hand: which they granting, ſhe undid by night what ſhe wrought by day; and with that honeſt device ſhe delayed their deſire, till her worthy huſband returned, whom ſhe received, though in beggars clothes, with an heart full of love and truth. A conſtancy that reproaches too many of the women of the times, who, without the excuſe of ſuch an abſence, can violate their huſbands beds. Her work ſhews the induſtry and employment, even of the women of great quality in thoſe times; whilſt thoſe of the preſent age deſpiſe ſuch honeſt labour, as mean and mechanical.

§. LXXVIII. Theoxena, a woman of great virtue, being in a place encompaſſed by the armies of the king of Macedonia, finding ſhe could not eſcape their hands, rather than fall under the power of his ſoldiers to be defiled, choſe to die: and therefore flying into the ſea, delivered her life up in the waters; thereby chuſing death, rather than ſave her life with the hazard of her virtue.

§. LXXIX. Pandora and Protogenia, two virtuous daughters of an Athenian king, ſeeing their country like to be over-run by its enemies, freely offered their lives in ſacrifice, to appeaſe the fury of their enemies, for the preſervation of their country.

§. LXXX. Hipparchia, a fair Macedonian virgin, noble of blood (as they term it) but more truly noble of mind, I cannot omit to mention; who entertained ſo earneſt an affection for Crates, the Cynical philoſopher, as well for his ſevere life as excellent diſcourſe, that by no means could her relations nor ſuitors, by all their wealth, nobility and beauty, diſſuade her from being his companion: upon which ſtrange reſolution, they all betook themſelves to Crates, beſeeching him to ſhew himſelf a true philoſopher, in perſuading her to deſiſt: which he ſtrongly endeavoured by many arguments; but not prevailing, went his way, and brought all the little furniture of his houſe, and ſhewed her: This (ſaith he) is thy huſband; that, the furniture of thy houſe: conſider on it, for thou canſt not be mine, unleſs thou followeſt the ſame courſe of life: (for, being rich above twenty talents, which is more than fifty thouſand pounds, he neglected all, to follow a retired life:) all which had ſo contrary an effect, that ſhe immediately went to him, before them all, and ſaid, I ſeek not the pomp and effeminacy of this world, but knowledge and virtue, Crates; and chuſe a life of temperance, before a life of delicacies: for true ſatisfaction, thou knoweſt, is in the mind; and that pleaſure is only worth ſeeking, that laſts for ever. Thus was it, ſhe became the conſtant companion both of his love and life, his friendſhip and his virtues; travelling with him from place to place, and performing the public exerciſes of inſtruction with Crates, wherever they came. She was a moſt violent enemy to all impiety, but eſpecially to wanton men and women, and thoſe, whoſe garb and converſation ſhewed them devoted to vain pleaſures and paſtimes: effeminacy rendering the like perſons not only unprofitable, but pernicious to the whole world. Which ſhe as well made good by the example of her exceeding induſtry, temperance and ſeverity, as thoſe are wont to do by their intemperance and folly: for ruin of health, eſtates, virtue, and loſs of eternal happineſs, have ever attended, and ever will attend, ſuch earthly minds.

§. LXXXI. Lucretia, a moſt chaſte Roman dame, whoſe name and virtue is known by that tragedy that follows them. For Sextus, the ſon of Tarquin the Proud, king of Rome, hearing it was her cuſtom to work late in her chamber, did there attempt her, with his ſword in his hand, vowing he would run her through; and put one of his ſervants in the poſture of lying with her, on purpoſe to defame her, if ſhe would not yield to his luſts. Having forced his wicked end, ſhe ſends for her father, then governor of Rome, her huſband and her friends, to whom having revealed the matter, and with tears lamented her irreparable calamity, ſhe ſlew herſelf in their preſence; that it might not be ſaid Lucretia out-lived her chaſtity, even when ſhe could not defend it. I praiſe the virtue, not the act. But God ſoon avenged this, with other impieties, upon that wicked family; for the people hearing what Sextus had done, whoſe flagitious life they equally hated with his father's tyranny, and their ſenſe of both, aggravated by the reverence they conceived for the chaſte and exemplary life of Lucretia, betook themſelves to their arms; and headed by her father, her huſband, Brutus and Valerius, they drove out that Tarquin family: in which action the hand of Brutus avenged the blood of Lucretia upon infamous Sextus, whom he ſlew in the battle.

§. LXXXII. Cornelia, alſo a noble Roman matron, and ſiſter to Scipio, was eſteemed the moſt famous and honourable perſonage of her time, not more for the greatneſs of her birth, than her exceeding temperance. And hiſtory particularly mentions this, as one great inſtance of her virtue, for which ſhe was ſo much admired, to wit, That ſhe never was accuſtomed to wear rich apparel, but ſuch apparel as was very plain and grave; rather making her children (whom her inſtructions and example had made virtuous) her greateſt ornaments: a good pattern for the vain and wanton dames of the age.

§. LXXXIII. Pontia was another Roman dame, renowned for her ſingular modeſty: for tho' Octavius attempted her with all imaginable allurements and perſuaſions, ſhe choſe rather to die by his cruelty, than be polluted by his luſt. So he took her life, that could not violate her chaſtity.

§. LXXXIV. Arria, wife to Cecinna Pætus, is not leſs famous in ſtory for the magnanimity ſhe ſhewed, in being the companion of her huſband's diſgraces, who thruſt herſelf into priſon with him, that ſhe might be his ſervant; and ſhewed him firſt by death to be revenged of the tyrant.

§. LXXXV. Pompeia Plautina, wiſe to Julianus the emperor, commended for her compaſſion of the poor, uſed the power her virtue had given her with her huſband, to put him upon all the juſt and tender things that became his charge, and to diſſuade him from whatſoever ſeemed harſh to the people: particularly, ſhe diverted him from a great tax his flatterers adviſed him to lay upon the people.

§. LXXXVI. Plotina, the wife of Trajan, a woman (ſaith a certain author) adorned with piety, chaſtity, and all the virtues that a woman is capable of. There are two inſtances; one of her piety, the other of her chaſtity. The firſt is this; When her huſband was proclaimed emperor, ſhe mounted the Capitol after the choice; where, in a religious manner, ſhe ſaid, 'Oh that I may live under all this honour, with the ſame virtue and content 'that I enjoyed before I had it!' The ſecond is this: Her huſband being once exiled, ſhe cauſed her hair to be cut ſhort, as the men wore it, that with leſs notice and danger ſhe might be the companion of his baniſhment.

§. LXXXVII. Pompeia Paulina, a Roman lady of youth and beauty, deſcended of the moſt noble families of Rome, fell in love with Seneca, for the excellency of his doctrine, and the gravity and purity of his manners. They married, and lived great examples together to both their ſexes. So great was her value for her huſband, and ſo little did ſhe care to live when he was to die, that ſhe choſe to be the companion of his death as ſhe had been of his life: and her veins were cut as well as his, whilſt ſhe was the auditor of his excellent diſcourſes: but Nero hearing of it, and fearing leſt Paulina's death might bring him great reproach, becauſe of her noble alliance in Rome, ſent with all haſte to have her wounds cloſed, and if it were poſſible to ſave her life: which, tho' as one half dead, was done, and ſhe againſt her will lived; but always with a pale hue, and wan complexion of face, to tell how much of her life was gone with Seneca her deareſt friend, philoſopher and huſband.

§. LXXXVIII. Thus may the voluptuous women of the times read their reproof in the character of a brave Heathen; and learn, that ſolid happineſs conſiſts in a neglect of wealth and greatneſs, and a contempt of all corporal pleaſures, as more befitting beaſts than immortal ſpirits: and which are loved by none but ſuch, as not knowing the excellency of heavenly things, are both inventing and delighting, like brutes, in that which periſheth; giving the preference to poor mortality, and ſpending their lives to gratify the luſts of a little dirty fleſh and blood, 'that ſhall never enter into the kingdom of heaven:' by all which their minds become darkened, and ſo inſenſible of more celeſtial glories, that they do not only refuſe to enquire after them, but infamouſly ſcoff and deſpiſe thoſe that do, as a fooliſh and mad people: to that ſtrange degree of darkneſs and impudence this age has got. But if the exceeding temperance, chaſtity, virtue, induſtry and contentedneſs of very Heathens, with the plain and neceſſary enjoyments God has been pleaſed to vouchſafe the ſons and daughters of men, as ſufficient to their wants and conveniency, (that they may be the more at leiſure to anſwer the great end of their being born) will not ſuffice, but that they will exceed the bounds, precepts and examples both of Heathens and Chriſtians; anguiſh and tribulation will overtake them, when they ſhall have an eternity to think upon, with gnaſhing teeth, what to all eternity they can never remedy: theſe diſmal wages are decreed for them who ſo far affront God, heaven and eternal felicity, as to neglect their ſalvation from ſin here, and wrath to come, for the enjoyment of a few fading pleaſures. For ſuch to think, notwithſtanding their lives of ſenſe and pleaſure wherein their minds become ſlaves to their bodies, that they ſhall be everlaſtingly happy, is an addition to their evils; ſince it is a great abuſe to the holy God, that men and women ſhould believe Him an eternal companion of their carnal and ſenſual minds: for, 'as the tree falls ſo it lies; and as death leaves men judgment finds them:' and there is no repentance in the grave. Therefore I beſeech you, to whom this comes, to retire: withdraw a while; let not the body ſee all, taſte all, enjoy all; but let the ſoul ſee too, taſte and enjoy thoſe heavenly comforts and refreſhments, proper to that eternal world of which ſhe is an inhabitant, and where ſhe muſt ever abide in a ſtate of peace or plagues, when this viſible one ſhall be diſſolved.

CHAP. XX.

§. 1. *The doctrine of Chriſt from Matt. v. about denial of ſelf.* §. 2. *John Baptiſt's example.* §. 3. *The teſtimonies of the apoſtle Peter, &c.* §. 4. *Paul's godly exhortation againſt pride, covetouſneſs and luxury.* §. 5. *The primitive chriſtians nonconformity* *to the world.* §. 6. *Clemens Romanus againſt the vanity of the Gentiles.* §. 7. *Machiavel of the zeal of the Primitive Chriſtians.* §. 8. *Tertullian, Chryſoſtom, &c. on Matt.* xii. 36. §. 9. *Gregory Nazianzene.* §. 10. *Jerom.* §. 11. *Hilary.* §. 12. *Ambroſe.* §. 13. *Auguſtine.* §. 14. *Council of Carthage.* §. 15. *Cardan.* §. 16. *Gratian.* §. 17. *Petrus Bellonius.* §. 18. *Waldeneſes.* §. 19. *What they underſtood by Daily Bread in the Lord's Prayer.* §. 20. *Their judgment concerning Taverns.* §. 21. *Dancing, Muſick, &c.* §. 22. *An epiſtle of Bartholomew Tertian to the Waldenſian churches, &c.* §. 23. *Their extreme ſuffering and faithfulneſs. Their degeneracy reproved that call them their anceſtors.* §. 24. *Paulinus, biſhop of Nola, relieving ſlaves and priſoners.* §. 25. *Acacius, biſhop of Amida, his charity to enemies.*

Chap. XX.

The doctrine and practice of the bleſſed Lord Jeſus and his apoſtles, the primitive Chriſtians, and thoſe of more modern times, in favour of this diſcourſe.

HAVING abundantly ſhewn, how much the doctrine and converſation of the virtuous Gentiles condemn the pride, avarice and luxury of the profeſſed Chriſtians of the times; I ſhall, in the next place, to diſcharge my engagement, and farther fortify this diſcourſe, preſent my reader with the judgment and practice of the moſt Chriſtian times; as alſo of eminent writers, both ancient and modern. I ſhall begin with the Bleſſed Author of that religion.

Matt. v.

§. I. Jesus Christ, in whoſe mouth there was found no guile, (ſent from God, with a teſtimony of love to mankind, and who laid down his life for their ſalvation; whom God hath raiſed by his mighty power to be Lord of all) is of right to be firſt heard in this matter; 'for never man ſpake like him,' to our point; ſhort, clear and cloſe; and all oppoſite to the way of this wicked world. 'Bleſſed (ſays he) are the poor in ſpirit, 'for theirs is the kingdom of God:' he doth not ſay, Bleſſed are the proud, the rich, the high-minded: here is humility and the fear of the Lord bleſt. 'Bleſſed are they 'that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted:' he doth not ſay, Bleſſed are the feaſters, dancers and revellers of the world, whoſe life is ſwallowed up of pleaſure and jollitry: no, as he was a man of ſorrows, ſo he bleſſed the godly-ſorrowful. 'Bleſſed are the 'meek, for they ſhall inherit the earth:' he doth not ſay, Bleſſed are the ambitious, the angry, and thoſe that are puffed up: he makes not the earth a bleſſing to them: and tho' they get it by conqueſt and rapine, it will at laſt fall into the hands of the meek, to inherit. Again, 'Bleſſed are they which do hunger and thirſt after righte-'ouſneſs:' but no bleſſing to the hunger and thirſt of the luxurious man. 'Bleſſed are 'the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy:' he draws men to tenderneſs and forgiveneſs, by reward. Haſt thou one in thy power that hath wronged thee? be not rigorous, exact not the utmoſt farthing; be merciful, and pity the afflicted, for ſuch are bleſſed. Yet farther, 'Bleſſed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God:' he doth not ſay, Bleſſed are the proud, the covetous, the unclean, the voluptuous, the malicious: no, ſuch ſhall never ſee God. Again, 'Bleſſed are the peace-makers, for they 'ſhall be called the children of God: he doth not ſay, Bleſſed are the contentious, backbiters, tale-bearers, brawlers, fighters, makers of war; neither ſhall they be called the children of God, whatever they may call themſelves. Laſtly, 'Bleſſed are you, when men ſhall 'revile you, and perſecute you, and ſay all manner of evil againſt you falſly, for my ſake; 'rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven:' he bleſſeth the troubles of his people, and tranſlates earthly ſufferings into heavenly rewards. He doth not ſay, Bleſſed are you when the world ſpeaks well of you, and fawns upon you: ſo that his bleſſings croſs the world's; for the World bleſſeth thoſe as happy, that have the world's favour: He bleſſeth thoſe as happy, that have the world's frowns. This ſolveth the great objection, "Why are you ſo fooliſh to expoſe yourſelves to the law, to incur the diſpleaſure of magiſtrates, and ſuffer the loſs of your eſtates and liberties? Cannot a man ſerve God in his heart, and do as others do? Are you wiſer than your fore-fathers? call to mind your anceſtors. Will you queſtion their ſalvation by your novelties, and forget the future good of your wife and children, as well as ſacrifice the preſent comforts of your life, to hold up the credit of a party?" a language I have more than once heard: I ſay, this doctrine of Chriſt is an anſwer and antidote againſt the power of this objection. He teacheth us to embrace truth under all thoſe ſcandals. The Jews had more to ſay of this kind than any, whoſe way had a more extraordinary inſtitution; but Chriſt minds not either inſtitution or ſucceſſion. He was a New Man, and came to conſecrate a New Way, and that in the will of God; and the power that accompanied his miniſtry, and that of his followers, abundantly proved the divine authority of his miſſion, who thereby warns his to expect and to bear contradiction, reviling and perſecution: for if they did it to the Green tree, much more were they to expect that they would do it to the Dry: if to the Lord, then to the ſervant.

Why then ſhould Chriſtians fear that reproach and tribulation, that are the companions of his religion, ſince they work to his ſincere followers a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory? But indeed they have great cauſe to fear and be aſhamed, who are the authors of ſuch reproach and ſuffering, ſo contrary to the meek and merciful ſpirit of Chriſt: for if they are bleſſed who are reviled and perſecuted for his ſake; the revilers and perſecutors muſt be curſed. But this is not all: he bade his diſciples follow him, learn of him, for he was meek and lowly:’ he taught them to bear injuries, and not ſmite again; to exceed in kindneſs; to go two miles, when aſked to go one; to part with cloak and coat too; to give to them that aſk, and to lend to them that borrow; to forgive, aye, and love enemies too; commanding them, ſaying, ‘Bleſs them Mat. v. that curſe you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you, and perſecute you:’ urging them with a moſt ſenſible demonſtration, ‘That, ſaith he, ‘you may be the children of your Father, which is in heaven: for he maketh the ſun to riſe upon the good and the evil, and his rain to deſcend upon the juſt and the unjuſt.’ He alſo taught his diſciples, to believe and rely upon God's Providence, from the care that he had over the leaſt of his creatures:’ ‘Therefore,’ ſaith he, ‘I ſay unto you, Mat. vi. take no thought for your life, what you ſhall eat, and what you ſhall drink, nor yet for your body, what you ſhall put on: is not the life more than meat, and the body, than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air; for they ſow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them; are you not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought, can add one cubit unto his ſtature? And why take you thought for raiment? Conſider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they ſpin: and yet I ſay unto, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of theſe. Wherefore, if God ſo clotheth the graſs of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is caſt into the oven, ſhall he not much more clothe you? O ye of little faith! Therefore take no thought, ſaying, What ſhall we eat, or what ſhall we drink, or wherewithal ſhall we be cloathed? (for after all thoſe things do the Gentiles ſeek) for your heavenly father knoweth that you have need of all theſe things. But ſeek you firſt the kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe things ſhall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for to-morrow, for to-morrow ſhall take thought for the things of itſelf; ſufficient is the day for the evil thereof.’ Oh! how plain, how ſweet, how full, yet how brief, are his bleſſed ſentences! they thereby ſhew from whence they came, and that Divinity itſelf ſpoke them. What are laboured, what are forced and ſcattered in the beſt of other writers, and not all neither, are here comprized after a natural, eaſy and conſpicuous manner. He ſets nature above art, and truſt above care. This is he that himſelf came poor into the world, and ſo lived in it: he lay in a manger, converſed with mechanicks; faſted much, retired often: and when he feaſted, it was with barley loaves and fiſh, dreſſed doubtleſs in an eaſy and homely manner. He was ſolitary in his life, in his death ignominious: ‘The foxes had holes, the birds of the air had neſts, but the Son of Man had not a place whereon to lay his head.’ He that made all things as God, had nothing as Man. Which hath this bleſſed inſtruction in it, that the meaneſt and pooreſt ſhould not be dejected, nor yet the richeſt and higheſt be exalted. In fine, having taught this doctrine, and lived as he ſpoke, he died to confirm it; and, offered up himſelf a propitiation for the ‘ſins of the whole world,’ when no other ſacrifice could be found, that could atone for man with God: who riſing above the power of death and the grave, hath led captivity captive, and is become the Firſt-born from the dead, and Lord of the living; and his Living people praiſe him, who is worthy for ever.

§. II. JOHN the Baptiſt, who was the fore-runner of Chriſt's appearance in fleſh, did by his own abſtinence ſufficiently declare what ſort of perſon it was he came to prepare and beſpeak people to receive. For, tho' ſanctified in his mother's womb, and declared by Chriſt to be the greateſt of all prophets, yet his cloathing was but a coarſe garment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle, and his food only locuſts and wild honey: a life very natural and of great ſimplicity. This was all the pomp and retinue, which the greateſt ambaſſador that ever came to the world was attended with, about the beſt of meſſages, to wit, ‘Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand.’ And, ‘There is One coming Mark i. 7. 8. after me, whoſe ſhoes-latchet I am not worthy to unlooſe, who ſhall baptize you with fire, and with the Holy Ghoſt; and is the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſin of the world.’ Did the fore-runner of the coming of God (for Emmanuel is God with men) appear without the ſtate, grandeur and luxury of the world? and ſhall thoſe who pretend to receive the meſſage, and that for glad-tidings too, and confeſs the Emmanuel, Chriſt Jeſus, to be the Lord, live in the vanity and exceſs of the world, and care more for their fine clothes, delicate diſhes, rich furniture, ſtately attendance, and pleaſant diverſion, than for the holy croſs of Chriſt, and the bleſſed narrow way that leadeth to ſalvation? Be aſhamed and repent!

§. III. PETER, ANDREW, PHILIP, and the reſt of the holy apoſtles, were by calling, as well as doctrine, not a luxurious people; for they were made up of poor fiſhermen and mechanicks: for Chriſt called not his diſciples out of higher ranks of men; nor had they ability, any more than will, to uſe the exceſſes herein reproved. You may conceive what their lives were, by what their Maſter's doctrine was; for they were the true ſcholars of his heavenly diſcipline. Peter thus ſpeaks, and exhorteth the Chriſtians of his time, ‘Let not your adorning be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and the 1 Pet. iii. 3. 4. wearing of gold, and of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet ſpirit,

' which is in the ſight of God of great price; for after this manner in the old time, the
' holy women, who alſo truſted in God, adorned themſelves. Wherefore gird up the
1 Pet. i. 13, ' loins of your minds, be ſober, and hope to the end, as obedient children; not faſhioning
14, 15. ' yourſelves according to your former luſts, in your ignorance, but as he which hath
' called you is holy, ſo be you holy in all manner of converſation; and giving all diligence,
2 Pet. i. 5, 12. ' add to your faith, virtue; to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance;
' and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godlineſs; and to godlineſs,
' brotherly kindneſs; and to brotherly kindneſs, charity: for if theſe things be in you
' and abound, they make you that you ſhall be neither barren nor unfruitful: for ſo an
' entrance ſhall be miniſtered unto you abundantly, into the everlaſting kingdom of our
1 Pet. iii. 9. ' Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing; but
' contrary-wiſe, bleſſing; knowing that ye are thereunto called, that ye ſhould inherit a
ch. ii. 21, 22, ' bleſſing: for even hereunto were ye called, becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving
23, ' us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps, who did no ſin, neither was guile found
' in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he ſuffered,
' he threatened not, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly.'

§. IV. Paul, who was alſo an apoſtle, though, as he ſaith, ' born out of due time:'
Phil. iii. 8. a man of great knowledge and learning, but ' I count it,' ſaith he, ' all loſs for the excellency
' of the knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord, for whom I have ſuffered the loſs
' of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Chriſt. Brethren, be followers
' of me, and mark them which walk ſo, as ye have us for an example: for many
' walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you, even weeping, that they are
' the enemies of the croſs of Chriſt, whoſe end is deſtruction; for their god is their
' belly, they glory in their ſhame, and they mind earthly things. For our converſation
' is in heaven; from whence we look alſo for our Saviour, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. In
1 Tim. ii. 9, ' like manner alſo, I will that women adorn themſelves in modeſt apparel, with ſhamefacedneſs
10. ' and ſobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or coſtly array; but
' with good works, as becometh women profeſſing godlineſs. Be followers of God, as
Ephſ. v. ' dear children; and walk in love, as Chriſt alſo hath loved us: but fornication, and all
' uncleanneſs, and covetouſneſs, let it not be once named amongſt you, as becometh ſaints;
' neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking, nor jeſting, which are not convenient; but rather
' giving of thanks: for this ye know, that no whoremonger, unclean perſon, nor
' covetous man, who is an idolater, hath an inheritance in the kingdom of Chriſt and of
' God. See then that you walk circumſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe, redeeming the
' time, becauſe the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwiſe, but underſtanding what
' the will of the Lord is; and be not drunk with wine, wherein is exceſs, but be filled
' with the Spirit, ſpeaking to yourſelves in hymns and ſpiritual ſongs, ſinging, and making
' melody in your hearts to the Lord. Rejoice in the Lord always; and I ſay again,
' rejoice. Let your moderation be known to all men, for the Lord is at hand. Be careful
' for nothing; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry
' nothing out: and, having food and raiment, let us be therewith content; for godlineſs
' with contentment is great gain: but they that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a
' ſnare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful luſts, which drown men in perdition and deſtruction:
' for the love of money is the root of all evil; which whilſt ſome coveted after,
' they have erred from the faith, and pierced themſelves through with many ſorrows.
' But thou, O man of God, flee theſe things, and follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs,
' faith, love, patience, meekneſs. Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal
' life, whereunto thou art alſo called, and haſt profeſſed a good profeſſion before many
' witneſſes. I give thee charge in the ſight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before
' Chriſt Jeſus, who before Pontius Pilate witneſſed a good confeſſion, that thou keep
' this commandment without ſpot, unrebukeable, until the appearing of our Lord Jeſus
' Chriſt. Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded,
' nor truſt in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to
' enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to diſtribute, willing
' to communicate, laying up in ſtore for themſelves a good foundation againſt the time
' to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. O Timothy, keep that which is
' committed to thy truſt, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppoſitions of ſcience,
' falſly ſo called, which ſome profeſſing, have erred concerning the faith. Grace
' be with thee, Amen.' This was the bleſſed doctrine theſe meſſengers of eternal life
declared; and, which is more, they lived as they ſpoke. You find an account of their
1 Cor. iv. reception in the world, and the way of their living, in his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians;
' For I think,' ſaith he, ' that God hath ſet forth us (the apoſtles) laſt as it were, men appointed
' to death; for we are made a ſpectacle to the world, to angels, and to men. We
' are fools for Chriſt's ſake; we are weak, we are deſpiſed: even unto this preſent hour
' we both hunger and thirſt, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working
' with our hands: being reviled, we bleſs; being perſecuted, we ſuffer it; being defamed,
' we entreat. We are made as the filth of the world, and are as the off-ſcouring
' of all things unto this day.' This was the entertainment thoſe faithful followers of

Jeſus

1 Cor. xi.

Jeſus received at the hands of an ungrateful world: but he who tells us of this, alſo tells us it is no unuſual thing; 'For,' ſaith he, 'ſuch as will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.' Beſides, he knew it had been the portion of the righteous in preceding ages, as in his excellent account of the faith, trials and victory of the holy ancients, in his epiſtle to the Hebrews, he does largely expreſs, where he tells us, how great a ſojourner Abraham was, even in the land of promiſe, a ſtranger in his own country, (for God had given it unto him and his poſterity) 'Dwelling,' ſaith he, 'in tents, with Iſaac and Jacob.' And why not better ſettled? Was it for want of underſtanding, or ability, or materials? No, he gives a better reaſon; 'For,' ſaith he, 'Abraham looked for a city which had foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God.' And ſpeaking of Moſes, he tells us, 'That by faith, when he was come to years of diſcretion, he refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon, eſteeming the reproach of Chriſt greater riches than the treaſures of Egypt; for he had reſpect unto the recompence of reward, nor feared he the wrath of the king, for he endured, ſeeing him who is inviſible.' He adds, 'And others had trials of cruel mockings and ſcourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and impriſonments: they were ſtoned, they were ſawed aſunder, were tempted, were ſlain with a ſword; they wandered about in ſheepſkins and goat-ſkins, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy. They wandered in deſerts, and in mountains, and in dens, and caves of the earth; and theſe all have obtained a good report.' Methinks this ſhould a little abate the intemperance of profeſſed Chriſtians. I do not bid them be thus miſerable, but I would not have them make themſelves ſo hereafter; for this afflicted life hath joys tranſcending the utmoſt pleaſure that ſin can give, and in the end it will be found that it were better to be a poor pilgrim, than a citizen of the world. Nor was this only the life and inſtruction of apoſtolical teachers; the ſame plainneſs and ſimplicity of life was alſo followed by the firſt Chriſtians.

Animad. in Min. Fel. p. 25.

§. V. The Primitive Chriſtians, **Ouzelius**, in his Animadverſions on Minutius Felix, ſaith, were reproached by the Gentiles, for their ill-breeding, rude and unpoliſhed language, unfaſhionable behaviour, as a people that knew not how to carry themſelves in their addreſſes and ſalutations, calling them ruſticks and clowns, which the Chriſtians eaſily bore, valuing their profeſſion the more for its nonconformity to the world: wherefore it was uſual with them, by of irony and contempt, to call the Gentiles, the well-bred, the eloquent and the learned. This he proves by ample teſtimonies out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Iſiodorus, Peluſiota, Theodoret, and others. Which may inſtruct us, that the Chriſtians behaviour was not regulated by the cuſtoms of the country they lived in, as is uſually objected againſt our ſingularity: no, they refuſed the embelliſhment of art, and would not wear the furniture of her invention; but as they were ſingular in their religion, ſo in the way of their converſation among men.

Conſtit. Clem. Rom. l. 1. c. 2.
Phil. iv. 3.

§. VI. **Clemens Romanus** (if author of the Conſtitutions that go under his name) hath this among the reſt: 'Abſtain from the vain books of the Gentiles. What have you to do with vain and unprofitable diſcourſes, which only ſerve to ſeduce weak perſons?' This Clement is remembered by Paul in one of his epiſtles; who in this exactly follows his advice to Timothy, about vain queſtions, doubtful diſputes, and oppoſition of ſcience. Let us ſee how this moderation and purity of manners continued.

Mach. Diſ. l. 2. c. 5.

§. VII. **Machiavel** (no mean author) in his Diſputations aſſures us, That the firſt promoters of Chriſtianity were ſo diligent in rooting out the vanities and ſuperſtitions of the Gentiles, that they commanded all ſuch poets and hiſtorians, which commended any thing of the Gentile converſation, or worſhip, to be burned. But that zeal is evidently extinguiſhed, and thoſe follies revived among the profeſſors of the religion of Jeſus.

Tert. lib. de Patien.
Chryſoſt.
Mat. xii. 36.

§. VIII. **Tertullian, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Gregory Nazianzene**, upon theſe words of Chriſt, 'But I ſay unto you, that every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give an account thereof in the day of judgment,' thus reflect upon vain diſcourſe; 'The words mean (ſaith Tertullian) of all vain and ſuperfluous ſpeech, more talk than is neceſſary:' Says Chroſoſtom, 'Of ſuch words as are not convenient, nor profitable, but move immodeſty.' Says Theophylact, 'Of all lies, calumnies, all inordinate and ridiculous ſpeeches.' Says Gregory, 'Such words men ſhall account for, which want that profit ever redounding from modeſt diſcourſes, and that are ſeldom uttered from any preceding neceſſity or cauſe; things frivolous, fables, old wives tales.' All which ſufficiently reprehend the plays, poetry, and romances of the times, of great folly, vanity and ſin.

§. IX. **Gregory**, and this a father of the church, a very extraordinary man, was ſo zealous for the ſimplicity and purity of the mind, language and lives of the Chriſtians of his time, that he ſuppreſſed ſeveral Greek authors, as Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, and others, which were the recreations of the vain Gentiles: Thus Cardan. Hear his judgment of fine clothes (none of the leaſt part of the luxury and vanity of the age) 'There be ſome,' ſaith he, 'of opinion, that the wearing of precious and ſumptuous apparel is no ſin; which, if it were no fault, the Divine Word would

‘ never have ſo punctually expreſſed, nor hiſtorically related, how the rich man, that was ‘ tormented in hell, was cloathed in purple and ſilk: whence we may note, that, touching ‘ the matter or ſubject of attire, human curioſity availeth highly. The firſt ſubſtance of our ‘ garments was very mean, to wit, ſkins with wool; whence it is we read, God made Adam ‘ and his wife coats of ſkins; that is, ſkins of dead beaſts. Afterwards (to ſee the growing ‘ pride and vanity of men and women) they came to pure wool, becauſe lighter; after that, ‘ to flax; then to dung and ordure of worms, to wit, ſilk; laſtly, to gold and ſilver, and ‘ precious ſtones; which exceſs of apparel highly diſpleaſed God: for inſtance whereof, ‘ (which the very Pagans themſelves obſerved) we read, that the very firſt among the Ro‘mans that ever wore purple was ſtruck with a thunder-bolt, and ſo died ſuddenly, for a ‘ terror to all ſucceeding times, that none ſhould attempt to live proudly in precious attire.’ This was the ſenſe of Gregory Nazianzene, that ancient Chriſtian writer, who wore commonly a poor coat, like to a frock; ſo did Juſtin Martyr, Jerom, and Auſtin, as their beſt robe.

§. X. JEROM (a famous man, alſo ſtiled a father of the church) above all others ſeems poſitive in this matter, in an epiſtle he wrote to a noble virgin, called Demetias, in which he exhorted her, That after ſhe had ended her devotion, ſhe ſhould take in hand wool and weaving, after the commendable example of Dorcas; that by ſuch changing and variety of works, the day might ſeem leſs tedious, and the attempts of Satan leſs grievous; concluding his religious exhortation with this poſitive ſentence: (ſaith he) ‘I ‘ ſpeak generally; No raiment or habit whatſoever ſhall ſeem precious in Chriſt's ſight, but ‘ that which thou makeſt thyſelf; either for thy own particular uſe, or example of other ‘ virgins, or to give unto thy grandmother or mother; no, tho' otherwiſe thou didſt diſtri‘bute thy goods to the poor.’ Let but this ſtrictneſs be conſidered, and compared with the apparel and converſation of the age: for, however Phariſee-like they otherwiſe ſaint him, and call him an Holy Father, ſure it is, they reject his counſel.

Acts ix. 36, 39.

§. XI. HILARY, biſhop of Poictiers, a father of the church, and famous for his writings againſt the Arrians, having travelled into Syria, was informed, that Abra, his only daughter, whom he left with her mother, was by the greateſt lords of the country ſolicited in marriage; being a young woman, well-bred, fair and rich, and in the prime of her age. He wrote to her, earneſtly preſſing her, By no means to fix her affections upon the pleaſure, greatneſs, or advantage that might be preſented to her; for in his voyage he had found a greater and worthier match, an huſband of far more power and magnificence, who would endow her with robes and jewels of an ineſtimable value. This he did to take off her deſires from the world, that he might wed her unto God: and it was his fervent and frequent prayer, which in ſome ſenſe was anſwered; for ſhe lived religiouſly, and died a virgin: Which ſhewed great nobility of mind, that taught his daughter to tread upon the mountains of worldly glory; and it was not leſs honourable in her, that ſo readily yielded to the excellent counſel of her pious father.

§. XII. AMBROSE, another father, who was lieutenant of the province and city of Milan, and upon his diſcreet appeaſing of the multitude, diſordered upon ſome difference amongſt them about electing a biſhop, was by their uniform conſent choſen himſelf: although this perſon, of all others, might have been thought to plead for the accuſtomed recreations, eſpecially not having been long a Chriſtian (for he was a Catechumeniſt, or one but lately inſtructed) at the time of his being elected; yet doth he in ſo many words determine the matter thus: ‘Plays ought not to be known by Chriſtians:’ then not made, heard, and defended by Chriſtians; or they muſt be none that do ſo.

Auguſt. de civit. Dei. l. 2. c. 7.

§. XIII. AUGUSTINE, more famous for his many books, and knowledge in church affairs, whoſe ſentences are oracles with ſome, gives this as his opinion of plays, and the like recreations, ‘That they were more pernicious and abominable, than thoſe idolatrous ‘ ſacrifices, which were offered in honour of the Pagan gods.’ Doubtleſs he thought the one not ſo offenſive to reaſon, and the impreſſions Divinity hath made on every underſtanding, as the other were very pleaſant to the ſenſes, and therefore apt to ſteal away the mind from better things. For it was his maxim ‘That every thing a man doth, is either ‘ an hindrance or furtherance to good.’ This would be eſteemed intolerable doctrine in a poor Quaker; yet will the poor Quakers rejoice, if it be eſteemed and followed, as good doctrine in Auguſtine.

De ira Dei, l. 2. c. 7.

§. XIV. The Council of Carthage, tho' times began to look ſomewhat miſtier, and the purity and ſpirituality of religion to be much declined by the profeſſors of Chriſtianity; yet there was ſo much zeal left againſt the worſt part of Heatheniſm, that I find an expreſs Canon againſt the reading of vain books, and comedies of the Gentiles, leſt the minds of the people ſhould be defiled by them. But this age either hath no ſuch canon, or executeth it not, to the ſhame of their profeſſion.

Cardan. de Sapient. l. 2.

§. XV. CARDAN more particularly relateth, how even Gregory the Great was ſo zealous of preſerving purity of manners among Chriſtians (who lived almoſt two hundred years after the Carthaginian council) that he cauſed many Latin authors to be burned, as vain and laſcivious; as Cæcilianus, Affranius, Nævius, Licinus, Zennius, Attilius, Victor, Livy's Dialogues: Nor did Plautus, Martial, and Terence (ſo much in requeſt, both in the ſchools and academies of the land) eſcape their honeſt zeal, although the multitude of copies ſo far fruſtrated their good intentions, as that they are multiplied of late.

§. XVI. **Gratian** alſo had ſuch like paſſages as theſe, 'We ſee that the prieſts of the 'Lord, neglecting the goſpel and the prophets, read comedies or play-books, and ſing 'love-verſes, and read Virgil (a book in which are yet ſome good expreſſions).' Strange! that theſe things ſhould have been ſo ſeverely cenſured of old, and that perſons whoſe names are had in ſo much reverence, ſhould repute theſe their cenſures the conſtruction of Chriſt's precepts, and the natural conſequences of the Chriſtian doctrine; and yet that they ſhould be ſo far neglected of this age, as not to be judged worthy an imitation. But pray let us hear what doctrine the Waldenſes teach in this affair.

Jac. Laurentio de lib. Gentil. p. 40, 41.

§. XVII. **Petrus Bellonius**, that great and inquiſitive traveller, when he came to Mount Athos, where there live in ſeveral monaſteries ſix thouſand Coloeri, or religious perſons (ſo called), he did not ſo much as find there (no, nor in all Greece) one man acquainted with the converſation of thoſe parts; for tho' they had ſeveral manuſcripts of divinity in their libraries, yet not one poet or hiſtorian; for the rulers of that church were ſuch enemies to that ſort of learning, that they anathematized all ſuch prieſts and religious perſons, as ſhould read or tranſcribe any books but what treated of religion: and perſuaded all others, that it was not lawful for a Chriſtian to ſtudy poeſy, &c. though nothing is more grateful in theſe days. Zeno was of the ſame opinion againſt poetry.

Pet. Bell. obſer. l. 1. c. 35. ibid. c. 40.

cap. 39.

§. XVIII. **Waldenses**, were a people ſo called, from one Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, in France, in the year 1160, that inhabited Piedmont, elſewhere called Albigenſes, from the country of Albia; Lollards in England, from one Reynard Lollard, who ſome time after came into theſe parts, and preached boldly againſt the idolatries, ſuperſtitions, and vain converſation of the inhabitants of this iſland. They had many other names, as Arnoldiſts, Eſperoniſts, Henricians, Siccars, Inſabaches, Patarenians, Turlupins, Lyoniſts, Fraticelli, Huſſites, Bohemians (ſtill the ſame); but finally, by their enemies, Damnable Hereticks, tho' by the Proteſtants, The true Church of Chriſt. And, to omit many teſtimonies, I will only inſtance in biſhop Uſher, who in his diſcourſe of the ſucceſſion of the chriſtian church, defends them not only as true reformers, but makes the ſucceſſion of the proteſtant church to be mainly evincible from their antiquity. I ſhall forbear all the circumſtances and principles they held, or in which he ſtrongly defends them againſt the cruelty and ignorance of their adverſaries, particularly Rainerius, Rubis Capetaneis, &c. only what they held concerning our preſent ſubject of Apparel and Recreations, I cannot be ſo injurious to the truth, their ſelf-denial, the good of others, at whoſe reformation I aim, and my own diſcourſe, as to omit it. And therefore I ſhall proceed to alledge their faith and practice in theſe matters, however eſteemed but of a trifling importance, by the looſe, wanton, and carnal-minded of this generation, whoſe feeling is loſt by the enjoyment of their inordinate deſires, and that think it an high ſtate of Chriſtianity to be no better than the beaſts that periſh, namely, in not being exceſſive in Newgate and mere kennel-enormities. That theſe ancient reformers had another ſenſe of theſe things, and that they made the converſation of the goſpel of a Crucified Jeſus to intend and require another ſort of life, than what is uſed by almoſt all thoſe who account themſelves members of his church, I ſhall ſhew out of their own doctrines, as found in their moſt authentic hiſtories.

XII. Cap. Hiſt. de orig. Walden. Vignia Hiſt. Bibl. p. 130. Dubran. Hiſt. Bohem. 14. Thuan. in Hiſt. ſui temp. p. 458. Mat. Paris. Hiſt. of Engl. An. 1174. Bellar. tom. 2 lib. 1. cap. 26. co. 86. Ecchius, com. loc. c. 28. Alp. l. 6. Con. Hieret. p. 99.

§. XIX. To be brief: in their Expoſition upon the Lord's Prayer, that part of it which ſpeaks thus, 'Give us this day our daily bread;' where, next to that ſpiritual bread, (which they make it the duty of all to ſeek more than life) they come poſitively to deny the praying for more than is requiſite for outward neceſſities, or that it is lawful to uſe more; condemning all ſuperfluity and exceſs, out of faſhion, pride, or wantonneſs, not only of bread, but all outward things, which they judge to be thereby comprehended; uſing Ezekiel's words, 'That fulneſs of bread, and abundance of idleneſs, was the cauſe 'of the wickedneſs and the abominations of Sodom, for which God by fire deſtroyed 'them off the earth.' Whereupon they conclude, with an antient father of the primitive church, after this manner, "That coſtly apparel, ſuperfluity in diet, (as three diſhes, when one will ſerve) play, idleneſs and ſleep, fatten the body, nouriſh luxury, weaken the ſpirit, and lead the ſoul unto death: But (ſay they) a ſpare diet, labour, ſhort ſleep, plain and mean garments, help to purify the ſoul, tame the body, mortify the luſts of the fleſh, and comfort the ſpirit." So ſevere were they, that in that chapter Of the inſtructions of their children, they would not ſuffer them to converſe with thoſe of ſtrange places or principles, whoſe converſation was gaming, plays, and the like wanton recreations; but eſpecially concerning young women. "A man (ſay they) muſt have a great care of his daughter: haſt thou daughters? keep them within to wholſome things; ſee they wander not; for Dinah, Jacob's daughter, was corrupted, by being ſeen of ſtrangers." They affirm no better to be the general event of ſuch converſation.

Jo. Paul. Per. Hiſt. Wald. in cat. l. 1. c. 3. p. 37, 31. Dona nos le noſtre pan quotidian. en. choi. Memor. Morrel. Vign. Mem. f. 7. Ezek. xvi. 45. Theſaur. fed. Ap. Wald.

ibid. l. 2. c. 3. Liſilli ſign. naiſſon ali patrons carnals. de non eſſerendus. &c.

1668.

Chap. XX.

To which I ſhall add their judgment and practice concerning taverns, public houſes for treats and pleaſures, with which the land ſwarms in our days.

ib. l. 2. c. 3.
La taverna de maiſons de pleiſirs es fortuna de pecca Eſchola del Diavola, &c.

§. XX. "A tavern is the fountain of ſin, the ſchool of the Devil; it works wonders fitting the place: it is the cuſtom of God to ſhew his power in his church, and to work miracles; that is to ſay, to give ſight to the ſpiritually blind, to make the lame to leap, the dumb to ſing, the deaf to hear: but the Devil doth quite the contrary to all theſe in taverns, and the like places of pleaſure. For when the drunkard goes to the tavern, he goes upright; but when he comes forth, he cannot go at all; he has loſt his ſight, ſpeech, and hearing too. The lectures that are read in this ſchool of the Devil (ſay theſe poor Waldenſes, and firſt reformers) are gluttonies, oaths, perjuries, lyings, blaſphemies, flatteries, and divers other wicked villainies and pernicious effects, by which the heart is withdrawn farther and farther from God. And, as the book of Eccleſiaſticus ſaith, 'The taverner ſhall not be freed from ſin."

But above other recreations, do but ſeriouſly obſerve, of what danger and ill conſequence theſe firſt reformers thought Dancing, Muſic, and the like paſtimes to be, which are the greateſt divertiſements of the times, viz.

La Bales la profeſ. del Diavol. & qui intra en la Bal. &c.
Sp. Alm. fol. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.
Job xiv. 16.
Pſ. xxxvii. 23.
Prov. xvi. 9.
Jer. x. 23.
Mark vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.
Exod. xxxii. 4, 5, 6, 7.

§. XXI. "Dancing is the Devil's proceſſion, and he that enters into a dance, entereth into his proceſſion; the Devil is the guide, the middle, and the end of the dance; as many paces as a man maketh in dancing, ſo many paces doth he make to go to hell. A man ſinneth in dancing divers ways, for all his ſteps are numbered; in his touch, in his ornaments, in his hearing, ſight, ſpeech, and other vanities. And therefore we will prove, firſt by the ſcripture, and afterwards by divers other reaſons, how wicked a thing it is to dance. The firſt teſtimony that we will produce, is that which we read in the goſpel, where it is ſaid, it pleaſed Herod ſo well, that it coſt John Baptiſt his life. The ſecond is in Exodus, when Moſes coming near to the congregation, ſaw the calf, he caſt the tables from him, and broke them at the foot of the mountain; and afterwards it coſt three thouſand of their lives. Beſides, the ornaments which women wear in their dances are as crowns for many victories, which the Devil hath got againſt the children of God; for the Devil hath not only one ſword in the dance, but as many as there are beautiful and well-adorned perſons in the dance; for the words of a woman are a glittering ſword. And therefore that place is much to be feared, wherein the enemy hath ſo many ſwords, ſince that only one ſword of his may be juſtly feared." Again, "The Devil in this place ſtrikes with a ſharpened ſword; for the women (who make it acceptable) come not willingly to the dance, if they be not painted and adorned; which (painting and ornament) is as a whetſtone, on which the Devil ſharpeneth his ſword.—They that deck and adorn their daughters, are like thoſe that put dry wood to the fire, to the end it may burn the better: for ſuch women kindle the fire of luxury in the hearts of men. As Sampſon's foxes fired the Philiſtines corn; ſo theſe women, they have fire in their faces, and in their geſtures and actions, their glances and wanton words, by which they conſume the goods of men." They proceed, "The Devil in the dance uſeth the ſtrongeth armour that he hath; for his moſt powerful arms are women: which is made plain unto us, in that the Devil made choice of the woman to deceive the firſt man: ſo did Balaam, that the children of Iſrael might be rejected of God. By a woman he made Sampſon, David and Abſalom to ſin. The Devil tempteth men by women three manner of ways; that is, by the touch, by the eye, by the ear; by theſe three means he tempteth fooliſh men to dancing, by touching their hands, beholding their beauty, hearing their ſongs and muſic."--Again, "They that dance break that promiſe and agreement they made with God in baptiſm, when their godfathers promiſe for them, That they ſhall renounce the Devil and all his pomp: for dancing is the pomp of the Devil; and he that danceth, maintaineth his pomp, and ſingeth his maſs. For the woman that ſingeth in the dance, is the prioreſs (or chiefeſt) of the Devil, and thoſe that anſwer are the clerks, and the beholders are the pariſhioners, and the muſic are the bells, and the fiddlers the miniſters of the Devil. For, as when hogs are ſtrayed, if the hog-herd call one, all aſſemble themſelves together; ſo the Devil cauſeth one woman to ſing in the dance, or to play on ſome inſtrument, and preſently gather all the dancers together." Again, "In a dance, a man breaks the Ten Commandments of God: as firſt, 'Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but 'me,' &c. for in dancing a man ſerves that perſon whom he moſt deſires to ſerve (after whom goes his heart): and therefore Jerom ſaith, 'Every man's God is that he ſerves and loves beſt (and that he loves beſt, which his thoughts wander and gad moſt after.)' He ſins againſt the Second commandment, when he makes an idol of that he loves. Againſt the Third; in that oaths, and frivolouſly uſing God's name, are frequently amongſt dancers. Againſt the Fourth; for that by dancing the ſabbath-day is prophaned. Againſt the Fifth; for in the dance parents are many times diſhonoured, ſince thereby many bargains are made without their counſel. Againſt the Sixth; a man kills in dancing; for every one that ſets about to pleaſe another, he kills the ſoul as oft as he perſuades unto luſt. Againſt the Seventh; for the party that danceth, be it male or female, committeth adultery with the party they luſt after; 'for he that looketh on a woman to luſt after 'her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.' Againſt the Eighth: a

Jerom. in dec. int. oper.

man ſins in dancing, when he withdraweth the heart of another from God. Againſt the Ninth, when in dancing he ſpeaks falſly againſt the truth, (and for ſome little honour, or ſecret laſcivious end, denies what is true, or affirms what is falſe.) Againſt the Tenth, when women affect the ornaments of others, and men covet the wives, daughters, and ervants of their neighbours (which undeniably attends all ſuch plays and ſports.)" Again, "A man may prove how great an evil dancing is, by the multitude of ſins that accom-any thoſe that dance, for they dance without meaſure or number: and therefore, ſaith uguſtine, the miſerable dancer knows not, that as many paces as he makes in dan-ing, ſo many leaps he makes to hell. They ſin in their ornaments after a five-fold man-er: Firſt, by being proud thereof. Secondly, by inflaming the hearts of thoſe that be-old them. Thirdly, when they make thoſe aſhamed, that have not the like ornaments, iving them to covet the like. Fourthly, by making women importunate in demand-g the like ornaments of their huſbands: and, Fifthly, when they cannot obtain them of heir huſbands, they ſeek to get them elſewhere by ſin. They ſin by ſinging and playing on ſtruments; for their ſongs bewitch the hearts of thoſe that hear them with temporal de-ght, forgetting God; uttering nothing in their ſongs but lies and vanities; and the very otion of the body, which is uſed in dancing, gives teſtimony enough of evil.--Thus you e, that dancing is the Devil's proceſſion, and he that enters into a dance enters into the evil's proceſſion. Of dancing, the devil is the guide, the middle and the end; and he at entereth a good and wiſe man into the dance (if it can be that ſuch a one is either ood or wiſe) cometh forth a corrupt and a wicked man: Sarah, that holy woman, was one of theſe." Behold the apprehenſions of thoſe good old reformers, touching thoſe ings that are ſo much in practice and reputation in theſe times, with ſuch as profeſs eir religion; thus far verbatim. But I cannot leave off here till I have yet added the onclusion of their Catechiſm and Direction, with ſome paſſages out of one of their paſtors etters, fit to the preſent occaſion.

Auguſt. de Civit. Dei.

Ibid. l. ii. Concl. p. 68. Encaren qual manier. fidel. debian regir. liler. corps. Non ſervali deſirier mort. &c.

They conclude with this direction; namely, How to rule their bodies, and live in this orld as becomes the children of God. Not to ſerve the mortal deſires of the fleſh. To ep their members, that they be not arms of iniquity (and vanity.) To rule their out-rd ſenſes. To ſubject the body to the ſoul. To mortify their members. To fly eneſs. To obſerve a ſobriety and meaſure in eating and drinking, in their words and es of this life. To do works of mercy. To live a moral (or juſt) life by faith. To ht againſt the deſires. To mortify the works of the fleſh. To give themſelves to the rciſe of religion. To confer together touching the will of God. To examine dili-tly the conſcience. To purge, and amend, and pacify the ſpirit.

To which I ſhall add the epiſtle of one of their paſtors, as I find it recorded amongſt er matters relating to theſe poor afflicted people.

XXII. *An Epiſtle of paſtor Bartholomew Tertian, written to the Waldenſian churches of the valley of Pragela, thus tranſlated.*

JESUS BE WITH YOU.

Hiſt. Wald. l. 4. c. 11. p. 55, 56, 57.

"TO all our faithful and well-beloved brethren in Chriſt Jeſus, health and ſal-tion be with you all, Amen. Theſe are to put you in remembrance, and to admoniſh u my brethren (hereby acquitting myſelf of that duty which I owe unto you all, in the half of God, principally touching the care of your ſouls ſalvation, according to that ht of the truth which the moſt high God hath beſtowed on us) that it would pleaſe ry one of you to maintain, increaſe and nouriſh, to the uttermoſt of your power, thout diminution, thoſe good beginnings and examples, which have been left unto us our fore-fathers, whereof we are no ways worthy. For it would little profit us have been renewed by the fatherly viſitation, and the light which hath been given us God, if we give ourſelves to worldly, carnal converſations, which are diabolical, aban-ning the principle which is of God, and the ſalvation of our ſouls, for this ſhort and mporal life. For the Lord ſaith, 'What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to loſe his own ſoul?' For it would be better for us never to have known e way of righteouſneſs, than having known it to do the contrary. Let me therefore treat you, by the love of God, that you decreaſe not, or look back; but rather increaſe e charity, fear and obedience, which is due unto God, and to yourſelves, amongſt urſelves; and ſtand faſt in all theſe good principles, which you have heard and under-ood of God by our means: and that you would remove from amongſt you all vain nverſation and evil ſurmiſes, troubling the peace, the love, the concord, and whatſo-er would indiſpoſe or deaden your minds to the ſervice of God, your own ſalvation, d the adminiſtration of the truth, if you deſire that God ſhould be merciful to you in ur goods temporal and ſpiritual: For you can do nothing without him; and if you ſire to be heirs of his glory, do that which he commandeth: 'If you would enter into life, keep my commandments.'

Mat. xix. 17.

Likewiſe be careful, that there be not nouriſhed among you, any ſports, gluttony, horedom, dancings, nor any lewdneſs, or riot, nor queſtions, nor deceits, nor uſury, r diſcords, nor ſupport or entertain any perſons of a wicked converſation, or that give any ſcandal or ill example amongſt you; but let charity and fidelity reign amongſt you, and all good example; doing one to another as every one deſires ſhould be done unto him; for otherwiſe it is impoſſible that any ſhould be ſaved, or can have the grace of God, or be good men in this world, or have glory in another. And therefore, if you hope and deſire to poſſeſs eternal life, to live in eſteem and credit, and to proſper in this world, in your goods temporal and ſpiritual, purge yourſelves from all diſorderly ways, to the end that God may be always with you, who forſakes not thoſe that truſt in him. But know this for certain, that God heareth not, nor dwelleth with ſinners, nor in the ſoul that is given unto wickedneſs, nor in the man that is ſubject to ſin. And therefore let every one cleanſe the ways of his heart, and fly the danger, if he would not periſh therein. I have no other thing at this preſent, but that you would put in practice theſe things; and the God of peace be with you all, and go along with us, and be preſent among us in our ſincere, humble and fervent prayers; and that he will be pleaſed to ſave all thoſe his faithful, that truſt in Chriſt Jeſus.

Intirely yours, ready to do you ſervice in all things poſſible, according unto the will of God, Bartholomew Tertian."

Bern. de Gir. lord de Hail. Hiſt. de la. Fr. l. 10. veſemb. Orat. in Wald. Beza Hiſt. hom. dig. virer. de ver. & falſa Rel. l 4. c. 13. p. 249. Cat. Teſt. ve. 334. Vigin. Bib. Hiſt. p. 1. Vieaux Mem. fol. 6, 7. Mat. Par. in Hen. 3. An. 1220. Sigonius de Reg. Ital. l. 7.

§. XXIII. Behold the life and doctrine, inſtruction and practice of the ancient Waldenſes! how harmleſs, how plain, how laborious, how exceeding ſerious, and heavenly in their converſations! Theſe were the men, women, aye, and children too, who, for above five hundred years, have valiantly, but paſſively, maintained a cruel war, at the expence of their own innocent blood, againſt the unheard-of cruelties and ſeverities of ſeveral princes, nuncios and biſhops; but above all, of certain cruel inquiſitors; of whom their hiſtorians report, that they held it was a greater evil to conceal an heretick, than to be guilty of perjury; and for a clergyman to marry a wife, than to keep a whore. In ſhort, to diſſent, tho', never ſo conſcientiouſly, was worſe than open immorality. It was againſt the like adverſaries theſe poor Waldenſes fought, by ſufferings throughout the nations, by priſons, confiſcations, baniſhments, wandering from hill to valley, from den to cave, being mocked, whipped, racked, thrown from rocks and towers, driven on mountains, and in one night thouſands periſhing by exceſſive froſts and ſnows, ſmothered in caves, ſtarved, impriſoned, ripped up, hanged, diſmembered, rifled, plundered, ſtrangled, broiled, roaſted, burned; and whatſoever could be invented to ruin men, women and children. Theſe Waldenſes you proteſtants pretend to be your anceſtors; from them you ſay you have your religion; and often, like the Jews of the prophets, are you building their praiſes in your diſcourſes: but oh! look back, I beſeech you, how unlike are you to theſe afflicted pilgrims! What reſemblance is there of their life in yours? Did they help to purchaſe and preſerve you a liberty and religion (can you think) at the loſs of all that was dear to them, that you might paſs away your days and years in pride, wantonneſs and vanity? What proportion bears your exceſs with their temperance? your gaudineſs with their plainneſs? your luxury and fleſh-pleaſing converſations, with their ſimplicity and ſelf-denial? But are you not got into that ſpirit and nature they condemned in their day? into that carnality and worldly-mindneſs they reproved in their perſecutors? nay, into a ſtrain of perſecution too, whilſt you ſeem to hide all under a cloak of reformation? How can you hope to confute their perſecutors, whoſe worſt part perhaps was their cruelty, that turn perſecutors yourſelves? What have you, beſides their good words, that is like them? And do you think that words will fend off the blows of eternal vengeance? that a little by-rote-babble (tho' of never ſo good expreſſions in themſelves) ſhall ſerve your turn at the great day? No, from God I tell you, that whilſt you live in the wantonneſs, pride, and luxury of the world, pleaſing and fulfilling the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, God deteſts you all, and laughs you and your worſhip to ſcorn. Never tell me, I am too raſh, it is the Devil that ſays ſo: he has got two ſcriptures by the end in theſe days; one, 'That there is none that doeth good'; and why? that he may perſuade all, it is impoſſible to overcome him; which is the reaſon ſo many are overcome: although glory is promiſed to none but conquerors. The ſecond, 'That we 'muſt not judge, leſt we be judged;' that is, whilſt we are guilty of the ſame things that are equivalent, leſt we are judged. But away with Satan and his hypocriſy too: I know what I ſay, and from whom I ſpeak: once more I tell you all, whether you will hear or forbear, that unleſs you forſake your pride, luxury, avarice, and whole variety of vanities, and diligently mind the eternal Light of God in your hearts, to obey it, wrath will be your portion for ever. Truſt not your ſouls upon miſapplied ſcriptures; 'He 'that is a child of God, muſt be holy, for God is holy, and none are his ſons and 'daughters, but thoſe who are adopted by the eternal Spirit and led thereby.' It was an holy, plain, humble, divine life, theſe poor ſuffering Chriſtians both profeſſed and practiſed, refuſing to converſe with ſuch as lived in the ſuperfluities and exceſs of the world; for which, if you will believe their very adverſaries, they were perſecuted: for ſays Rainerius, (a great writer againſt them) "They uſe to teach, firſt, what the diſciples of Chriſt ought to be, and that none are his diſciples but they that imitate his life: and that the popes, cardinals, &c. becauſe they live in luxury, pride, avarice, &c. are not the

Sernay c. 47. Chef. l. 3. c. 7.

1 John ii. 14, 15, 16, 17.

The Devil a ſcripturian ſometimes.

1 Pet. i. 12, 13, 14. Rom. viii. 1. to 16.

Rain. cap. de ſtud. pervert. alios & modo, dicendi. l. 98.

Barron. Ecc. Annal. tom. 12. an. 1176. p. 835. Kranz. in Metrop. l. 8. ſect. 18. & in Sax. l. 8. cap. 16.

the ſucceſſors of Chriſt; but themſelves only, in that they walk up to his commandments; thus (ſays he) they win upon the people." But if ſo, that none are Chriſtians but thoſe that imitate Chriſt, what will become of thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians, and yet live at eaſe in the fleſh; not regarding the work of the holy croſs of Chriſt in their hearts, that crucifies them that bear it to the world, and the world to them? This was the true ground of their ſufferings, and their loud cries againſt the impieties of the greateſt; not ſparing any ranks, from the throne to the dunghil, as knowing their God was no reſpecter of perſons. And now, if you would follow them indeed, if you would be proteſtants in ſubſtance, and learn your enemies a way worth their changing, (for elſe better words go but a little way) if you would obtain the heavenly inheritance, and you would be eternally bleſſed, be ye perſuaded to forſake all the pride and the pomp of this vain worlds. O mind the concerns of an everlaſting reſt! Let the juſt and ſerious principle of God within you be the conſtant guide and companion of your minds; and let your whole hearts be exerciſed thereby; that you may experience an intire reformation and change of affections, through the power of that Divine Leaven, which leavens the whole lump, viz. body, ſoul and ſpirit, where it is received: to which and its work in man, our bleſſed Lord likened the kingdom of God, which he came to ſet up in the ſoul: that ſo having the joys and glory of another world in your view, you may give your beſt diligence to make your calling and election, to the poſſeſſion of them, ſure and certain; leſt ſelling that noble inheritance for a poor meſs of periſhing pottage, you never enter into his eternal reſt. And tho' this teſtimony may ſeem tedious, yet could it by no means be omitted.-----To authorize our laſt reaſon, of converting ſuperfluities into the relief of diſtreſſed perſons, (altho' one would think it is ſo equal and ſober, that it needs no other authority than its own, yet) I ſhall produce two teſtimonies, ſo remarkable, that as they ever were eſteemed truly good, ſo they cannot be approved by any that refuſe to do the ſame, without condemning themſelves of great iniquity. O you are called with an high and holy call; as high as heaven, and as holy as God; for it is he that calls us to holineſs, through Chriſt, who ſent his Son to bleſs us, in turning us from the evil of our ways; and unleſs we are ſo turned, we can have no claim to the bleſſing that comes by Chriſt to men.

c. vi. 8, 9.

Mat. xiii. 33.

Ecc. Hiſt. p. 5. 393.

§. XXIV. It is reported of PAULINUS, biſhop of Nola in Italy; that inſtead of converting the demains of his dioceſe to particular enrichments, he employed it all in the redemption of poor ſlaves and priſoners; believing it unworthy of the chriſtian faith, to ſee God's creation labour under the want of what he had to ſpare. All agree this was well done, but few agree to do the ſame.

Socrat. Scholaſt. l. 7. c. 21.

§. XXV. But more particularly of ACACIUS, biſhop of Amida, given us by Socrates Scholaſticus, in this manner; "When the Roman ſoldiers purpoſed in no wiſe to reſtore again unto the king of Perſia ſuch captives as they had taken at the winning Azazena, being about ſeven thouſand in number (to the great grief of the king of Perſia) and all of them ready to ſtarve for food; Acacius lamented their condition, and calling his clergy together, ſaid thus unto them, Our God hath no need of Diſhes or of Cups, for he neither eateth nor drinketh; theſe are not his neceſſaries: Wherefore ſeeing the church hath many precious Jewels, both of Gold and Silver, beſtowed of the free will and liberality of the faithful, it is requiſite that the captive ſoldiers ſhould be therewith redeemed, and delivered out of priſon and bondage; and they, periſhing with famine, ſhould therewith be refreſhed and relieved. Thus he prevailed to have them all converted into money; ſome for their immediate refreſhment, ſome for their redemption, and the reſt for coſtage or proviſion, to defray the charges of their voyage. Which noble act had ſuch an univerſal influence, that it more famed the Chriſtian religion amongſt the Infidels, than all their diſputes and battles: Inſomuch that the king of Perſia, and an Heathen, ſaid, The Romans endeavour to win their adverſaries both by wars and favours: And greatly deſired to behold that man, whoſe religion taught ſo much charity to enemies; which, it is reported, Theodoſius the emperor commanded Acacius to gratify him in." And if the apoſtle Paul's expreſſion hath any force, 'That he is worſe than an infidel, who provides not for his family;' how greatly doth this example aggravate your ſhame, that can behold ſuch pity and compaſſion expreſſed to ſtrangers, nay enemies, and thoſe Infidels too, and be ſo negligent of your own family, (for England, aye, Chriſtendom, in a ſenſe, if not the World, is no more) as not only to ſee their great neceſſities unanſwered, but that wherewith they ſhould be ſatisfied, converted to gratify the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life. But however ſuch can pleaſe themſelves, in the deceitful daubing of their mercenary prieſts, and dream they are members of Jeſus Chriſt, it is certain that things were otherwiſe in the beginning; for then all was ſold and put into a common purſe, to ſupply indigencies: Not mattering earthly inheritances, farther than as they might in ſome ſenſe be ſubſervient to the great end for which they were given, namely, the good of the creation. Thus had the pureſt Chriſtians their minds and thoughts taken up with the better things, and raiſed with the aſſurance of a more excellent life and inheritance in the heavens, that will never paſs away. And for any to

1 Tim. v. 1.

Acts iv. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.

flatter

1668. Chap. XX.

flatter themſelves with being Chriſtians, whilſt ſo much exerciſed in the vanities, recreations and cuſtoms of the world, as at this very day we ſee they are, is to mock the great God, and abuſe their immortal ſouls. The Chriſtian life is quite another thing.

And leſt that any ſhould object, “Many do great and ſeemingly good actions to raiſe their reputation only; and others only decry pleaſure, becauſe they have not wherewithal, or know not how, to take it;” I ſhall preſent them with ſerious ſayings of Aged and Dying men, and thoſe of the greateſt note and rank; whoſe experience could not be wanting to give the trueſt account how much their Honours, Riches, Pleaſures and Recreations conduced to their ſatisfaction, upon a juſt reckoning, as well before their extreme moments, as upon their dying beds, when Death, that hard paſſage into eternity, looked them in the face.

CHAP. XXI.

Serious Dying, as well as Living, TESTIMONIES.

§ 1. *Solomon.* §. 2. *Chilon.* §. 3. *Ignatius.* §. 4. *Juſtin Martyr.* §. 5. *Chryſoſtom.* §. 6. *Charles V.* §. 7. *Michael de Montaigne.* §. 8. *Cardinal Woolſey.* §. 9. *Sir Philip Sidney.* §. 10. *Secretary Walſingham.* §. 11. *Sir John Maſon.* §. 12. *Sir Walter Rawleigh.* §. 13. *H. Wotton.* §. 14. *Sir Chriſtopher Hatton.* §. 15. *Lord chancellor Bacon.* §. 16. *The great duke of Momerancy.* §. 17. *Henry Prince of Wales.* §. 18. *Philip III. king of Spain.* §. 19. *Count Gondamor.* §. 20. *Cardinal Richlieu.* §. 21. *Cardinal Mazarine.* §. 22. *Chancellor Oxciſtern.* §. 23. *Dr. Dun.* §. 24. *Jo. Selden.* §. 25. *H. Grotius.* §. 26. *P. Salmaſius.* §. 27. *Fran. Junius.* §. 28. *A. Rivetus.* §. 29. *The late earl of Marlborough.* §. 30. *Sir Henry Vane.* §. 31. *Abraham Cowley.* §. 32. *Late earl of Rocheſter.* §. 33. *One of the family of Howard.* §. 34. *Princeſs Elizabeth of the Rhine.* §. 35. *Commiſſioner Whitlock.* §. 36. *A ſiſter of the family of Penn.* §. 37. *My own father.* §. 38. *Anthony Lowther of Maſk.* §. 39. *Seigneur du Renti.*

III. *The ſerious Apprehenſions and Expreſſions of ſeveral Aged and Dying Men of Fame and Learning.*

Ch. XXI.

Eccl. ii. 1. to 11.

§. I. SOLOMON, than whom none is believed to have more delighted himſelf in the enjoyments of the world, at leaſt better to have underſtood them; hear what he ſays, after all his experience; ‘I ſaid in my heart, Go to now; I will prove thee ‘with Mirth; therefore enjoy Pleaſure: And behold, this alſo is Vanity. I ſaid of ‘Laughter, It is mad; and of Mirth, What doth it? I made me great Works, builded ‘Houſes, planted Vineyards, made Gardens and Orchards, planted trees in them of all ‘kind of fruit: I got me Servants and Maidens; alſo great poſſeſſions; I gathered me ‘Silver and Gold, and the peculiar treaſures of Kings and Provinces; alſo Men and ‘Women Singers, and the delights of the ſons of men; as Muſical Inſtruments, and ‘that of all ſorts: So I was great, and increaſed more than all that were before me in ‘Jeruſalem; and whatſoever mine eyes deſired, I kept not from them; I with-held not ‘mine heart from any joy. Then I looked on all the works which my hands had ‘wrought, and behold, All was Vanity and Vexation of Spirit.’ The reaſon he gives in the 18th and 19th verſes is, that the time of enjoying them was very ſhort, and it was uncertain who ſhould be benefitted by them when he was gone. Wherefore he concludes all with this; ‘Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole du‘ty of man: For God ſhall bring every work into judgment, whether it be good, or whe‘ther it be evil.’ O that men would lay this to heart!

Severus, Apop. p. 175.

§. II. CHILON (one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, already mentioned upon another occaſion,) affords us a dying teſtimony of great example: It is related thus by Agellius: When his life drew towards an end, ready to be ſeized by death, he ſpoke thus to his friends about him: ‘My words and actions, in this long term of years, have been (almoſt ‘all) ſuch as I need not repent of; which, perhaps, you alſo know. Truly, even at this ‘time I am certain, “I never committed any thing, the remembrance of which begets “any trouble in me,” unleſs this one thing only; which, whether it were done amiſs, ‘or not, I am uncertain. I ſat with two others, as judge, upon the life of my Friend; ‘the law was ſuch, as the perſon muſt of neceſſity be condemned; ſo that either my ‘Friend muſt loſe his life, or ſome deceit be uſed towards the Law. Revolving many ‘things in my mind, for relief of a condition ſo deſperate, I conceived that which I put ‘in practice to be of all other the moſt eaſy to be borne: Silently I condemned him, and ‘perſuaded thoſe others, who judged, to abſolve him. Thus I preſerved, in ſo great a ‘buſineſs, the duty both of a Judge and Friend. But from that act I received this trou‘ble; that I fear it is not free from perfidiouſneſs and guilt, in the ſame buſineſs, at the ‘ſame time, and in a public affair, to perſuade others contrary to what was in my own ‘judgment beſt.’ O tender conſcience! Yet an Heathen's! Where dwells the Chriſtian that excelleth? Hard to be found among the great Rabbies of Chriſtendom.

§. III. IGNATIUS, who lived within the firſt hundred years after Chriſt, and was torn in pieces of wild beaſts at Rome, for his true faith in Jeſus, left this, amongſt other things, behind him: 'There is nothing better, than the Peace of a Good Conſcience:' Intimating, there might be a peace to Wicked conſciences, that are paſt feeling any thing to be evil, but ſwallowed up of the wickedneſs of the world. And in his epiſtle to the churches at Epheſus, Magneſia, Trallis and Rome, upon his martyrdom, ſaith, 'Now I begin to be a diſciple; I weigh neither viſible nor inviſible things, ſo that I may gain Chriſt.' O heavenly-minded man! A bleſſed martyr of Jeſus indeed.

Ignatius Epiſt. ad Epheſ. Mag. Trall. Rom. Euſ. l. 3. c. 32.

§. IV. JUSTIN MARTYR, a philoſopher, (who received Chriſtianity five and twenty years after the death of Ignatius) plainly tells us, in his relation of his converſion to the Chriſtian faith, 'That the power of godlineſs in a plain ſimple Chriſtian had that influence and operation on his ſoul, that he could not but betake himſelf to a ſerious and ſtrict life:' And yet, before, he was a Cynick; a ſtrict ſect. And this gave him joy at his martyrdom, having ſpent his days as a ſerious teacher, and a good example. And Euſebius relates, 'That tho' he was alſo a follower of Plato's doctrine; yet, when he ſaw the Chriſtians piety and courage, he concluded, no people ſo temperate, leſs voluptuous, and more ſet on divine things:' Which firſt induced him to be a Chriſtian.

Euſeb. Ecc. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 8.

§. V. CHRYSOSTOM, another father, ſo called, lays this down for neceſſary doctrine, 'To ſacrifice the whole ſoul and body to the Lord, is the higheſt ſervice we can pay unto him. God promiſeth mercy unto penitent ſinners; but he doth not promiſe them they ſhall have ſo much time as to-morrow for their repentance.'

§. VI. CHARLES V. emperor of Germany, king of Spain, and lord of the Netherlands, after three and twenty pitched fields, ſix triumphs, four kingdoms conquered, and eight principalities added to his dominions (a greater inſtance than whom can ſcarce be given) reſigned up all his pomp to other hands, and betook himſelf to his retirement; leaving this teſtimony behind him, concerning the life he ſpent in the honours and pleaſures of the world, and in that little time of his retreat from them all: 'That the ſincere ſtudy, profeſſion and practice of the Chriſtian religion, had in it ſuch joys and ſweetneſs, as COURTS were Strangers to.'

§. VII. MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE (a lord of France, famous with men of letters for his book of Eſſays) giveth theſe inſtructions to others, and this character of himſelf, viz. 'Amidſt our banquets, feaſts and pleaſures, let us ever have this reſtraint or object of Death before us; that is, the remembrance of our condition: And let not pleaſure ſo much miſlead or tranſport us, that we altogether neglect or forget how many ways our joys, or our feaſtings, be ſubject unto Death, and by how many holdfaſts ſhe threatneth us and you. So did the Egyptians, who in the midſt of their banquetings, and in the full of their greateſt cheer, cauſed the Anatomy of a Dead Man to be brought before them, as a memorandum and warning to their gueſts. I am now, by means of the mercy of God, in ſuch a taking, that without regret, or grieving at any worldly matter, I am prepared to diſlodge, whenſoever he ſhall pleaſe to call me. I am every where free: My farewel is ſoon taken of all my friends, except of myſelf. No man did ever prepare himſelf to quit the world more ſimply and fully, or more generally lay aſide all thoughts of it, than I am fully aſſured I ſhall do. All the glory I pretend in my life, is, that I have lived Quietly: Quietly, not according to Metrodorus, Arceſilaus. or Ariſtippus; but according to Myſelf. Since philoſophy could never find any way for tranquility, that might be generally good; "Let every man in his own particular ſeek for it." Let us not propoſe ſo fleeting and ſo wavering an end unto ourſelves, as the World's Glory: Let us conſtantly follow Reaſon: And let the Vulgar Approbation follow us that way, if it pleaſe. I care not ſo much what I am with others, as I reſpect what I am IN MYSELF: I will be rich in myſelf, and not by borrowing. Strangers ſee but external appearances and events: Every man can ſet a good face upon the matter, when within he is full of care, grief and infirmities: They ſee not my heart, when they look upon my outward countenance.--We are nought but Ceremony; Ceremony doth tranſport us, and we leave the Subſtance of things: We hold faſt by the boughs, and leave the trunk or body, the Subſtance of things, behind us.'

§. VIII. CARDINAL WOOLSEY, the moſt abſolute and wealthy miniſter of ſtate this kingdom ever had, that in his time ſeemed to govern Europe as well as England, when come to the period of his life, left the world with this cloſe reflection upon himſelf; 'Had I been as diligent to ſerve my God, as I was to pleaſe my king, he would not have left me now in my gray hairs.' A diſmal reflection for all worldly-minded men; but thoſe more eſpecially who have the power and means of doing more good than ordinary in the world, and do it not; which ſeems to have been the caſe and reflection of this great man.

§. IX. Sir PHILIP SIDNEY (a ſubject indeed of England; but, they ſay, choſen king of Poland; whom queen Elizabeth called HER PHILIP; the prince of Orange, HIS MASTER; whoſe friendſhip the lord Brooks was ſo proud of, that he would have it part of his epitaph, "Here lies ſir Philip Sidney's friend:" Whoſe death was lamented in verſe by the then kings of France and Scotland, and the two univerſities of England) repented ſo much at his death of that witty vanity of his life, his Arcadia, that to prevent the unlawful kindling of heats in others, he would have committed it to the flames himſelf; and left this farewel amongſt his friends, ‘Love my memory; cheriſh my friends; ‘their faith to me may aſſure you that they are honeſt: But above all, govern your will ‘and affections by the Will and Word of your Creator. In me behold the End of this ‘World, and all its Vanities.’ And indeed he was not much out in ſaying ſo, ſince in him was to be ſeen the end of all natural parts, acquired learning, and civil accompliſhments. His farewel ſeems ſpoken without terror, with a clear ſenſe, and an equal judgment.

§. X. Secretary WALSINGHAM, an extraordinary man in queen Elizabeth's time, towards the concluſion of his days, in a letter to his fellow-ſecretary, Burleigh, then lord treaſurer of England, writes thus; ‘We have lived enough to our Country, our Fortunes, our Sovereign: It is high time we begin to live to Ourſelves, and to our God.’ Which giving occaſion for ſome court-droll to viſit, and try to divert him; ‘Ah! (ſaith he) ‘while we Laugh, all things are ſerious round about us; God is ſerious, when he preſerveth us; and hath patience towards us; Chriſt is ſerious, when he dieth for us; the Holy ‘Ghoſt is ſerious, when he ſtriveth with us; the whole creation is ſerious, in ſerving ‘God and us; they are ſerious in hell and in heaven: And ſhall a man that hath one ‘foot in his grave, Jeſt and Laugh?’ O that our ſtateſmen would weigh the conviction, advice and concluſion of this great man; and the greateſt man, perhaps, that has borne that character in our nation. For true it is, that none can be ſerious too ſoon, becauſe none can be good too ſoon. Away then with all fooliſh talking and jeſting, and let people mind more profitable things!

§. XI. JOHN MASON, knight, who had been privy-counſellor to four princes, and ſpent much time in the preferments and pleaſure of the world, retired with theſe pathetical and regretful ſayings: ‘After ſo many years experience, SERIOUSNESS is the ‘greateſt Wiſdom; TEMPERANCE the beſt Phyſic; a GOOD CONSCIENCE is the beſt ‘Eſtate. And were I to live again, I would change the court for a cloiſter, my privy-‘counſellor's buſtles for an hermit's retirement, and the whole life I lived in the palace, ‘for one hour's enjoyment of God in the chapel. All things elſe forſake me, beſides my ‘God, my Duty, and my Prayers.’

§. XII. Sir WALTER RALEIGH is an eminent inſtance, being as extraordinary a man as our nation hath produced: In his perſon, well deſcended; of health, ſtrength, and a maſculine beauty: In underſtanding, quick; in judgment, ſound; learned and wiſe, valiant and ſkilful: An Hiſtorian, a Philoſopher, a General, a Stateſman. After a long life, full of experience, he drops theſe excellent ſayings a little before his death, to his ſon, to his wife, and to the world, viz. ‘Exceed not in the humour of Rags and ‘Bravery; for theſe will ſoon wear out of faſhion: And no man is eſteemed for Gay Gar-‘ments, but by Fools and Women. On the other ſide, ſeek not Riches baſely, nor at-‘tain them by evil means: Deſtroy no man for his Wealth, nor take any thing from the ‘Poor; for the cry thereof will pierce the heavens: And it is moſt deteſtable before ‘God, and moſt diſhonourable before worthy men, to wreſt any thing from the needy ‘and labouring ſoul: God will never proſper thee, if thou offendeſt therein; but uſe ‘thy poor neighbours and tenants well.’ [A moſt worthy ſaying! But he adds] ‘Have ‘compaſſion on the Poor and Afflicted, and God will bleſs thee for it: Make not the ‘hungry ſoul ſorrowful; for if he curſe thee in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, his prayer ‘ſhall be heard of him that made him. Now, for the world (dear child) I know ‘it too well, to perſuade thee to dive into the practices of it: Rather ſtand upon thy ‘own guard againſt all thoſe that tempt thee to it, or may practiſe upon thee; whe-‘ther in thy Conſcience, thy Reputation, or thy Eſtate: Reſolve, that no man is Wiſe ‘or Safe, but he that is Honeſt. Serve God; Let him be the author of all thy actions: ‘Commend all thy endeavours to him, that muſt either wither or proſper them: Pleaſe ‘him with prayer; leſt if he frown, he confound all thy fortune and labour, like the ‘drops of rain upon the ſandy ground. Let my experienced advice, and fatherly in-‘ſtruction, ſink deep into thy heart: So God direct thee in all thy ways, and fill thy ‘heart with his grace.’

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Letter to his WIFE, after his Condemnation.

‘YOU ſhall receive, my dear wife, my laſt words, in theſe my laſt lines. My ‘Love I ſend to you, That you may keep when I am dead; and my Counſel, that ‘you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, with my will, preſent ‘you Sorrows, dear Beſs; let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the ‘duſt: and ſeeing that it is not the will of God that I ſhall ſee you any more, bear my ‘deſtruction patiently; and with an heart like yourſelf. Firſt, I ſend you all the thanks ‘which my heart can conceive, or my words expreſs, for your many travails and cares ‘for me; which, tho' they have not taken effect, as you wiſhed, yet my debt to you is ‘not the leſs; but pay it I never ſhall in this world. Secondly, I beſeech you, for the ‘love you bear me living, that you do not hide yourſelf many days; but by your travails

‘ ſeek to help my miſerable fortunes, and the right of your poor child; your mourning ‘ cannot avail me, who am but duſt. Thirdly, you ſhall underſtand, that my lands were ‘ conveyed (*bona fide*) to my child; the writings were drawn at Midſummer was a twelve-‘ month, as divers can witneſs; and I truſt, my blood will quench their malice, who de-‘ ſired my ſlaughter, that they will not ſeek to kill you and yours with extreme poverty. ‘ To what friend to direct you, I know not; for all mine have left me in the true time of ‘ trial. Moſt ſorry am I, that being ſurprized by death, I can leave you no better eſtate; God ‘ hath prevented all my determinations, that great God which worketh all in all. If you can ‘ live free from want, care for no more; for the reſt is but a vanity. Love God, and begin ‘ betimes; in him ſhall you find true, everlaſting, and endleſs comfort: When you have ‘ travelled, and wearied yourſelf with all ſorts of worldly cogitations, you ſhall ſit down ‘ by ſorrow in the end. Teach your ſon alſo to Serve and Fear God, whilſt he is young, ‘ that the fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be an Huſband to you, and a ‘ Father to him; an Huſband and a Father, that can never be taken from you. Dear ‘ Wife, I beſeech you, for my ſoul’s ſake, Pay all Poor Men. When I am dead, no doubt ‘ but you will be much ſought unto; for the world thinks I was very rich: have a care ‘ of the fair pretences of men; for no greater miſery can befal you in this life, than to ‘ become a prey unto the world, and after to be deſpiſed. As for me, I am no more ‘ yours, nor you mine: Death hath cut us aſunder; and God hath divided me from the ‘ world, and you from me. Remember your poor child, for his father’s ſake, who loved ‘ you in his happieſt eſtate. I ſued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you and ‘ yours that I deſired it: For know it, my dear wife, your child is the child of a True ‘ Man, who in his own reſpect deſpiſeth death, and his miſhapen and ugly forms. I ‘ cannot write much; God knows how hardly I ſteal this time, when all are aſleep: ‘ And it is alſo time for me to ſeparate my thoughts from the world. Beg my ‘ dead body, which living was denied you; and either lay it in Sherburne, or in Exeter ‘ church, by my father and mother. I can ſay no more; Time and Death call me ‘ away. The everlaſting God, powerful, infinite, and inſcrutable, God Almighty, who ‘ is Goodneſs itſelf, the TRUE LIGHT and LIFE, keep you and yours, and have mercy ‘ upon Me, and forgive my perſecutors, and falſe accuſers; and ſend us to meet in his ‘ glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewel; bleſs my boy, pray for me; and let my ‘ True God hold you both in his arms.

‘ Yours that was, but not now my own, WALTER RALEIGH.’

Behold wiſdom, reſolution, nature and grace! how ſtrong in argument, wiſe in counſel, firm, affectionate and devout. O that your heroes and politicians would make him their example in his death, as well as magnify the great actions of his life. I doubt not, had he been to live over his days again, with his experience, he had made leſs noiſe, and yet done more good to the world and himſelf. It is a ſad thing to conſider, that men hardly come to know themſelves, or the world, till they are ready to leave it.

§. XIII. HENRY WOTTON, knight, thought it ‘The greateſt happineſs in this life, ‘ to be at leiſure to be, and to do, good;’ as in his latter end he was wont to ſay, when he reflected on paſt times, tho’ a man eſteemed ſober and learned, ‘How much time have ‘ I to repent of, and how little to do it in!’

§. XIV. Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, a little before his death adviſed his relations to be ſerious in the ſearch after ‘the will of God in the Holy Word:’ For (ſaid he) it is deſervedly accounted a piece of excellent knowledge to underſtand the law of the land, and the cuſtoms of a man’s country; how much more to know the ſtatutes of heaven, and the laws of eternity, thoſe immutable and eternal laws of juſtice and righteouſneſs! To know the will and pleaſure of the Great Monarch and Univerſal King of the world! ‘ I have ſeen an end of all perfection; but thy commandments, O God, are exceeding ‘ broad.’----Whatever other knowledge a man may be endued withal, could he by a vaſt and imperious mind, and an heart as large as the ſand upon the ſea ſhore, command all the knowledge of art and nature, of words and things; could he attain a maſtery in all languages, and ſound the depth of all arts and ſciences; could he diſcourſe the intereſt of all ſtates, the intrigues of all courts, the reaſon of all civil laws and conſtitutions, and give an account of all hiſtories; ‘and yet not know the Author of his being, and the pre-‘ ſerver of his life, his ſovereign, and his judge; his ſureſt refuge in trouble; his beſt ‘ friend, or worſt enemy; the ſupport of his life, and the hope of his death; his future ‘ happineſs, and his portion for ever; he doth but *ſapienter deſcendere in infernum*, ‘ with a great deal of wiſdom go down to hell.’

§. XV. FRANCIS BACON, lord high chancellor of England, ſome time before his death confeſſed, ‘That to be religious, was to live ſtrictly and ſeverely: For if the opi-‘ nion of another world be falſe, yet the ſweeteſt life in this world is piety, virtue, and ‘ honeſty: If it be true, there be none ſo wretched and miſerable, as looſe, carnal, ‘ prophane perſons.’

§. XVI. The great duke of MOMERANCY, collegue to the Duke of Orleans, (brother to the French king Lewis the thirteenth) in the war by them agitated againſt the miniſtry of cardinal Richlieu, being taken and convicted at Lyons, a little before his beheading,

heading, looking upon himſelf, then very richly attired; ‘Ah! (ſays he) this becomes ‘not a ſervant of the crucified Jeſus! What do I with theſe vanities about me? He ‘was poor, deſpiſed and naked, when he went to the croſs to die for my ſins:’ And immediately he ſtripped himſelf of all his finery, and put a more grave and modeſt garment on him. A ſerious reflection, at a time when he beſt knew what was beſt.

§. XVII. Henry, Prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon to king James the Firſt, of whom others ſay many excellent things, hear what account he gives of himſelf at laſt: A perſon whom he loved, and that had been the companion of his diverſions, being with him in his ſickneſs, and aſking him, How he did? Was, amongſt many other ſober expreſſions, anſwered thus, ‘Ah Tom! I in vain wiſh for that time I loſt with thee, and others, in ‘vain recreations.’ So vain were recreations, and ſo precious was time to a Prince, and no ordinary one neither, upon a dying-bed. But why wiſhed he, with others, for more time, but that it might be better employed? Thus hath the Juſt Principle and Holy Spirit of God in men, throughout all generations, convinced them of their vanity and folly upon their dying-beds, who before were too much taken up to mind either a dying-bed, or a vaſt eternity; but when their days were almoſt numbered, when mortality haſtened on them, when the revelation of the righteous judgment was at the door, and that all their worldly recreations and enjoyments muſt be parted with, and that eye for ever ſhut, and fleſh turned to worms meat, that took delight therein; then, oh then it was, the Holy Witneſs had room to plead with conſcience: Then nothing but an holy, ſtrict, and ſevere life, was valuable; then ‘All the world for a little time,’ who before had given all their time for a little of a vain world. But if ſo ſhort a repreſentation of the inconſiſtency of the vanities of the world with the Chriſtian life, could make ſo deep an impreſſion, oh! to what a noble ſtature, and large proportion, had they been grown in all pious and heavenly knowledge, and how much greater had their rewards been, if they contentedly had foregone thoſe periſhing entertainments of the world betimes, and given the exerciſe of their minds to the tuition and guidance of that Univerſal Grace and Holy Spirit of God, which had ſo long ſhined in darkneſs, uncomprehended of it, and was at laſt but juſt perceived to give a ſight of what they had been doing all their days.

§. XVIII. Philip III. king of Spain, ſeriouſly reflecting upon the life he had led in the world, cried out upon his death-bed, ‘Ah, how happy were I, had I ſpent theſe ‘twenty-three years that I have held my kingdom, in a retirement.’ Crying out to his confeſſor, ‘My concern is for my ſoul, not my body: I lay all that God has ‘given me, my dominion, power, and my life, at the feet of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour.’ Would kings would live, as well as die ſo!

§. XIX. Count Gondamor, ambaſſador in England for that very king, and held the ableſt man of his time, who took great freedom as to his religion in his politicks, ſerving his ends by thoſe ways that would beſt accompliſh them. When towards his latter end, he grew very thoughtful of his paſt life; and after all his negotiations and ſucceſſes in buſineſs, ſaid to one of his friends, ‘I fear nothing in the world more than ſin.’ Often profeſſing, ‘He had rather endure hell than ſin.’ So clear and ſtrong were his convictions, and ſo exceeding ſinful did ſin appear to him, upon a ſerious conſideration of his ways.

§. XX. Cardinal Richlieu, after having been firſt miniſter of ſtate of Europe, as well as of France, confeſſed to old Peter du Moulin, the famous Proteſtant of that country, ‘That being forced upon many irregularities by that which they call REASON OF ‘STATE, he could not tell how to ſatisfy his conſcience for ſeveral things; and ‘therefore had many temptations to doubt and diſbelieve a God, another world, and the ‘immortality of the ſoul, and thereby to relieve his mind from any diſquiet, but in ‘vain: So ſtrong, he ſaid, was the notion of God on his ſoul, ſo clear the impreſſion of ‘him upon the frame of the world, ſo unanimous the conſent of mankind, ſo powerful ‘the convictions of his own conſcience, that he could not but “Taſte the power of the “world to come,” and ſo live as one that muſt die, and ſo die as one that muſt live for ‘ever.’ And being aſked one day, Why he was ſo ſad? anſwered, ‘Monſieur, Monſieur, ‘the ſoul is a ſerious thing; it muſt be either ſad here for a moment, or be ſad for ever.’

§. XXI. Cardinal Mazarine, reputed the cunningeſt ſtateſman of his time, and who gave great proofs of it in the ſucceſſes of the French crown under his miniſtry: his aim was the Grandeur of the world, to which he made all other conſiderations ſubmit: But, poor man! he was of another mind a little before his death: For being awakened by the ſmart laſhes of conſcience, which repreſented his ſoul's condition very diſmal, with aſtoniſhment and tears he cried out, ‘O my poor ſoul, what will become of thee! ‘Whither wilt thou go?’ And ſpoke one day thus to the queen mother of France, ‘Madam, your favours have undone me: Were I to live again, I would be a Capuchin, rather than a Courtier.’

§. XXII. Count Oxcistern, chancellor of Sweedland, a perſon of the firſt quality, ſtation and ability in his own country; and whoſe ſhare and ſucceſs, not only in the chief miniſtry of affairs in that kingdom, but in the greateſt negotiations of Europe, during his time, made him no leſs conſiderable abroad. After all his knowledge and honour, being viſited in his retreat from public buſineſs by commiſſioner Whitlock, ambaſſador to queen Chriſtina, in the concluſion of their diſcourſe, he ſaid to the ambaſſador, ‘ I have ſeen much, and enjoyed much of this world; but I never knew how to ‘ Live till now. I thank my good God that has given me time to know Him, and to ‘ know Myſelf. All the comfort I have, and all the comfort I take, and which is more ‘ than the whole world can give, is Feeling the Good Spirit of God in my heart, and ‘ reading in this good book, (holding up the bible) that came from it.’ And farther addreſſed himſelf thus to the ambaſſador: ‘ You are now in the prime of your age and ‘ vigour, and in great favour and buſineſs; but this will all leave you, and you will ‘ one day better underſtand and reliſh what I ſay to you; and then you will find that ‘ there is more wiſdom, truth, comfort and pleaſure in retiring and turning your heart ‘ from the world, to the good Spirit of God, and in reading the bible, than in all the ‘ courts and favours of princes.’ This I had, as near as I am able to remember, from the ambaſſador's own mouth more than once. A very edifying hiſtory, when we conſider from whom it came; one of the greateſt and wiſeſt men of his age; while his underſtanding was as ſound and vigorous, as his experience and knowledge were great.

§. XXIII. Dr. DONNE, a great poet, taking his farewel of his friends, on his dying-bed, left this ſaying behind him, for them to meaſure their fancies and their actions by: ‘ I repent of all my life, but that part of it I ſpent in communion with God, and ‘ doing good.’

§. XXIV. SELDEN, one of the greateſt ſcholars and antiquaries of his time; one who had taken a diligent ſurvey of what knowledge was conſiderable amongſt the Jews, Heathens and Chriſtians; at laſt profeſſeth this, toward the end of his days, in his conference with biſhop Uſher, ‘ That notwithſtanding he had been ſo laborious in his enquiries, and ‘ curious in his collections, and had poſſeſſed himſelf of a treaſure of books and manu‘ ſcripts upon all ancient ſubjects; yet he could reſt his ſoul on none, ſave the ſcriptures:’ And above all, that paſſage lay moſt remarkable upon his ſpirit, Titus ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. ‘ For the grace of God, that bringeth ſalvation, hath appeared unto all men; teaching ‘ us, that denying ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, ‘ and godly in this preſent world; looking for that bleſſed hope, and glorious appearing ‘ of the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; who gave himſelf for us, that he might ‘ redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himſelf a peculiar people, zealous of good ‘ works: Theſe things ſpeak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority.’ And indeed it is one of the moſt comprehenſive paſſages in ſcripture; for it compriſes the End, Means, and Recompence of Chriſtianity.

§. XXV. HUGO GROTIUS, than whom theſe latter ages think they have not had a man of more univerſal knowledge (a light, ſay the Stateſmen; a light, ſay the Churchmen too) witneſs his “ Annals,” and his book, “ De Jure Belli & Pacis”; alſo his “ Chriſtian Religion, and Elaborate Commentaries.” He winds up his life and choice in this remarkable ſaying, which ſhould abate the edge of other men's inordinate deſires after what they falſly call learning; namely, ‘ I would give all my learning and honour for ‘ the plain integrity of JEAN URICK,’ who was a religious poor man that ſpent eight hours of his time in prayer, eight in labour, and but eight in meals, ſleep, and other neceſſaries. And to one that admired his great induſtry, he returned this by way of complaint: ‘ Ah! ‘ I have conſumed my life in laboriouſly doing nothing.’ And to another, that enquired of his wiſdom and learning what courſe to take? He ſolemnly anſwered, ‘ Be Serious.’ Such was the ſenſe he had, how much a ſerious life excelled, and was of force, towards a dying hour.

§. XXVI. To whom I join SALMASIUS, that famous French ſcholar, and the other's contemporary; who (after his many volumes of learning, by which he had acquired great veneration among men of books) confeſſed ſo far to have miſtaken True Learning, and that in which ſolid happineſs conſiſts, that he exclaimed thus againſt himſelf; ‘ Oh! I have loſt a world of Time! Time, that moſt precious thing in the world! ‘ Wheteof, had I but one year more, it ſhould be ſpent in David's Pſalms and Paul's ‘ Epiſtles. Oh, ſirs! (ſaid he to thoſe about him) Mind the World leſs, and God ‘ more. The fear of the Lord, that is wiſdom; and to depart from evil, that is under‘ ſtanding.’

Prov. ix. 10.
and xvi. 17.

§. XXVII. FRANCIS JUNIUS, an ingenious perſon, who hath writ his own life; as he was reading “ Tully de Legibus,” fell into a perſuaſion, “ *Nibil curare Deum, nec* “ *ſui nec alieni*;” till in a tumult in Lyons the Lord wonderfully delivered him from imminent death; ſo that he was forced to acknowledge a Divine Providence therein. And his father hearing the dangerous ways that his ſon was miſled into, ſent for him home, where he carefully and piouſly inſtructed him, and cauſed him to read over the New Teſtament; of which he himſelf writeth thus: ‘ When I opened the New Teſta‘ ment, I firſt lighted upon John's firſt chapter, “ In the beginning was the Word, &c.” ‘ I read part of the chapter, and was ſuddenly convinced, that the Divinity of the Argu‘ ment, and the majeſty and authority of the writing, did exceedingly excel all the elo-

‘quence of Human Writings: My body trembled, my mind was aſtoniſhed, and was ſo affected all that day, that I knew not where and what I was. Thou waſt mindful of me, O my God, according to the multitude of thy mercies, and calledſt home thy loſt ſheep into the fold.’ And as Juſtin Martyr of old, ſo he of late profeſſed, ‘That the power of godlineſs, in a plain ſimple Chriſtian, wrought ſo upon him, that he could not but take up a ſtrict and a ſerious life.’

§. XXVIII. A. RIVETUS, a man of learning, and much reverenced in the Dutch nation, after a long life of ſtudy, in ſearch of divine knowledge, upon his death-bed, being diſcourſed by his friend of heavenly things, brake forth in this manner; ‘God has learned me more of himſelf in ten days Sickneſs, than I could get by all my Labour and Studies.’ So near a way, ſo ſhort a cut it is, to the knowledge of God, when people come into the Right Way, which is, To turn in their minds and hearts to the voice of God, and learn of him, who is a Spirit, to be taught of him, and led by him: ‘For in righteouſneſs ſuch ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and great ſhall be their peace.’

§. XXIX. *A Letter from* JAMES *earl of* MARLBOROUGH, *a little before his death, in the battle at ſea, on the coaſt of Holland,* &c.

‘I Believe the goodneſs of your nature, and the friendſhip you have always borne me, will receive with kindneſs the laſt office of your friend. I am in health enough of body, and (through the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt) well diſpoſed in mind. This I premiſe, that you may be ſatisfied that what I write proceeds not from any fantaſtick terror of mind, but from a ſober reſolution of what concerns myſelf, and earneſt deſire to do you more good after my death, than mine example (God of his mercy pardon the badneſs of it) in my life-time may do you harm. I will not ſpeak ought of the vanity of this world; your own age and experience will ſave that labour: but there is a certain thing that goeth up and down the world, called RELIGION, dreſſed and pretended phantaſtically, and to purpoſes bad enough; which yet, by ſuch evil dealing loſeth not its being. The Great Good God hath not left it without a Witneſs, more or leſs, ſooner or later, in every man's boſom, to direct us in the purſuit of it; and for the avoiding of thoſe inextricable diſquiſitions and entanglements our own frail reaſons would perplex us withal. God in his infinite mercy hath given us his Holy Word; in which, as there are many things hard to be underſtood, ſo there is enough plain and eaſy to quiet our minds, and direct us concerning our future being. I confeſs to God and you, I have been a great neglecter, and (I fear) deſpiſer of it: (God of his infinite mercy pardon me the dreadful fault.) But when I retired myſelf from the noiſe and deceitful vanity of the world, I found no true comfort in any other reſolution, than what I had from thence. I commend, from the bottom of my heart, the ſame to your (I hope) happy uſe. Dear Hugh, let us be more generous, than to believe we die as the beaſts that periſh; but with a chriſtian, manly, brave reſolution, look to what is eternal. I will not trouble you farther. The Only Great God and Holy God, Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, direct you to an happy end of your life, and ſend us a joyful reſurrection! ‘So prays your true friend,

‘MARLBOROUGH.’

§. XXX. The late Sir HENRY VANE muſt be too freſh in memory to need a character; but it is certain his parts were of the firſt rate, and ſuperior to the generality of men; yet he would often ſay, ‘He owed them to religion.’ In his youth he was much addicted to company, and promiſed little to buſineſs; but in reading of a book called “The ſigns of a godly man,” and being convicted in himſelf that they were juſt, but that he had no ſhare in any one of them; he fell into that extreme Anguiſh and Horror, that for ſome Days and Nights he took little food or reſt; which at once diſſolved his old friendſhips, and made thoſe impreſſions and reſolutions to religion, that neither Univerſity, Courts, Princes, nor Parents, nor any Loſſes or Diſappointments, that threatened his New Courſe of Liſe, could weaken or alter. And tho' this laid him under ſome diſadvantages for a time, his great integrity and abilities quickly broke through that obſcurity; ſo that thoſe of very differing ſentiments did not only admire, but very often deſired him to accept the moſt eminent negotiations of his country; which he ſerved according to his own principles, with great ſucceſs, and a remarkable ſelf-denial. This great man's maxim was, ‘Religion was the Beſt Maſter, and the Beſt Friend; for it made men wiſe, and would never leave them that never left it;’ which he found true in himſelf: For as it made him wiſer than thoſe that had been his teachers, ſo it made him firmer than any hero, having ſomething more than nature to ſupport him (which was the judgment as well of foreigners as others, that had the curioſity to ſee him die); making good ſome meditations of his own, viz. ‘The Day of Death is the judge of all our other Days; the very trial and touchſtone of the actions of our life. 'Tis the end that crowns the work, and a Good Death honoureth a man's whole life. The fading corruption and loſs of this life, is the paſſage into a better. Death is no leſs eſſential to us, than to live or to be born. In flying Death, thou flyeſt thy ſelf; thy eſſence is equally parted into theſe two, Life and Death. It is no ſmall reproach to a Chriſtian, whoſe faith is in immortality, and the bleſſedneſs of another life, to fear Death much, which is the neceſſary paſſage thereunto.'

§. XXXI. ABRAHAM COWLEY (whom to name, is enough with the men of wit of our time and nation) ſpeaks not leſs in favour of the Temperance and Solitude ſo much laboured in the preceding diſcourſe: Yet that his judgment may have the more force with the reader, it may be fit that I ſhould ſay, That he was a man of a ſweet and ſingular wit, great learning, and an even judgment; that had known what cities, univerſities and courts could afford; and that not only at home, but in divers nations abroad. Wearied with the world, he broke through all the entanglements of it; and, which was hardeſt, great friendſhip, and a perpetual praiſe; and retired to a ſolitary cottage near Barn-Elms, where his garden was his pleaſure, and he his own gardener: Whence he giveth us this following doctrine of retirement, which may ſerve for an account how well he was pleaſed in his change. 'The firſt work (ſaith he) that a man muſt do to make himſelf capable of the good of ſolitude, is the very eradication of all luſts; for how is it poſſible for a man to enjoy himſelf, while his affections are tied to things without himſelf. The firſt miniſter of ſtate hath not ſo much buſineſs in publick, as a wiſe man hath in private: If the one have little leiſure to be alone, the other hath leſs leiſure to be in company; the one hath but part of the affairs of one nation, the other all the works of God and nature under his conſideration. There is no ſaying ſhocks me ſo much, as that which I hear very often, "That a man doth not know how to paſs his time." It would have been but ill ſpoken of Methuſalem, in the nine hundred ſixty-ninth year of his life. But that is not to deceive the world, but to deceive ourſelves, as Quintilian ſaith, *Vitam fallere*, To draw on ſtill, and amuſe and deceive our life, till it be advanced inſenſibly to the fatal period, and fall into that pit which nature hath prepared for it. The meaning of all this is no more, than that moſt vulgar ſaying, "Bene qui latuit, bene vixit;" He hath lived well, who hath lain well hidden. Which, if it be a truth, the world is ſufficiently deceived: For my part, I think it is; and that the pleaſanteſt condition of life is in Incognito. What a brave privilege is it, to be free from all contentions, from all envying, or being envied, from receiving and from paying all kind of ceremonies! We are here among the vaſt and noble ſcenes of nature; we are there among the pitiful ſhifts of policy: We walk here in the light, and open ways of the divine bounty; we grope there in the dark and confuſed labyrinths of human malice: Our ſenſes are here feaſted with the clear and genuine taſte of their objects; which are all ſophiſticated there; and, for the moſt part, overwhelmed with their contraries. Here pleaſure looks, methinks, like a beautiful, conſtant and modeſt wife; 'tis there an impudent, fickle, and painted harlot. Here, is harmleſs and cheap plenty: There, guilty and expenceful luxury. The antiquity of this art is certainly not to be conteſted by any other. The three firſt men in the world were a Gardener, a Ploughman, and a Graſier: And if any man object, That the ſecond of theſe was a Murderer; I deſire he would conſider, that as ſoon as he was ſo, He quitted our Profeſſion, and turned Builder. 'Tis for this reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that the ſon of Syrach forbids us to hate huſbandry; becauſe (ſaith he) the Moſt High hath created it. We were all born to this art, and taught by nature to nouriſh our bodies by the ſame earth out of which they were made, and to which they muſt return, and pay at laſt for their ſuſtenance. Behold the Original and Primitive Nobility of all thoſe Great Perſons, who are too proud now not only to Till the ground, but almoſt to tread upon it. We may talk what we pleaſe of lilies and lions rampant, and ſpread eagles in fields d'or, or d'argent; but if heraldry were guided by Reaſon, a PLOUGH in a FIELD ARABLE would be the moſt noble and ancient arms.'

Bleſt be the man (and bleſt is he) whome'er,
(Plac'd far out of the roads of Hope or Fear)
A little Field, a little Garden, feeds;
The Field gives all that Frugal nature needs:
The wealthy Garden lib'rally beſtows
All ſhe can aſk, when ſhe Luxurious grows.
The ſpecious inconveniencies that wait
Upon a life of buſineſs and of ſtate,
He ſees (nor doth the ſight diſturb his reſt)
By Fools deſir'd, by Wicked men poſſeſt.
------- Ah wretched, and too Solitary, he
Who loves not his own Company:
He'll feel the weight of't many a day,
Unleſs he call in ſin or vanity
To help to bear't away.

Out of Martial, he gives us this following epigram, which he makes his by Tranſlation and Choice, to tell his own Solitude by: I place it here as his.

Would you be free? 'Tis your chief wiſh you ſay:
Come on; I'll ſhew thee, friend, the certain way;

If to no feaſts abroad thou lov'ſt to go,
Whilſt bounteous God doth bread at home beſtow;
If thou the goodneſs of thy clothes doſt prize
By thy own Uſe, and not by others Eyes;
If only ſafe from Weathers, thou canſt dwell
In a ſmall Houſe, but a convenient Shell;
If thou without a Sigh or Golden Wiſh
Canſt look upon thy Beechen Bowl, or Diſh;
If in thy mind ſuch Power and Greatneſs be,
The Perſian King's a Slave, compar'd with thee.
Whilſt this hard truth I teach, methinks I ſee
The monſter, London, laugh at me;
I ſhould at thee too, fooliſh city,
If it were fit to laugh at Miſery;
But thy eſtate I pity.
Let but thy wicked men from out thee go,
And all the fools that crowd thee ſo;
Even thou, who doſt thy millions boaſt,
A Village leſs than Iſlington wilt grow;
A Solitude almoſt.

I ſhall conclude him with this prayer of his own.

For the few hours of life allotted me,
Give me (great God) but Bread and Liberty;
I'll beg no more; if more thou'rt pleas'd to give,
I'll thankfully that Overplus receive.
If beyond This no more be freely ſent,
I'll thank for This, and go away content.

Here ends the wit, the praiſe, the learning, the city, the court, with Abraham Cowley, that once knew and had them all.

§. XXXII. The late Earl of ROCHESTER was inferior to nobody in wit, and hardly any body ever uſed it worſe, if we believe him againſt himſelf, in his Dying Reflections: An account of which I have had from ſome that viſited him in his ſickneſs, beſides that larger one made public by the preſent biſhop of Saliſbury. It was then that he came to think there was a God, for he felt his laſhes on his conſcience; and that there was ſuch a thing as Virtue, and a Reward for it. Chriſtianity was no longer a worldly or abſurd deſign: But Chriſt a Saviour, and a moſt Merciful One; and his doctrines plain, juſt and reaſonable, and the true way to felicity here and hereafter: Admiring and adoring that mercy to him, which he had treated with ſo much infidelity and obſtinate contempt: Wiſhing only for more life to confute his paſt one, and in ſome meaſure to repair the injuries he had done to Religion by it: Begging forgiveneſs for CHRIST's ſake, tho' he thought himſelf the moſt unworthy of it for his Own. Thus died that Witty Lord ROCHESTER; and this retreat he made from the world he had ſo great a name in. May the looſe wits of the times, as he deſired, take WARNING by him, and not leave their Repentance to a Dying-Bed.

§. XXXIII. A noble young man of the family of HOWARD, having too much yielded to the temptations of youth, when upon his ſick-bed (which proved his Dying-bed) fell under the power and agony of great convictions, mightily bewailing himſelf in the remembrance of his former extravagancies; crying ſtrongly to God to forgive him, abhorring his former courſe, and promiſing amendment, if God renewed life to him. However, he was willing to die, having taſted of the love and forgiveneſs of God; warning his acquaintance and kindred that came to ſee him, to fear God, and forſake the pleaſures and vanity of this world: And ſo willingly yielded his ſoul from the troubles of time, and frailties of mortality.

§. XXXIV. The late princeſs ELIZABETH of the Rhine, of right claimeth a memorial in this diſcourſe; her virtue giving greater luſtre to her name than her quality, which yet was of the greateſt in the German empire. She choſe a ſingle life, as freeſt of care, and beſt ſuited to the ſtudy and meditation ſhe was always inclined to; and the chiefeſt diverſion ſhe took, next the air, was in ſome ſuch plain and houſewifely entertainment, as knitting, &c. She had a ſmall territory, which ſhe governed ſo well, that ſhe ſhewed herſelf fit for a greater. She would conſtantly, every Laſt-day in the week, ſit in judgment, and hear and determine cauſes herſelf; where her patience, juſtice and mercy, were admirable; frequently remitting her forfeitures, where the party was poor, or otherwiſe meritorious. And, which was excellent, tho' unuſual, ſhe would temper her diſcourſes with Religion, and ſtrangely draw concerned parties to ſubmiſſion and agreement; exerciſing not ſo much the rigor of her power, as the power of her perſuaſion. Her meekneſs and humility appeared to me extraordinary. She never conſidered the quality, but the merit of the people ſhe entertained. Did ſhe hear of 'a retired man, 'hid from the world, and ſeeking after the knowledge of a better,' ſhe was ſure to ſet him down in the catalogue of her charity, if he wanted it: I have caſually ſeen, I believe, Fifty Tokens ſealed and ſuperſcribed to the ſeveral poor ſubjects of her bounty, whoſe diſtances would not ſuffer them to know one another, tho' they knew her, whom yet ſome of them had never ſeen. Thus, tho' ſhe kept 'no ſumptuous table in her own 'Court, ſhe ſpread the tables of the Poor in their ſolitary Cells; breaking bread to virtuous pilgrims, according to their want, and her ability. Abſtemious in herſelf, and 'in apparel void of all vain ornaments.'

I muſt needs ſay, her mind had a noble proſpect: Her eye was to a better and more laſting inheritance than can be found below; which made her often to deſpiſe the Greatneſs of courts, and learning of the ſchools, of which ſhe was an extraordinary judge. Being once at Hamburgh, a religious perſon, whom ſhe went to ſee for religion's ſake, telling her, 'It was too great an honour for him, that he ſhould have a viſitant of her 'quality come under his roof, that was allied to ſo many great kings and princes of this 'world:' She humbly anſwered, 'If they were godly, as well as great, it would be an 'honour indeed; but if you knew what that greatneſs was, as well as I, you would va'lue leſs that honour.' Being in ſome agony of ſpirit, after a religious meeting we had in her own chamber, ſhe ſaid, 'It is an hard thing to be faithful to what one knows: Oh, 'the way is ſtrait! I am afraid I am not weighty enough in my ſpirit to walk in it.' After another meeting, ſhe uttered theſe words; 'I have records in my library, that the Goſ'pel was firſt brought out of England hither into Germany by the Engliſh, and now it 'is come again.' She once withdrew, on purpoſe to give her ſervants the liberty of diſcourſing us, that they might the more freely put what queſtions of conſcience they deſired to be ſatisfied in; for they were religious: Suffering both them, and the pooreſt of her town, to ſit by her in her own bed-chamber, where we had two meetings. I cannot forget her Laſt Words, when I took my leave of her: "Let me deſire you to remember "me, tho' I live at this diſtance, and that you ſhould never ſee me more. I thank you "for this good time; and know and be aſſured, tho' my condition ſubjects me to divers "temptations, yet my ſoul hath ſtrong deſires after the beſt things." She lived her ſingle life till about ſixty years of age, and then departed at her own houſe in Herwerden, which was about * two years ſince; as much lamented, as ſhe had lived beloved of the people: To whoſe Real Worth, I do, with Religious Gratitude for her kind reception, dedicate this memorial.

* She died in 1680. And this paſſage was inſerted in a ſecond edition of this treatiſe, an. 1682.

§. XXXV. **Bulstrode Whitlock** has left his own character in his "Memorials "of Engliſh affairs;" a book that ſhows both his employments and greater abilities. He was almoſt ever a commiſſioner and companion with thoſe great men, that the lords and commons of England, at ſeveral times, appointed to treat with king Charles I. for a peace. He was commiſſioner of the great ſeal, ambaſſador to the crown of Sweedland, and ſometimes preſident of the council: A ſcholar, a lawyer, a ſtateſman; in ſhort, he was one of the moſt accompliſhed men of the age. Being with him ſometimes at his own houſe in Berkſhire, where he gave me that account I have related of chancellor Oxciſtern, amongſt many ſerious things he ſpoke, this was very obſervable. 'I ever have thought,' ſaid he, 'there has been One True Religion in the World; and that is, the work of the 'Spirit of God in the hearts and ſouls of men. There have been indeed divers forms and 'ſhapes of things, through the many diſpenſations of God to men, anſwerable to his own 'wiſe ends, in reference to the low and uncertain ſtate of man in the world; but the 'Old World had the Spirit of God, for it ſtrove with them; and the New World has 'had the Spirit of God, both Jew and Gentile; and it ſtrives with all; and they that 'have been led by it, have been the good people in every diſpenſation of God to the 'world. And I myſelf muſt ſay, I have felt it from a child to convince me of my evil 'and vanity; and it has often given me a true meaſure of this poor world, and ſome taſte 'of divine things; and it is my grief I did not more early apply my ſoul to it. For I 'can ſay, ſince my retirement from the greatneſs and hurries of the world, I have felt 'ſomething of the work and comfort of it, and that it is both ready and able to inſtruct, 'and lead, and preſerve thoſe that will humbly and ſincerely hearken to it. So that my 'religion is the Good Spirit of God in my Heart; I mean, what that has wrought in 'me and for me.' And after a meeting at his houſe, to which he gave an entire liberty for all that pleaſed to come, he was ſo deeply affected with the teſtimony of the Light, Spirit and Grace of Chriſt in Man, as the Goſpel Diſpenſation, that after the meeting cloſed in prayer, he roſe up, and pulled off his hat, and ſaid, 'This is the Everlaſting 'Goſpel I have heard this day; and I humbly bleſs the name of God, that he has let 'me live to ſee this day, in which the Ancient Goſpel is again preached to them that 'dwell upon the earth.'

§. XXXVI. A ſiſter of the family of **Penn**, of Penn in Buckinghamſhire, a young woman delighting in the finery and pleaſures of the world, was ſeized with a violent illneſs, that proved mortal to her. In the time of her ſickneſs ſhe fell into great diſtreſs of ſoul, bitterly bewailing the want of that inward peace which makes a death-bed eaſy to the righteous. After ſeveral days languiſhing, a little conſolation appeared after this manner. She was ſome hours in a kind of a Trance; ſhe apprehended ſhe was brought into a place where Chriſt was; to whom could ſhe but deliver her petition, ſhe hoped to be relieved. But her endeavours increaſed her pain; for as ſhe preſſed to deliver it, 'He turned his back upon her,' and would not ſo much as look towards her. But that which added to her ſorrow, was, 'That ſhe beheld others admitted.' However, ſhe gave not over importuning him: And when almoſt ready to faint, and her hope to ſink, 'he turned one ſide of his face towards her, and reached forth his hand, and received her requeſt: At which her troubled ſoul found immediate conſolation.' Turning to thoſe about her, ſhe repeats what had befallen her; adding, 'Bring me my new clothes; take off the lace and finery.' And charged her relations, 'Not to deck and adorn themſelves after the manner of the world; for that the Lord Jeſus, whom ſhe had ſeen, appeared to her in the likeneſs of a PLAIN COUNTRY MAN, without any trimming or ornament whatever; and that his ſervants ought to be like him.'

§. XXXVII. My own FATHER, after thirty years employment, with good ſucceſs, in divers places of eminent truſt and honour in his own country; upon a ſerious reflection not long before his death, ſpoke to me in this manner, 'Son William, I am weary of the world; I would not live over my days again, if I could command them with a wiſh; for the ſnares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God, that has followed me to this day. O have a care of ſin! That is the ſting both of life and death. Three things I commend to you: Firſt, "Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your CONSCIENCE;" I charge you, do nothing againſt your conſcience; ſo will you keep peace at home, which will be a feaſt to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, Whatever you deſign to do, "lay it juſtly, and time it ſeaſonably;" for that gives ſecurity and diſpatch. Laſtly, "Be not troubled at diſappointments;" for if they may be recovered, do it; if they cannot, trouble is vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in ſubmitting to Providence: For afflictions make wiſe. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed inſtruction for another time: Theſe rules will carry you with firmneſs and comfort through this inconſtant world.' At another time he inveighed againſt the profaneneſs and impiety of the age; often crying out, with an earneſtneſs of ſpirit, 'Wo to thee O England! God will judge thee, O England! Plagues are at thy door, O England!' He much bewailed, That divers men in power, and many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, were grown ſo diſſolute and profane; often ſaying, 'God has forſaken us; we are infatuated; we will ſhut our eyes; we will not ſee our true intereſts and happineſs; we ſhall be deſtroyed!' Apprehending the conſequences of the growing looſeneſs of the age to be our ruin; and that the methods moſt fit to ſerve the kingdom with true credit at home and abroad, were too much neglected; the trouble of which did not a little help to feed his diſtemper, which drew him daily near to his end: And as he believed it, ſo leſs concerned or diſordered I never ſaw him at any time; of which I took good notice. Wearied to live, as well as near to die, he took his leave of us; and of me, with this expreſſion, and a moſt compoſed countenance: 'Son William, if you and your Friends keep to your plain Way of Preaching, and keep to your plain Way of Living, you will make an end of the prieſts to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother: Live all in love: Shun all manner of evil: And I pray God to bleſs you all; and he will bleſs you.'

§. XXXVIII. ANTHONY LOUTHER of Maſk; a perſon of good ſenſe, of a ſweet temper, a juſt mind, and of a ſober education; when of age to be under his own government, was drawn by the men of pleaſure of the town into the uſual freedoms of it, and was as much a judge as any body of the ſatisfaction that way of living could yield; but ſome time before his ſickneſs, with a free and ſtrong judgment, he would frequently upbraid himſelf, and contemn the world, for thoſe unſeaſonable as well as unchriſtian liberties, that ſo much abound in it; which apprehenſion increaſed by the inſtruction of a long and ſharp ſickneſs: He would often deſpiſe their folly, and abhor their guilt; breathing, with ſome impatience, after the knowledge of the beſt things, and the beſt company; loſing as little time as he could, that he might redeem the time he had loſt; teſtifying often, with a lively reliſh, to the truth of religion, from the ſenſe he had of it in his own breaſt: Frequently profeſſing, 'he knew no joy comparable to that of being aſſured of the Love and Mercy of God.' Which as he often implored with ſtrong convictions, and a deep humility and reverence, ſo he had frequently taſtes thereof before his laſt period; preſſing his relations and friends, in a moſt ſerious and affectionate manner, to 'love God and one another More, and this vile world Leſs.' And of this he was ſo full, it was almoſt ever the concluſion of his moſt inward diſcourſes with his family; tho' he ſometimes ſaid, 'he could have been willing to have lived, if God had pleaſed; to ſee his younger childred nearer a ſettlement in the world; yet he felt no deſire to live longer in the world, but on the terms of 'living better in it:' For that he did not only think virtue the ſafeſt, but the Happieſt way of living: Commending and Commanding it to his children upon his laſt bleſſing.

I ſhall conclude this chapter of Retired, Aged and Dying Perſons, with ſome collections I have made out of the life of a perſon of great piety and quality of the French nation.

§. XXXIX. Du Renty, a young nobleman of France, of admirable parts, as well as great birth, touched with a ſenſe of the vanity of the world, and the ſweetneſs of a retired and religious life, notwithſtanding the honours and employments that waited for him, abandons the pride and pomp of the world, to enjoy a life of more communion with God: Do but hear him: 'I avow (ſaith he) that I have no guſt in any thing, where I find not Jeſus Chriſt. And for a ſoul that ſpeaks not of him, or in which we cannot taſte any effect of Grace flowing from his Spirit (which is the Principle of Operations, both inward and outward, that are ſolidly Chriſtian) ſpeak not to me at all of ſuch an one. Could I (as I may ſay) behold both miracles and wonders there, and yet not Jeſus Chriſt, nor hear any talk of Him, I count all but amuſement of ſpirit, loſs of time, and a very dangerous precipice. Let us encourage ourſelves to lead this life unknown and wholly hid from men, but moſt known to, and intimate with God; diveſting ourſelves, and chaſing out of our minds all thoſe many ſuperfluities, and thoſe many amuſements, which bring with them ſo great a damage, that they take up our minds, inſtead of God. So that when I conſider that which thwarts and cuts into ſo many pieces this holy, this ſweet and amiable Union, which we ſhould have continually with God, it appears, that it is only a monſieur, a madame, a complement and chatting, indeed a mere foolery; which, notwithſtanding, doth raviſh and wreſt from us the time that is ſo precious, and the fellowſhip that is ſo holy and ſo deſirable. Let us quit this, I pray you, and learn to court it with our own Maſter. Let us well underſtand our part, our own world (as we here phraſe it); not that world, I mean, which we do renounce, but that wherein the children of God do their duties to their Father. There is nothing in this world ſo ſeparate from the world, as God; and the greater the ſaints are, the greater is their retirement Into Him. This our Saviour taught us, whilſt he lived on earth, being in all his viſible employments united to God, and retired into the boſom of his Father. Since the time that I gave up my liberty to God, as I told you, I was given to underſtand, to what a ſtate of Annihilation the ſoul muſt be brought, to render it capable of Union with him: I ſaw my ſoul reduced into a ſmall point, contracted and ſhrunk up to Nothing: And at the ſame time I beheld myſelf, as if encompaſſed with whatſoever the world loves and poſſeſſeth; and, as it were, a hand removing all this far from me, throwing it into the ocean of annihilation. In the firſt place, I ſaw removed all Exterior Things, Kingdoms, Great Offices, Stately Buildings, Rich Houſhold-ſtuff, Gold and Silver, Recreations, Pleaſures; all which are great Incumbrances to the ſoul's paſſing on to God; of which therefore his pleaſure is, that ſhe be ſtripped, that ſhe may arrive at the point of nakedneſs and death, which will bring her into poſſeſſion of ſolid riches, and real life. Aſſure yourſelf, there is no ſecurity in any eſtate, but this of Dying and Annihilation; which is, to be "baptized into Chriſt's death," that we live the life of mortification. Our beſt way is therefore, to diveſt ourſelves of All, that the Holy Child Jeſus may govern all. All that can be imagined in this lower world, is of ſmall concernment, tho' it were the loſing of all our goods, and the death of all the men in it; this poor ant-hill is not worthy of a ſerious thought. Had we but a little Faith, and a little Love, how happy ſhould we eſteem ourſelves, in giving away all, to attend no more, ſave on God alone; and to ſay, *Deus meus, & omnia!* My God, and my All!---Being (ſaith he) in a chapel richly wainſcotted, and adorned with very excellent ſculpture, and with imagery, I beheld it with ſome attention, having had ſome ſkill in theſe things, and ſaw the bundle of flowers-de-luces, and of flowers in form of borders, and of very curious workmanſhip; it was on a ſudden put into my mind, "The Original of what thou ſeeſt, would not detain thee at all in ſeeing it." And I perceived, that indeed all theſe, and thoſe flowers themſelves (not in Pictures) would not have taken me up; and all the ornaments which architecture and art invent, are but things moſt mean and low, running in a manner only upon Flowers, Fruits, Branches, Harpies and Chimera's; part whereof are, in their very being, but things common and low, and part of them merely imaginary; and yet man (who croucheth to every thing) renders himſelf amorous and a ſlave of them; no otherwiſe than as if a Good workman ſhould ſtand to copy out, and counterfeit, ſome trifles and fopperies. I conſidered by this ſight how poor man was to be cheated, amuſed and diverted from his Sovereign Good. And ſince that time, I could make no more ſtand to conſider any of theſe things: And if I did it, I ſhould reproach myſelf for it; as no ſooner ſeeing them in churches, or elſewhere, but this is preſently put upon my ſpirit, "The Original is Nothing, the Copy and the Image is yet leſs: Each thing is Vain, except the Employment of ourſelves about God alone." An abſolute Abnegation will be neceſſary to all things, to follow in Simplicity, without Reſerve or Reflection, what our Saviour ſhall work in us, or appoint for us, let it be this or that. This way was ſhewed me, in which I ought to walk towards him; and hence it is, that all things to me ordinarily are without any guſt and delight. I aſſure you, it is a great ſhame to a Chriſtian to paſs his days in this world more at eaſe than Jeſus Chriſt here paſſed his. Ah! Had we but a little faith, what repoſe could we take out of the Croſs!'

I will conclude his ſayings with his dying bleſſing to his ſurviving children.

'I pray God bleſs you; and may it pleaſe him to bleſs you, and to preſerve you by his Grace from the evil of the world, that you may have no part therein: and above all, my children, that you may live in the fear and love of God, and yield due obedience to your mother.'

Expreſſions of that weight and moment to the immortal good of men, that they abundantly prove, to all ſenſible readers, that the author was a man of an enlightened mind, and of a ſoul mortified to the world, and quickened to ſome taſtes of a ſupernatural life. Let his youth, let his quality, adorned with ſo much zeal and piety, ſo much ſelf-denial and conſtancy, become exemplary to thoſe of worldly quality, who may be the readers of this book. Some, perhaps, will hear that truth from the ſeveral authors I have reported, whoſe names, death and time have recovered from the envy of men, that would hardly endure it from me, if at all from the living. Be it as it will, I ſhall abundantly rejoice, if God ſhall pleaſe to make any part of this diſcourſe effectual to perſuade any into the love of holineſs, 'without which,' certain it is, 'no man ſhall ſee the Lord: But the pure in heart ſhall behold him for ever.'

To conclude; I cannot paſs this reflection upon what is obſerved of the ſayings of Dying Men, and which to me ſeems to have great inſtruction in it; viz. All men agree, when they come to die, it is beſt to be Religious; to live an Holy, Humble, Strict and ſelf-denying Life; Retired, Solitary, Temperate and Diſincumbered of the World. Then loving God ABOVE ALL, and our neighbours as ourſelves, forgiving our enemies, and praying for them, are ſolid things, and the eſſential part of religion, as the true ground of man's happineſs. Then all ſin is 'exceeding ſinful,' and yields no more pleaſure: But every inordinate deſire is burthenſome, and ſeverely reproved. Then the world, with all the lawful comforts in it, weighs light againſt that ſenſe and judgment, which ſuch men have between the temporal and the eternal. And ſince it is thus with dying men, what inſtruction is it to the living, whoſe pretence for the moſt part is a perpetual contradiction? O! that men would learn to "Number their days, that they might apply their hearts to wiſdom;" of which "the fear of the Lord is the true and only beginning." And "Bleſſed are they that fear always, for their feet ſhall be preſerved from the ſnare of death."

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. *Of the Way of Living amongſt the firſt Chriſtians.* §. 2. *An Exhortation to all profeſſing Chriſtianity, to embrace the foregoing Reaſons and Examples.* §. 3. *Plain dealing with ſuch as reject them.* §. 4. *Their Recompences.* §. 5. *The Author is better perſuaded and aſſured of ſome: An Exhortation to them.* §. 6. *Encouragement to the Children of Light to perſevere, from a conſideration of the Excellency of their Reward; the End and Triumph of the Chriſtian Conqueror. The whole concluded with a brief Supplication to Almighty God.*

The CONCLUSION.

§. I. HAVING finiſhed ſo many Teſtimonies, as my time would give me leave, in favour of this ſubject, No CROSS, No CROWN; No Temperance, No Happineſs; No Virtue, No Reward; No Mortification, No Glorification: I ſhall conclude with a ſhort deſcription of the life and worſhip of the Chriſtians, within the firſt century, or hundred years after Chriſt: What ſimplicity, what ſpirituality, what holy love and communion did in that bleſſed age abound among them! It is delivered originally by Philo Judæus, and cited by Euſebius Pamphilius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; 'That thoſe Chriſtians renounced their ſubſtance, and ſevered themſelves from all the cares of this life; and forſaking the cities, they lived ſolitary in fields and gardens. They accounted their company, who followed the contrary life of cares and buſtles, as unprofitable and hurtful to them; to the end that with earneſt and fervent deſires, they might imitate them which led this prophetical and heavenly life. In many places, ſays he, this people liveth (for it behoveth as well the Grecians as the Barbarians, to be partakers of this abſolute goodneſs); but in Egypt, in every province they abound; and eſpecially about Alexandria. From all parts the better ſort withdrew themſelves into the ſoil and place of theſe Worſhippers, (as they were called) as a moſt commodious place, adjoining to the Lake of Mary, in a valley very fit both for its ſecurity, and the temperance of the air. They are farther reported to have meeting-houſes, where the moſt part of the day was employed in Worſhipping God: That they were great Allegorizers of the ſcriptures, making them all figurative: That the external ſhew of words (or the letter) reſembleth the ſuperficies of the body; and the hidden ſenſe or underſtanding of the words ſeem in place of the ſoul; which they contemplate by their beholding names, as it were in a glaſs:' That is, their religion conſiſted not chiefly in reading the letter, diſputing about it, accepting things in Literal Conſtructions, but

Philo Judæus of the worſhip of Egypt and Alexand. Euſeb. Pam. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 17.

but in the Things declared of, the ſubſtance itſelf; bringing things nearer to the mind, ſoul and ſpirit, and preſſing into a more hidden and heavenly ſenſe; making religion to conſiſt in the Temperance and Sanctity of the Mind, and not in the Formal Bodily Worſhip, ſo much now-a-days in repute, fitter to pleaſe Comedians than Chriſtians. Such was the practice of thoſe times: But now the caſe is altered; people will be Chriſtians, and have their worldly-mindedneſs too: But tho' God's kingdom ſuffer violence by ſuch, yet ſhall they never enter: The Life of Chriſtand his followers hath in all ages been, another thing; and there is but One Way, One Guide, One Reſt; all which are pure and holy.

§. II. But if any (notwithſtanding our many ſober reaſons, and numerous teſtimonies from ſcripture, or the example or experience of religious, worldly and profane, living and dying men, at home and abroad, of the greateſt note, fame and learning, in the whole world) ſhall yet remain lovers and imitators of the folly and the vanity condemned; if the cries and groans, ſighs and tears, and complaints and mournful wiſhes of ſo many reputed great, nay ſome ſober men.----"O that I had more time!---O that I might live "a year longer, I would live a ſtricter life!---O that I were a poor Jean Urick!---All is "vanity in this world:---O my poor ſoul, whither wilt thou go?---O that I had the "time ſpent in vain recreations!---A ſerious life is above all;" and ſuch-like; if, I ſay, this by no means can prevail, but if yet they ſhall proceed to folly, and follow the vain world, what greater evidence can they give of their heady reſolution to go on impiouſly; to deſpiſe God; to diſobey his precepts; to deny Chriſt; to ſcorn; not to bear his croſs; to forſake the examples of his ſervants; to give the lie to the dying ſerious ſayings and conſent of all ages; to harden themſelves againſt the checks of conſcience; to befool and ſport away their precious time, and poor immortal ſouls to woe and miſery? In ſhort, it is plainly to diſcover you neither have Reaſon to juſtify yourſelves, nor yet enough of Modeſty to bluſh at your own folly; but, as thoſe that have loſt the ſenſe of one and the other, go on to "eat and drink, and riſe up to play." In vain therefore is it for you to pretend to fear the God of heaven, whoſe minds ſerve the god of the pleaſure of this world: In vain it is to ſay, you believe in Chriſt, who receive not his ſelf-denying doctrine: And to no better purpoſe will all you do, avail. If he that had loved "God and his neighbour, and kept the commandments from his youth," was excluded from being a diſciple, "becauſe he ſold not all, and followed Jeſus;" with what confidence can you call yourſelves Chriſtians, who have neither kept the commandments, nor yet forſaken any thing to be ſo? And if it was a bar betwixt him and the eternal life he ſought, that (notwithſtanding all his other virtues) love to Money, and his external poſſeſſions, "could not be parted with;" what ſhall be your end, who cannot deny yourſelves many Leſs things, but are daily multiplying your inventions, to pleaſe your fleſhly appetites? Certainly, much more impoſſible is it to forſake the Greater. Chriſt tried his love, in bidding him forſake All, becauſe he knew, for all his brags, that his mind was rivetted therein; not that if he had enjoyed his poſſeſſions with Chriſtian Indifferency, they might not have been continued: But what then is their doom, whoſe hearts are ſo fixed in the vanities of the world, that they will rather make them Chriſtian, than not to be Chriſtians in the uſe of them? But ſuch a Chriſtian this Young Man might have been, who had more to ſay for himſelf than the ſtricteſt Phariſee living dare pretend to; yet "he went away ſorrowful from Jeſus." Should I aſk you, if Nicodemus did well to come by night, and be aſhamed of the great Meſſiah of the world? And if he was not Ignorant when Chriſt ſpake to him of the New Birth? I know you would anſwer me, 'He did very ill, and was very ignorant.' But ſtay a while, the beam is in your own eyes; you are ready doubtleſs to condemn Him and the Young Man for not doing what you not only refuſe to do yourſelves, but laugh at Others for doing. Nay, had ſuch paſſages not been writ, and were it not for the reverence ſome pretend for the Scriptures, they would both be as ſtupid as Nicodemus in their anſwers to ſuch heavenly matters, and ready to call it Canting to ſpeak ſo; as it is frequent for you, when we ſpeak to the ſame effect, tho' not the ſame words: Juſt as the Jews, at what time they called God their Father, they deſpiſed his Son; and when he ſpake of ſublime and heavenly myſteries, ſome cried, "He has a devil;" others, "He is mad:" And moſt of them, "Theſe are hard ſayings, who can bear them?"

Ex. xxxii. 6.
Amos vi. 3. to 6. Eph. iv. 17. 24.
2 Tim. ii. 19.
Mat. xix. 16, to 22.
John iii. 1, to 5.

§. III. And to you all, that ſport yourſelves after the manners of the World, let me ſay, that you are thoſe, "who profeſs you know God, but in works deny him;" living in thoſe pleaſures which ſlay the Juſt in yourſelves. For tho' you talk of Believing, it is no more than taking it for granted that there is a God, a Chriſt, Scriptures, &c. without farther concerning yourſelves to prove the verity thereof, to yourſelves or others, by a ſtrict and holy converſation: Which ſlight way of Believing is but a light and careleſs way of ridding yourſelves of farther examination; and rather throwing them off with an inconſiderate granting of them to be ſo, than giving yourſelves the trouble of making better inquiry (leaving that to your prieſts, oft-times more ignorant, and not leſs vain and idle, than yourſelves) which is ſo far from a Goſpel Faith, that it is the leaſt reſpect you can ſhew to God, Scriptures, &c. and next to which kind of Believing is nothing, under a Denial of All.

Titus i. 16.

But if you have hitherto laid aſide all temptations to Reaſon and Shame, at leaſt be intreated
to reſume them now in a matter of this importance, and whereon no leſs concernment
reſts, than your temporal and eternal happineſs. ‘Oh! retire, retire; obſerve the
‘reproofs of inſtruction in your own minds: That which begets ſadneſs in the midſt
‘of mirth, which cannot ſolace itſelf, nor be contented below immortality; which calls
‘often to an account at nights, mornings, and other ſeaſons; which lets you ſee the vanity,
‘the folly, the end and miſery of theſe things; this is the Juſt Principle and Holy
‘Spirit of the Almighty within you: Hear him, obey him, converſe with them who are
‘led by him; and let the glories of another world be eyed, and the heavenly recompence
‘of reward kept in ſight.’ Admit not the thoughts of former follies to revive;
Tit. ii. 11, but be ſteady and continually exerciſed by his Grace, ‘to deny ungodlineſs and worldly
12, 13, 14. ‘luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly in this preſent world.’ For this is the
true and heavenly nature of Chriſtianity, ‘To be ſo awakened and guided by the Spirit
‘and Grace of God, as to leave the ſins and vanities of the world, and to have the affections
‘regenerated, the mind reformed, and the whole man baptized into purity and
‘faithfulneſs towards God and man, as to act with reverence, juſtice and mercy. To
‘care for very few things; to be content with what you have; to uſe all as if you uſed
‘them not; and to be ſo diſintangled from the luſts, pleaſures, profits and honours of the
‘world, as to have the mind raiſed to things above, the heart and affections fixed there:
‘That in all things you may glorify God, and be as lights ſet on a hill, whoſe ſhining
‘examples may be conducing to the happineſs of others, who beholding ſuch good
‘works, may be converted, and glorify God the Father of lights, in whom you all would
‘be eternally bleſſed.’

§. IV. But if the impenitence of any is ſo great, their purſuit of folly as earneſt, and,
notwithſtanding what has been thus ſeriouſly offered to reclaim them, they are reſolved
to take their courſe, and not to be at leiſure for more divine things, I have this farther
Rom. ii. 4, to leave with them from the Almighty, who firſt called me to this work; ‘That tribulation,
5, 6, 9. ‘anguiſh, and ſorrow ſhall make their dying beds; indignation and wrath ſhall
‘wind up their days; and trouble and vexation of mind and ſpirit ſhall be the miſerable
‘fruits which they ſhall reap, as the reward of all their wretched folly and rebellion!’
Gal. vi. 4, Be not deceived, God will not be mocked: It is ſo irreverſibly decreed; ‘Whatſoever is
5, 6, 7, 8. ‘ſown here, ſhall be reaped hereafter.’ And juſt is the Almighty, to make good his determinations
upon ſuch, who inſtead of employing the time given them, to ‘work out
‘their ſalvation with fear and trembling,’ have ſpent it in the pleaſures of the fleſh,
Rev. iii. 20. which periſheth; as if their heaven were here. Nor can it ſeem unreaſonable, ſince he
and xxi. 27. hath thus long waited with REMISSION of Sins, and ETERNAL LIFE in his hand, to
and xxii. 13, diſtribute to them that REPENT; that if ſuch will not, to recompence ſo great obſtinacy,
14, 15. and love of this periſhing world, with everlaſting tribulation.

§. V. But I am otherwiſe perſuaded of many; yes, I am aſſured the mercies of the
everlaſting God have been ſo extended to many, that this will prove an effectual call to
bring them out of the ways and cuſtoms of this corrupted and corrupting world; and a
means for eſtabliſhing ſuch, who hitherto have been unfaithful to what they have been
already convinced of. And you, my friends, whoſe minds have received the Alarm,
‘whoſe hearts have truly heard the voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs, where you
‘have been ſtraying from the Lord, Repent, Repent!’ to you, in the name of the
Great and Living God, I ſpeak, I cry, ‘Come away, come away; ah! what do you
‘do there? Why are you yet behind? That is not your reſt: it is polluted with the ſins
‘and vanities of a periſhing world: Gird up your loins; eye your Light (One in All)
John i. 9. ‘Chriſt Jeſus, the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for-ever; who hath enlightened every
‘one: Follow him; he will lead you to the city of God, that has foundations, into
‘which the wicked cannot enter.’

§. VI. Mind not the difficulties of your march; great and good things were never
enterprized and accompliſhed without difficulty; which does but render their enjoyment
more pleaſant and glorious in the end. Let the holy men and women of old be your examples;
remember good old Abraham, the excellency of whoſe faith is ſet out by his
Gen. xii. 1, obedience to the voice of God, in forſaking his father's houſe, kindred, country, &c.
2. And Moſes, that might in probability have been made a king, by faith in God, leaves
Heb. xi. 24, Egypt's glory, and Pharaoh's favours, and chuſes rather to ſojourn and pilgrimage with
to 27. the deſpiſed, afflicted, tormented Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, than to enjoy the pleaſures
Iſa. liv. 3. of that great court for a ſeaſon; eſteeming Chriſt's reproaches greater riches than Egypt's
Heb. xii. 1, treaſures. But, above all, how great was the reproach, how many the ſufferings, how
2. bitter the mockings, which Jeſus ſuffered at the hands of his enemies? Yet with what
patience, meekneſs, forgiveneſs and conſtancy, did he in all his actions demean himſelf
towards his bloody perſecutors, “deſpiſing the ſhame, enduring the croſs, for the
1 Pet. ii. 21, “joy that was ſet before him? And hath left us this glorious example, that we ſhould
22, 23. “follow his ſteps;” which hath in almoſt every age been imitated by ſome. The apoſtles
ſealed their teſtimonies with their blood, and multitudes after the example of their conſtancy;
eſteeming it the greateſt honour, as it was always attended with the ſignalleſt
demon-

ſtrations of the Divine Preſence. How memorable was that of Origen? 'If my father were weeping upon his knees before me, and my mother hanging about my neck behind me, and all my brethren, ſiſters and kinſfolk lamenting on every ſide, to retain me in the life and practice of the world, I would fling my mother to the ground, run over my father, deſpiſe all my kindred, and tread them under my feet, that I might run to Chriſt.' Yet it is not unknown, how dutiful and tender he was in thoſe relations. Not much unlike to this, was that noble and known inſtance of latter times, in Galeacius Caracciolus, marquis of Vico, who abandoned his friends, eſtate and country, reſolutely ſaying with Moſes, 'That he would rather ſuffer afflictions with the firſt reformers and proteſtants, than enjoy his former plenty, favours and pleaſures with his old religion.' Nor is it poſſible for any now to quit the world, and live a ſerious godly life in Chriſt, without the like ſuffering and perſecution. There are among us alſo ſome, who have ſuffered the diſpleaſure of their moſt dear and intimate relations and friends; and all thoſe troubles, diſgraces and reproaches, which are accuſtomed to attend ſuch, as decline the 'honours, pleaſures, ambition and preferments of the world, and that chuſe to live an humble, ſerious, and ſelf-denying life before the Lord:' But they are very unequal to the joy and recompence that follow. For tho' there be no affliction that is not grievous for the preſent, yet what ſays the man of God? "It works a far more exceeding weight of glory in the end." This has been both the faith and experience of thoſe that in all ages have truſted in God, 'who have not fainted by the way; but, enduring, have obtained an eternal diadem.'

2 Tim. iii. 12.
1 Pet. iv. 1. to 5.

Wherefore, ſince we are compaſſed about with ſo "great a cloud of witneſſes, let us lay aſide every weight and burden, and the ſin and vanities that do ſo eaſily beſet us; and with a conſtant, holy patience run our race, having our eyes fixed upon Jeſus, the author and finiſher of our faith, not minding what is behind;" ſo ſhall we be delivered from every ſnare. No temptations ſhall gain us, no frowns ſhall ſcare us from Chriſt's Croſs, and our bleſſed ſelf-denial: And honour, glory, immortality, and a crown of eternal life, ſhall recompence all our ſufferings in the end.

Heb. xi. 1.
Rom. v. 1, to 4.
Phil. iii. 13.
Rom. ii. 7.

"O Lord God! Thou loveſt holineſs, and purity is thy delight in the earth. Wherefore, I pray thee, make an end of ſin, and finiſh tranſgreſſion, and bring in thy everlaſting righteouſneſs to the ſouls of men, that thy poor creation may be delivered from the bondage it groans under, and the earth enjoy her ſabbath again: That thy great name may be lifted up in all nations, and thy ſalvation renowned to the ends of the world. For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory for ever. Amen."

A
LETTER of LOVE
TO THE
YOUNG-CONVINCED
OF
That Bleſſed Everlaſting Way of TRUTH and RIGHTEOUSNESS
Now teſtified unto by the PEOPLE of the LORD called
QUAKERS,

Of what Sex, Age, and Rank ſoever, in the Nations of ENGLAND, IRELAND, and SCOTLAND, with the ISLES ABROAD, but more particularly to thoſe of that Great City of LONDON,

Spiritual Refreſhments, Holy Courage, and Perfect Victory from GOD the Father,
and the Lord JESUS CHRIST. Amen.

My Dearly Beloved Friends and Brethren,

WHO have been called by the Eternal Spirit unto an holy calling, out of all the pleaſures, vanities, cuſtoms, profits and cares of this periſhing polluted world, unto the pure knowledge of the inviſible God, and "JESUS in you, the hope of glory," which, to as many as believe and obey, is life eternal; and who, for that little beginning of your heavenly journey, have met with reproach, loſs, ſuffering, and bitter trials; as one among you, and a traveller with you, and therefore deeply ſenſible of your heavy exerciſe, and bowed-down ſpirits, I am conſtrained by the Eternal Unction, which we have received from on high, to viſit you in tender bowels of love unfeigned; beſeeching you all, in God's moſt holy fear and counſel, to ſtand faſt, and "make your " calling and election ſure:" which is not (my deareſt friends) to thoſe external and ſhadowy ſervices, that could never perfect as concerning the conſcience, in which the worſhip of the Jews formerly, and of the nations now, moſtly do conſiſt, (carnal and beggarly elements indeed) but to that Law in the heart, and Spirit manifeſted in the inward parts, which is the ſubſtance of all.

Here God is the teacher of his people, and daily doth repleniſh his with the immediate virtue of his own Life. For God eternal is broken forth, and by the mighty power of his Spiritual Appearance is come to ſtain the beauty of all the inventions of ſuperſtitious men, and thereby to ſummon all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people to judgment for their unrighteouſneſs; that he alone may reign king in the heart, where the devil has hitherto had dominion; that true religion may conſiſt in fearing him, and working righteouſneſs, by the powerful operation of the Spirit of Jeſus in them; which, my dearly beloved friends, with all ſingleneſs of heart, let us wait to be ſenſible of; that through the glorious riſing of the pure power of the everlaſting God, which is felt by all the children of the light, we may be enabled "to work out our great ſalvation with fear and " trembling." For great and weighty is the work of the Almighty in this his day of appearance, even to adopt us ſons and daughters of the Moſt High, by a participation of his Divine Nature; "that as we have borne the image of the earthly, in pride, vanity, wantonneſs, avarice, and all manner of impieties," and that whilſt ſome of us were under great profeſſions, and the continual feaſting on viſible and elementary things; ſo that now we may daily experience, through obedience to that pure Light and Truth in the inward parts, which leads to all meekneſs, patience and purity, the quickening of the new man, and ſenſibly witneſs a bearing of the heavenly image; that ſo we may come to feel the "peace that paſſeth the world's underſtanding," and our poor, toſſed, tried, and troubled ſpirits in good meaſure fixt and anchored in the immoveable and holy ſtate, over all the glories and pollutions of the world; that ſo nothing may ever prevail upon us to return into our former ways and luſts, committed in our ignorance: For the overflowing ſcourge of the Almighty will be upon the back of the backſlider, and his ſwift wrath will overtake the heart that faints by the way; yea, better were it that ſuch had never been viſited with the glorious day-ſpring from on high, nor been convinced by the powerful perſuaſions of the Holy Spirit, concerning the pure eternal way of TRUTH, than afterwards to turn from it, and ſo trample the blood of that moſt excellent covenant under foot: Yea, it will be the moſt dreadful of all aggravations to their eternal woe and miſery.

And therefore, my dear friends, let us not be diſcomforted under all our ſharp and heavy exerciſes, whether from within or without. For this I am fully perſuaded of, that the ſame Pure Principle of Light and Truth that hath appeared to give a certain diſcerning of our ſtates and conditions, and wrought a convincement upon our underſtandings, is able to give us that ſuccour and ſupport, if our minds be but ſeriouſly ſtayed thereon, "as ſhall ſanctify us throughout, in body, ſoul, and ſpirit; and ſo preſerve us "clean, to God over all."

And, my dear brethren, let us not enter into any murmurings againſt the Lord, but be ſingly given up to know his will and work done in us, that we periſh not, as thoſe of old. And in the tender love of Jeſus Chriſt, I earneſtly intreat you, let us no more look back upon our ancient paſtimes and delights (but with holy reſolution preſs on, preſs on); for they will ſteal away our precious ſouls, beget new deſire, raiſe the old life, and finally enſnare and pollute our minds again; and what will be the end of ſuch rebellion but woes and tribulations from the hand of the juſt God, world without end? Neither let us enter into many Reaſonings with Oppoſers; for that is the life God's power is revealed to ſlay with the two-edged ſword: For it is the Still, the Quiet, and the Righteous Life, which muſt be exalted over all. And this I ſay in a ſound underſtanding, through the mercies of the Lord, That deadneſs, darkneſs, and anguiſh of ſpirit will be the end of ſuch diſputing and pragmatical Chriſtians, whoſe religion conſiſts much more in Words than Works, Confeſſing than Forſaking, and in their own Will-performances and External Obſervations, than in the Reformation and Converſion of their ſouls to God. And finally, we ourſelves, who have known ſomething more of the Lord, may alſo reduce our good conditions to an utter loſs, by ſeeking to comprehend dubious matters in our Underſtandings, and diſputing about them with every oppoſer, whom the Devil, in a way of temptation, ſhall preſent to us; which does no way advance our growth and increaſe in the noble principle of Truth.

And I beſeech you, my dear friends, let not the fear of any external thing overcome the holy reſolutions we have made to follow the Lamb Chriſt Jeſus, through all the tribulations, trials and temptations, he and his followers ever met withal. O let us be valiant in God's cauſe on earth, who have but a ſhort time and a few days to live.

And let the conſtancy of the world to the momentary faſhions, pleaſures, and pollutions of it, the more ardently ſtir us up to expreſs ours for the honour of our God againſt them all; who will reward us for whatſoever we bear, ſuffer, or part withal, on his account.

And therefore, I beſeech you, let neither father nor mother, ſiſter nor brother, wife nor child, houſe nor land, liberties, nor life itſelf, deter us from our holy conſtancy; but, as the faithful ancients did of old, through deſerts, wilderneſſes, and ſolitary places, goat-ſkins, and ſheep-ſkins, endure all torments, and bitter mockings, in this earthly pilgrimage, for the inheritance which is everlaſting.

So, my dear friends, let us do, as we have them for our example. However, let us be careful to ſhew all due reſpect to our relations, not to be exalted, nor any ways unruly, leſt there be juſt cauſe taken againſt us, and the bleſſed Truth ſhould ſuffer: But in the Still, Retired, Holy, and Patient Life, this Pure Eternal Principle of Light and Truth (as ſeriouſly and diligently waited on) certainly brings into, let us all dwell and abide; ſo ſhall we feel the powerful operation of God's Holy Spirit, to the more compleat redeeming of our exerciſed ſouls from under the dominion of ſin, and to the giving all of us a clearer underſtanding, and ſounder judgment, of thoſe things that are to be parted from, (as the pleaſures, cares, and cuſtoms of the world, that ſtand in the fallen nature, and only nouriſh the ſame, but crucify the ſelf-denying Lord of glory) and of the things of God, and his ſpiritual kingdom, which are to be adhered to; that in his pure wiſdom, which is from above, we may be all kept and preſerved over all the ſnares and temptations of the adverſary, both on the right hand and on the left.

And as one that is a Traveller in his way, I even beſeech, caution, and admoniſh you all, in the holy awe of God, that you never forbear meeting and aſſembling of yourſelves with the holy remnant amongſt whom we firſt received our bleſſed convincement. Oh! for ever let us honour the Lord's Truth, and thoſe who do ſincerely profeſs the ſame! But more eſpecially ſuch as were in Chriſt before us; for this is well-pleaſing unto the Lord.

1669. And let us beware of lightneſs, jeſting, or a careleſs mind, which grieves the Holy Spirit, “ that ſtands ready to ſeal us unto the day of our perfect redemption ;” but let us be grave, weighty and temperate, keeping low in body, as well as in mind, that in all things we may be examples, and a ſweet ſavour for the God who hath loved and called us.

And, my dear friends, let us keep in the ſimplicity of the Croſs of Jeſus, even in plainneſs of ſpeech, and out of the world's flattering and deceitful reſpects ; for we are as well to be a croſs in our garbs, gaits, dealings, and ſalutations, as religion and worſhip, to this vain adulterated and apoſtatized generation. So in the pure meaſure of Truth that hath been manifeſted to every particular, and has convinced us of the unrighteouſneſs of the world, and the vanity and emptineſs of all its profeſſions of God, Chriſt, and religion, oh ! let us ſtand and abide ! that we may feel it to be our refuge, and ſtrong tower, when the enemy ſhall approach, either by inward exerciſe, or outward bonds and ſufferings, which in all likelihood will ſuddenly overtake us, for the trial of our moſt precious faith ; ſo ſhall we ſenſibly experience that heavenly blood of cleanſing to ſtream therefrom, which only can give remiſſion, cleanſe from all ſin, and finally purge the conſcience from dead works, to ſerve the living, everlaſting, holy God Almighty, Lord of Hoſts, King of Nations, and King of Saints. ‘ And whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are honeſt, ‘ whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever things are lovely, ‘ and whatſoever things are of good report ; if there be any virtue, if there be any praiſe, ‘ O let us mind theſe things ! And the God of peace, that has by his eternal quickening ‘ power raiſed Jeſus in thouſands from the dead, bleſs, accompany, and preſerve us over ‘ all trials and tribulations, unto his eternal habitations of reſt and glory.’

Carberry, in the county
of Cork, the 19th of the
12th month, 1669.

Your brother and fellow traveller in the kingdom and
patience of Jeſus our Lord,

W. P.

THE

THE
PEOPLE'S Ancient and Juſt LIBERTIES
ASSERTED,
In the TRIAL of
WILLIAM PENN and WILLIAM MEAD,

At the SESSIONS held at the OLD BAILEY, in LONDON, the Firſt,
Third, Fourth and Fifth of SEPTEMBER 1670.

AGAINST THE
MOST ARBITRARY PROCEDURE
OF THAT
COURT.

To the Engliſh READER.

1670. IF ever it were time to ſpeak, or write, it is now; ſo many ſtrange occurrences requiring both.

How much thou art concerned in this enſuing trial, (where not only the Priſoners, but the Fundamental Laws of England, have been moſt arbitrarily arraigned) read, and thou mayeſt plainly judge.

Liberty of Conſcience is counted a pretence for Rebellion; and Religious Aſſemblies, Routs and Riots; and the Defenders of both are by them reputed factious and diſaffected.

Magna Charta is Magna Far-- with the Recorder of London; and to demand Right, an Affront to the Court.

Will and Power are their Great Charter; but to call for England's, is a Crime, incurring the penalty of their Bale-Dock and Naſty Hole; nay, the menace of a Gag, and Iron Shackles too.

The Jury (though proper Judges of Law and Fact) they would have over-ruled in both: As if their Verdict ſignified no more, than to echo back the illegal charge of the bench. And becauſe their Courage and Honeſty did more than hold pace with the Threat and Abuſe of thoſe who ſat as judges (after two days and two nights reſtraint for a verdict) in the end they were fined and impriſoned for giving it.

Oh! what monſtrous and illegal proceedings are theſe? Who reaſonably can call his coat his own, when property is made ſubſervient to the will and intereſt of his judges? Or, who can truly eſteem himſelf a Free Man, when all pleas for liberty are eſteemed Sedition, and the laws that give and maintain them, ſo many inſignificant pieces of formality.

And what do they leſs than plainly tell us ſo, who at will and pleaſure break open our locks, rob our houſes, raze our foundations, impriſon our perſons, and finally deny us juſtice to our relief? As if they then acted moſt like Chriſtian Men, when they were moſt Barbarous, in ruining ſuch as are really ſo; and that no ſacrifice could be ſo acceptable to God, as the Deſtruction of thoſe that moſt Fear him.

In ſhort, that the conſcientious ſhould only be obnoxious, and the juſt demand of our Religious Liberty the reaſon why we ſhould be denied our Civil Freedom (as if to be a Chriſtian and an Engliſhman were inconſiſtent); and that ſo much ſolicitude and deep contrivance ſhould be employed only to enſnare and ruin ſo many ten thouſand conſcientious families (ſo eminently induſtrious, ſerviceable, and exemplary; whilſt murders can ſo eaſily obtain pardon, Rapes be remitted, public Uncleanneſs paſs unpuniſhed, and all manner of Levity, Prodigality, Exceſs, Prophaneneſs and Atheiſm, univerſally connived at, if not in ſome reſpect manifeſtly encouraged) cannot but be deteſtably abhorrent to every ſerious and honeſt mind.

Yet that this lamentable ſtate is true, and the preſent project in hand, let London's Recorder, and Canterbury's Chaplain, be heard.

The firſt, in his public panegyrick upon the Spaniſh Inquiſition, 'highly admiring the Prudence of the Romiſh Church in the erection of it, as an excellent way to prevent ſchiſm.' Which unhappy expreſſion at once paſſeth ſentence, both againſt our fundamental laws, and proteſtant reformation.

The ſecond, in his printed mercenary Diſcourſe againſt Toleration, aſſerting for a main principle, 'That it would be leſs injurious to the Government to diſpenſe with prophane and looſe perſons, than to allow a Toleration to Religious Diſſenters.'---It were to overdo the buſineſs to ſay any more, where there is ſo much ſaid already.

And therefore to conclude, we cannot chuſe but admoniſh all, as well Perſecutors to relinquiſh their heady, partial, and inhumane perſecutions (as what will certainly iſſue in diſgrace here, and inevitable condign puniſhment hereafter); as thoſe who yet dare expreſs their moderation (however out of faſhion, or made the brand of fanaticiſm) not to be huffed, or menaced out of that excellent temper, to make their parts and perſons ſubſervient to the baſe humours and ſiniſter deſigns of the biggeſt mortal upon earth; but reverence and obey the eternal Juſt God, before whoſe great tribunal all muſt render their accounts, and where he will recompenſe to every perſon according to his works.

THE

TRIAL.

1670.

AS there can be no obſervation, where there is no action; ſo it is impoſſible there ſhall be a judicious intelligence, without due obſervation.

And ſince there can be nothing more reaſonable than a right information, eſpecially of Public Acts; and well knowing how induſtrious ſome will be to miſrepreſent this Trial, to the diſadvantage of the Cauſe and Priſoners; it was thought requiſite, in defence of both, and for the ſatisfaction of the people, to make it more publick. Nor can there be any buſineſs wherein the people of England are more concerned, than in that which relates to their Civil and Religious Liberties, queſtioned in the perſons before named at the Old-Bailey, the firſt, third, fourth and fifth of Sept. 1670.

There being preſent on the bench, as Juſtices,

Sam. Starling, Mayor.
John Howell, Recorder.
Tho. Bludworth, Alderm.
William Peak, Alderm.
Richard Ford, Alderm.
John Robinſon, Alderm.
Joſeph Shelden, Alderm.
Rich. Brown,
John Smith,
James Edwards, } Sheriffs.

The citizens of London that were ſummoned for Jurors, appearing, were impanelled; viz.

Cle. Call over the jury.

Cry. Oyes, Thomas Veer, Ed. Buſhel, John Hammond, Charles Milſon, Gregory Walklet, John Brightman, Will. Plumſtead, Henry Henley, James Damaſk, Henry Michel, Will. Lever, John Baily.

The form of the OATH.

'You ſhall well and truly try, and true deliverance make betwixt our ſovereign lord 'the king, and the priſoners at the bar, according to your evidence. So help 'you God.'

The INDICTMENT.

'That William Penn, gent. and William Mead, late of London, linnen-draper, with 'divers other perſons to the jurors unknown, to the number of three hundred, the '15th day of Auguſt, in the 22d year of the king, about eleven of the clock in the 'forenoon of the ſame day, with force and arms, &c. in the pariſh of St. Bennet 'Grace-Church, in Bridge-Ward, London, in the ſtreet called Grace-Church-'Street, unlawfully and tumultuouſly did aſſemble and congregate themſelves toge'ther, to the diſturbance of the peace of the ſaid lord the king: And the afore'ſaid William Penn and William Mead, together with other perſons to the jurors 'aforeſaid unknown, then and there ſo aſſembled and congregated together; the 'aforeſaid William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead before 'made, and by abetment of the aforeſaid William Mead, then and there, in 'the open ſtreet, did take upon himſelf to preach and ſpeak, and then and there 'did preach and ſpeak, unto the aforeſaid William Mead, and other perſons 'there in the ſtreet aforeſaid, being aſſembled and congregated together; by reaſon 'whereof a great concourſe and tumult of people in the ſtreet aforeſaid, then and 'there, a long time did remain and continue, in contempt of the ſaid lord the king, 'and of his law; to the great diſturbance of his peace, to the great terror and diſ'turbance of many of his liege people and ſubjects, to the ill example of all others in 'the like caſe offenders, and againſt the peace of the ſaid lord the king, his crown 'and dignity.'

What ſay you William Penn, and William Mead? Are you guilty, as you ſtand indicted, in manner and form as aforeſaid, or not guilty?

Penn. It is impoſſible that we ſhould be able to remember the indictment *verbatim*, and therefore we deſire a copy of it, as is cuſtomary on the like occaſions.

Rec. You muſt firſt plead to the indictment, before you can have a copy of it.

Penn. I am unacquainted with the formality of the law, and therefore before I ſhall anſwer directly, I requeſt two things of the court. Firſt, That no advantage may be taken

1670. againſt me, nor I deprived of any benefit, which I might otherwiſe have received. Secondly, That you will promiſe me a fair hearing, and liberty of making my defence.

Court. No advantage ſhall be taken againſt you: you ſhall have have liberty; you ſhall be heard.

Penn. Then I plead Not Guilty in Manner and Form.

Cle. What ſayeſt thou, William Mead? Art thou guilty in Manner and Form, as thou ſtandeſt indicted, or Not Guilty?

Mead. I ſhall deſire the ſame liberty as is promiſed to William Penn.

Court. You ſhall have it.

Mead. Then I plead Not Guilty, in Manner and Form.

The court adjourned until the afternoon.

Cry. Oyes! &c.

Cle. Bring William Penn and William Mead to the bar.

Obſer. The ſaid priſoners were brought, but were ſet aſide, and other buſineſs proſecuted. Where we cannot chuſe but obſerve, that it was the conſtant and unkind practice of the court, to the priſoners, to make them wait upon the trials of Felons and Murderers, thereby deſigning, in all probability, both to affront and tire them. After five hours attendance, the court broke up, and adjourned to the third inſtant.

The third of September 1670, the court ſat.

Cry. Oyes, &c.

Mayor. Sirrah, Who bid you put off their hats? Put on their hats again.

Obſer. Whereupon one of the officers putting the priſoners hats upon their heads (purſuant to the order of the court) brought them to the bar.

Record. Do you know where you are?

Penn. Yes.

Rec. Do you know it is the king's court?

Penn. I know it to be a court, and I ſuppoſe it to be the king's court.

Rec. Do you know there is reſpect due to the court?

Penn. Yes.

Rec. Why do you not pay it then?

Penn. I do ſo.

Rec. Why do you not put off your hat then?

Penn. Becauſe I do not believe that to be any reſpect.

Rec. Well, the court ſets forty marks a-piece upon your heads, as a fine, for your contempt of the court.

Penn. I deſire it may be obſerved, that we came into the court with our hats off (that is, taken off) and if they have been put on ſince, it was by order from the bench; and therefore not we, but the bench, ſhould be fined.

Mead. I have a queſtion to aſk the Recorder: Am I fined alſo?

Rec. Yes.

Mead. I deſire the jury, and all people, to take notice of this injuſtice of the Recorder, who ſpake not to me to pull off my hat, and yet hath he put a fine upon my head. O fear the Lord, and dread his power, and yield to the guidance of his Holy Spirit; for he is not far from every one of you.

The jury ſworn again.

Obſer. J. Robinſon, lieutenant of the Tower, diſingenuouſly objected againſt Edward Buſhel, as if he had not kiſſed the book, and therefore would have him ſworn again; though indeed it was on purpoſe to have made uſe of his tenderneſs of conſcience, in avoiding reiterated oaths, to have put him by his being a juryman, apprehending him to be a perſon not fit to anſwer their arbitrary ends.

The clerk read the indictment as aforeſaid.

Cle. Call James Cook into the court, give him his oath.

Cle. James Cook, lay your hand upon the book; "The evidence you ſhall give to the "court, betwixt our ſovereign the king, and the priſoners at the bar, ſhall be the truth, "and the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help you God, &c."

Cook. I was ſent for from the Exchange, to go and diſperſe a meeting in Gracious-ſtreet, where I ſaw Mr. Penn ſpeaking to the people, but I could not hear what he ſaid, becauſe of the noiſe. I endeavoured to make way to take him, but I could not get to him for the croud of people. Upon which Captain Mead came to me, about the kennel of the ſtreet, and deſired me to let him go on; for when he had done, he would bring Mr. Penn to me.

Court. What number do you think might be there?

Cook. About three or four hundred people.

Court. Call Richard Read, give him his oath.

Read being ſworn, was aſked, What do you know concerning the priſoners at the bar?

Read.

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Read. My lord, I went to Gracious-ſtreet, where I found a great croud of people, and I heard Mr. Penn preach to them; and I ſaw Captain Mead ſpeaking to Lieutenant Cook, but what he ſaid I could not tell.

Mead. What did William Penn ſay?

Read. There was ſuch a great noiſe that I could not tell what he ſaid.

Mead. Jury, obſerve this evidence; he ſaith, He heard him preach; and yet ſaith, He doth not know what he ſaid.

Jury, take notice, he ſwears now a clean contrary thing to what he ſwore before the mayor, when we were committed: For now he ſwears that he ſaw me in Gracious-ſtreet, and yet ſwore before the mayor, when I was committed, that he did not ſee me there. I appeal to the mayor himſelf if this be not true? (But no anſwer was given.)

Court. What number do you think might be there?

Read. About four or five hundred.

Penn. I deſire to know of him what day it was?

Read. The 14th day of Auguſt.

Penn. Did he ſpeak to me, or let me know he was there? For I am very ſure I never ſaw him.

Cle. Crier, call---- ---- ----into the court.

Court. Give him his oath.

----My lord, I ſaw a great number of people, and Mr. Penn I ſuppoſe was ſpeaking. I ſaw him make a motion with his hands, and heard ſome noiſe, but could not underſtand what he ſaid. But for Captain Mead, I did not ſee him there.

Rec. What ſay you, Mr. Mead? Were you there?

Mead. It is a maxim in your own law, *Nemo tenetur accuſare ſeipſum*; which if it be not true Latin, I am ſure that it is true Engliſh, “That no man is bound to accuſe “himſelf.” And why doſt thou offer to enſnare me with ſuch a queſtion? Doth not this ſhew thy malice? Is this like unto a judge, that ought to be council for the priſoner at the bar?

Rec. Sir, hold your tongue; I did not go about to enſnare you.

Penn. I deſire we may come more cloſe to the point, and that ſilence be commanded in the court.

Cry. Oyes! All manner of perſons keep ſilence, upon pain of Impriſonment.---Silence in the court.

Penn. We confeſs ourſelves to be ſo far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the aſſembling of ourſelves, to preach, pray, or worſhip the Eternal, Holy, Juſt God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indiſpenſible duty to meet inceſſantly upon ſo good an account; nor ſhall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God, who made us.

Brown. You are not here for worſhipping God, but for breaking the law. You do yourſelves a great deal of wrong in going on in that diſcourſe.

Penn. I affirm I have broken no law, nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge. And to the end the bench, the jury, and myſelf, with thoſe that hear us, may have a more direct underſtanding of this procedure, I deſire you would let me know by what law it is you proſecute me, and upon what law you ground my indictment.

Rec. Upon the Common Law.

Penn. Where is that Common Law?

Rec. You muſt not think that I am able to run up ſo many years, and over ſo many adjudged caſes, which we call Common Law, to anſwer your curioſity.

Penn. This anſwer I am ſure is very ſhort of my queſtion; for if it be Common, it ſhould not be ſo hard to produce.

Rec. Sir, will you plead to your indictment?

Penn. Shall I plead to an indictment that hath no foundation in law? If it contain that law you ſay I have broken, why ſhould you decline to produce that law, ſince it will be impoſſible for the jury to determine, or agree to bring in their verdict, who have not the law produced, by which they ſhould meaſure the truth of this indictment, and the Guilt, or contrary, of my fact.

Rec. You are ſaucy fellow. Speak to the indictment.

Penn. I ſay it is my place to ſpeak to matter of Law. I am arraigned a priſoner; my Liberty, which is next to life itſelf, is now concerned. You are many mouths and ears againſt me; and if I muſt not be allowed to make the beſt of my caſe, it is hard. I ſay again, unleſs you ſhew me, and the people, the law you ground your indictment upon, I ſhall take it for granted your proceedings are merely arbitrary.

Obſer. At this time ſeveral upon the bench urged hard upon the priſoner to bear him down.

Rec. The queſtion is, Whether you are Guilty of this indictment?

Penn. The queſtion is not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be Legal. It is too general and imperfect an anſwer, to ſay it is the Common Law, unleſs we knew both where, and what it is. For where there is no law, there is

no

1670. no tranſgreſſion; and that law which is not in being, is ſo far from being common, that it is no law at all.

Rec. You are an impertinent fellow. Will you teach the court what Law is? It is *lex non ſcripta*; that which many have ſtudied thirty or forty years to know; and would you have me tell you in a moment?

Penn. Certainly, if the Common Law be ſo hard to be underſtood, it is far from being very common. But if the Lord Cook, in his "Inſtitutes," be of any conſideration, he tells us, 'That Common Law is Common Right; and that Common Right is the Great 'Charter Privileges, confirmed 9 Hen. 3. 29. 25 Edw. 1. 1. 2 Edw. 3. 8.' Cook Inſt. 2. p. 56.

Rec. Sir, you are a troubleſome fellow, and it is not for the honour of the court to ſuffer you to go on.

Penn. I have aſked but one queſtion, and you have not anſwered me; though the rights and privileges of every Engliſhman be concerned in it.

Rec. If I ſhould ſuffer you to aſk queſtions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiſer.

Penn. That is according as the Anſwers are.

Rec. Sir, we muſt not ſtand to hear you talk all night.

Penn. I deſign no affront to the court, but to be heard in my juſt plea. And I muſt plainly tell you, that if you will deny me the Oyer of that law, which you ſuggeſt I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your reſolution to ſacrifice the privileges of Engliſhmen to your ſiniſter and arbitrary deſigns.

Rec. Take him away. My lord, if you take not ſome courſe with this peſtilent fellow, to ſtop his mouth, we ſhall not be able to do any thing to-night.

Mayor. Take him away, take him away; turn him into the Bale-Dock.

Penn. Theſe are but ſo many vain exclamations. Is this Juſtice, or true Judgment? Muſt I therefore be taken away becauſe I plead for the fundamental Laws of England? However, this I leave upon your conſciences, who are of the Jury, (and my ſole Judges) that if theſe Ancient Fundamental Laws, which relate to LIBERTY and PROPERTY, (and are not limited to particular Perſuaſions in matters of religion) muſt not be indiſpenſably maintained and obſerved, "Who can ſay he hath right to the Coat upon his "back?" Certainly our liberties are openly to be invaded; our wives to be raviſhed; our children ſlaved; our families ruined; and our eſtates led away in triumph, by every ſturdy beggar, and malicious informer, as their trophies, but our (pretended) Forfeits for Conſcience Sake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be Judge between us in this matter.

Rec. Be ſilent there.

Penn. I am not to be ſilent in a caſe wherein I am ſo much concerned; and not only myſelf, but many ten thouſand families beſides.

Obſer. They having rudely haled him into the Bale-Dock, William Mead they left in court, who ſpake as followeth.

Mead. You men of the jury, here I do now ſtand to anſwer to an indictment againſt me, which is a bundle of ſtuff, full of lies and falſhoods; for therein I am accuſed that I met *vi & armis, illicitè & tumultuoſè*. Time was, when I had freedom to uſe a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man; but now I fear the Living GOD, and dare not make uſe thereof, nor hurt any man; nor do I know I demeaned myſelf as a tumultuous perſon. I ſay, I am a peaceable man; therefore it is a very proper queſtion what William Penn demanded in this caſe, 'an Oyer of the Law,' on which our indictment is grounded.'

Rec. I have made anſwer to that already.

Mead. [Turning his face to the Jury, ſaid,] You men of the Jury, who are my Judges, if the Recorder will not tell you what makes a Riot, a Rout, or an Unlawful Aſſembly, Cook, he that once they called the Lord Cook, tells us what makes a Riot, a Rout, and an Unlawful Aſſembly.---'A Riot is when Three, or more, are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's land, to cut down his 'graſs, his wood, or break down his pales.'

Obſer. Here the Recorder interrupted him, and ſaid, 'I thank you, ſir, that you will 'tell me what the law is;' (ſcornfully pulling off his hat.)

Mead. Thou mayeſt put on thy hat; I have never a fee for thee now.

Brown. He talks at random; one while an Independent, another while ſome other religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papiſt.

Mead. *Turpe eſt doctori cum culpa redarguit ipſum.*

Mayor. You deſerve to have your tongue cut out.

Rec. If you diſcourſe in this manner, I ſhall take occaſion againſt you.

Mead. Thou didſt promiſe me I ſhould have fair liberty to be heard, Why may I not have the privilege of an Engliſhman? I am an Engliſhman; and you might be aſhamed of this dealing.

Rec. I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws of England, which ought to be obſerved and kept; nor are you worthy of ſuch privileges as others have.

Mead. The Lord is judge between me and thee in this matter.

Obſer. Upon which they took him away into the Bale-dock; and the Recorder proceeded to give the Jury their charge, as followeth.

Rec. You have heard what the indictment is; it is for preaching to the people, and drawing a tumultuous company after them; and Mr. Penn was ſpeaking. If they ſhould not be diſturbed, you ſee they will go on. There are three or four witneſſes that have proved this, that he did preach there, that Mr. Mead did allow of it. After this, you have heard by ſubſtantial witneſſes what is ſaid againſt them. Now we are upon the matter of fact, which you are to keep to and obſerve, as what hath been fully ſworn, at your peril.

Obſer. The priſoners were put out of the court, into the Bale-dock, and the charge given to the jury in their abſence. At which W. P. with a very raiſed voice, (it being a conſiderable diſtance from the bench) ſpake.

Penn. I appeal to the Jury, who are my judges, and this great aſſembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not moſt arbitrary, and void of all law, in offering to give the jury their charge in the abſence of the priſoners. I ſay, it is directly oppoſite to, and deſtructive of, the undoubted right of every Engliſh priſoner, as Cook, in the 2 inſt. 29. on the chapter of Magna Charta, ſpeaks.

Obſer. The recorder being thus unexpectedly laſhed for his extra-judicial procedure, ſaid, with an enraged ſmile,

Rec. Why ye are preſent, you do hear: Do you not?

Penn. No thanks to the court, that commanded me into the Bale-dock. And you of the jury take notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court, before I have been fully heard; having at leaſt ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate their indictment.

Rec. Pull that fellow down; pull him down.

Mead. Are theſe according to the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen, that we ſhould not be heard, but turned into the Bale-dock, for making our defence, and the jury to have their charge given them in our abſence? I ſay, theſe are barbarous and unjuſt proceedings.

Rec. Take them away into the Hole. To hear them talk all night, as they would, that I think doth not become the honour of the court; and I think you (i. e. the jury) yourſelves would be tired out, and not have patience to hear them.

Obſer. The jury were commanded up to agree upon their verdict, the priſoners remaining in the ſtinking hole. After an hour and half's time, Eight came down agreed, but Four remained above; the court ſent an officer for them, and they accordingly came down. The Bench uſed many unworthy threats to the Four that diſſented; and the Recorder, addreſſing himſelf to Buſhel, ſaid, Sir, you are the cauſe of this diſturbance, and manifeſtly ſhew yourſelf an abettor of faction; I ſhall ſet a mark upon you, ſir.

J. Robinſon. Mr. Buſhel, I have known you near this fourteen years; you have thruſt yourſelf upon this jury, becauſe you think there is ſome ſervice for you. I tell you, you deſerve to be indicted more than any man that hath been brought to the bar this day.

Buſhel. No, Sir John, there were Threeſcore before me; and I would willingly have got off, but could not.

Bludw. I ſaid, when I ſaw Mr. Buſhel, What I ſee, is come to paſs: For I knew he would never yield. Mr. Buſhel, we know what you are.

Mayor. Sirrah, you are an impudent fellow; I will put a mark upon you.

Obſer. They uſed much menacing language, and behaved themſelves very imperiouſly to the jury, as perſons not more void of juſtice, than ſober education. After this barbarous uſage, they ſent them to conſider of bringing in their verdict; and after ſome conſiderable time they returned to the court. Silence was called for, and the jury called by their names.

Cle. Are you agreed upon your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who ſhall ſpeak for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Cle. Look upon the priſoners at the bar: How ſay you? Is William Penn Guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted in manner and form, or not guilty?

Foreman. Guilty of ſpeaking in Gracious Street.

Court. Is that all?

1670. *Foreman.* That is all I have in commiſſion.

Rec. You had as good ſay nothing.

Mayor. Was it not an Unlawful aſſembly? You mean he was ſpeaking to a Tumult of people there?

Foreman. My lord, this was all I had in commiſſion.

Obſer. Here ſome of the jury ſeemed to buckle to the queſtions of the court; upon which Buſhel, Hammond, and ſome others, oppoſed themſelves, and ſaid, 'They 'allowed of no ſuch word, as an Unlawful aſſembly, in their Verdict.' At which the Recorder, Mayor, Robinſon, and Bludworth, took great occaſion to vilify them with moſt opprobrious language; and this verdict not ſerving their turns, the Recorder expreſſed himſelf thus:

Rec. The law of England will not allow you to depart, till you have given in your verdict.

Jury. We have given in our verdict, and we can give in no other.

Rec. Gentlemen, you have not given in your verdict, and you had as good ſay nothing. Therefore go and conſider it once more, that we may make an end of this troubleſome buſineſs.

Jury. We deſire we may have pen, ink, and paper.

Obſer. The court adjourns for half an hour; which being expired, the court returns, and the jury not long after.

The priſoners were brought to the bar, and the jurors names called over.

Cle. Are you agreed of your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who ſhall ſpeak for you.

Jury. Our foreman.

Cle. What ſay you? Look upon the priſoners: Is William Penn guilty in manner and form, as he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Foreman. Here is our Verdict [holding forth a piece of paper to the Clerk of the Peace, which follows]:

WE the jurors, hereafter named, do find William Penn to be guilty of Speaking or Preaching to an aſſembly, met together in Gracious-Street, the 14th of Auguſt laſt 1670; and that William Mead is Not guilty of the ſaid indictment.

Foreman,	*Thomas Veer,*	*Henry Michel,*	*John Baily,*
	Edward Buſhel,	*John Brightman,*	*William Lever,*
	John Hammond,	*Charles Milſon,*	*James Damaſk,*
	Henry Henly,	*Gregory Walklet,*	*William Plumſtead.*

Obſer. This both Mayor and Recorder reſented at ſo high a rate, that they exceeded the bounds of all reaſon and civility.

Mayor. What! will you be led by ſuch a ſilly fellow as Buſhel! an impudent canting fellow? I warrant you, you ſhall come no more upon juries in haſte: You are a foreman, indeed! (addreſſing himſelf to the foreman) I thought you had underſtood your place better.

Rec. Gentlemen, you ſhall not be diſmiſſed, till we have a verdict that the court will accept; and you ſhall be locked up, without meat, drink, fire and tobacco. You ſhall not think thus to abuſe the court; we will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you ſhall ſtarve for it.

Penn. My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced. Their verdict ſhould be free, and not compelled. The bench ought to wait upon them, but not foreſtall them. I do deſire that juſtice may be done me, and that the arbitrary reſolves of the bench may not be made the meaſure of my jury's verdict.

Rec. Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court.

Mayor. You have heard that he preached; that he gathered a company of tumultuous people; and that they do not only diſobey the martial power, but the civil alſo.

Penn. It is a great miſtake; we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us. The jury cannot be ſo ignorant, as to think that we met there with a deſign to diſturb the civil peace; ſince, 1ſt, we were by force of arms kept out of our lawful houſe, and met as near it in the ſtreet as the ſoldiers would give us leave: And, 2dly, becauſe it was no new thing, nor with the circumſtances expreſſed in the indictment, but what was uſual and cuſtomary with us. It is very well known, that we are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man.

Obſer. The court being ready to break up, and willing to huddle the priſoners to their jail, and the jury to their chamber, Penn ſpake as follows:

Penn. The agreement of twelve men is a Verdict in Law; and ſuch a one being given by the jury, "I require the Clerk of the Peace to record it, as he will anſwer it at his peril." And if the jury bring in another verdict contrary to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law. [And looking upon the jury, ſaid] "You are Engliſhmen; mind "your privilege, give not away your right."

Buſhel, &c. Nor will we ever do it.

Obſer. One of the jury-men pleaded indiſpoſition of body, and therefore deſired to be diſmiſſed.

Mayor. You are as ſtrong as any of them. Starve then, and hold your principles.

Rec. Gentlemen, you muſt be content with your hard fate; let your patience overcome it; for the court is reſolved to have a verdict, and that before you can be diſmiſſed.

Jury. We are agreed, we are agreed, we are agreed.

Obſer. The court ſwore ſeveral perſons to keep the jury all night, without meat, drink, fire, or any other accommodation. They had not ſo much as a chamber-pot, though deſired.

Cry. Oyes, &c.

Obſer. The court adjourned till ſeven of the clock next morning (being the fourth inſtant, vulgarly called Sunday); at which time the priſoners were brought to the bar, the court ſat, and the jury called in, to bring in their verdict.

Cry. Oyes, &c.---Silence in the court, upon pain of impriſonment.
The jury's names called over.

Cle. Are you agreed upon your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who ſhall ſpeak for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Cle. What ſay you? Look upon the priſoners at the bar: Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted, in manner and form as aforeſaid, or Not guilty?

Foreman. William Penn is guilty of ſpeaking in Gracious-Street.

Mayor. To an Unlawful Aſſembly?

Buſhel. No, my Lord, we give no other verdict than what we gave laſt night: We have no other verdict to give.

Mayor. You are a factious fellow; I'll take a courſe with you.

Bludw. I knew Mr. Buſhel would not yield.

Buſhel. Sir Thomas, I have done according to my conſcience.

Mayor. That conſcience of yours would cut my throat.

Buſhel. No, my lord, it never ſhall.

Mayor. But I will cut yours as ſoon as I can.

Rec. He has inſpired the jury; he has the ſpirit of divination; methinks I feel him. I will have a poſitive verdict, or you ſhall ſtarve for it.

Penn. I deſire to aſk the Recorder one queſtion: Do you allow of the verdict given of William Mead?

Rec. It cannot be a verdict, becauſe you are indicted for a Conſpiracy; and one being found not guilty, and not the other, it could not be a verdict.

Penn. If Not guilty be not a Verdict, then you make of the jury, and Magna Charta, but a mere noſe of wax.

Mead. How! Is Not guilty no Verdict?

Rec. No, it is no verdict.

Penn. I affirm, That the Conſent of a Jury is a Verdict in Law. And if William Mead be Not guilty, it conſequently follows, that I am clear; ſince you have indicted us of a Conſpiracy, and I could not poſſibly conſpire Alone.

Obſer. There were many paſſages that could not be taken, which paſſed between the jury and the court. The jury went up again, having received a freſh charge from the bench, if poſſible to extort an unjuſt verdict.

Cry. Oyes, &c.----Silence in the court.

Court. Call over the jury.----[Which was done.]

Cle. What ſay you? Is Willam Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted in manner and form aforeſaid, or not guilty?

Foreman. Guilty of ſpeaking in Gracious-Street.

Rec. What is this to the purpoſe? I ſay I will have a verdict. [And ſpeaking to E. Buſhel, ſaid] You are a factious fellow; I will ſet a mark upon you. And whilſt I have any thing to do in the city, I will have an eye upon you.

Mayor. Have you no more wit, than to be led by ſuch a pitiful fellow? I will cut his noſe.

Penn. It is intolerable that my jury ſhould be thus menaced! Is this according to the Fundamental Law? Are not they my proper judges by the Great Charter of England? What hope is there of ever having juſtice done, when juries are threatened, and their verdicts rejected? I am concerned to ſpeak, and grieved to ſee ſuch arbitrary proceedings. Did not the Lieutenant of the Tower render one of them worſe than a Felon? And do you not plainly ſeem to condemn ſuch for factious fellows, who anſwer not your ends? Unhappy are thoſe juries, who are threatened to be fined, and ſtarved, and ruined, if they give not in their verdicts contrary to their conſciences.

Rec. My Lord, you muſt take a courſe with that ſame fellow.

1670. *Mayor*. Stop his mouth. Jailer, bring fetters, and ſtake him to the ground.

Penn. Do your pleaſure; I matter not your fetters.

Rec. Till now I never underſtood the reaſon of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in ſuffering the Inquiſition among them. And certainly it will never be well with us, till ſomething like the Spaniſh Inquiſition be in England.

Obſer. The jury being required to go together, to find another verdict, and ſtedfaſtly refuſing it (ſaying, they could give no other verdict than what was already given) the Recorder in great Paſſion was running off the bench, with theſe words in his mouth, 'I proteſt I will ſit here no longer to hear theſe things.' At which the Mayor calling, Stay, ſtay, he returned, and directed himſelf unto the jury, and ſpake as followeth:

Rec. Gentlemen, we ſhall not be at this paſs always with you. You will find the next ſeſſions of parliament there will be a law made, that thoſe that will not conform, ſhall not have the protection of the law. Mr. Lee, draw up another verdict, that they may bring it in ſpecial.

Lee. I cannot tell how to do it.

Jury. We ought not to be returned; having all agreed, and ſet our hands to the verdict.

Rec. Your verdict is nothing; you play upon the court. I ſay, you ſhall go together, and bring in another verdict, or you ſhall ſtarve; and I will have you carted about the city, as in Edward the third's time.

Foreman. We have given in our verdict, and all agreed to it. And if we give in another, it will be a force upon us to ſave our lives.

Mayor. Take them up.

Officer. My Lord they will not go up.

Obſer. The Mayor ſpoke to the Sheriff, and he came off his ſeat, and ſaid:

Sher. Come gentlemen, you muſt go up; you ſee I am commanded to make you go.

Obſer. Upon which the jury went up; and ſeveral were ſworn to keep them without any accommodation, as aforeſaid, till they brought in their verdict.

Cry. Oyes, &c. The court adjourns till to-morrow morning, at ſeven of the clock.

Obſer. The priſoners were remanded to Newgate, where they remained till next morning, and then were brought into the court; which being ſat, they proceeded as followeth:

Cry. Oyes, &c.---Silence in the Court, upon pain of impriſonment.

Clerk. Set William Penn and William Mead to the bar. Gentlemen of the jury, anſwer to your names; Thomas Veer, Edward Buſhel, John Hammond, Henry Henley, Henry Michel, John Brightman, Charles Milſon, Gregory Walklet, John Bailey, William Lever, James Damaſk, William Plumſtead; are you all agreed of your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Clerk. Who ſhall ſpeak for you?

Jury. Our Foreman.

Clerk. Look upon the priſoners. What ſay you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted, in Manner and Form, &c. or not guilty?

Foreman. You have there read in writing already our verdict, and our hands ſubſcribed.

Obſer. The clerk had the paper, but was ſtopped by the Recorder from reading of it; and he commanded to aſk for a poſitive verdict.

Foreman. If you will not accept of it; I deſire to have it back again.

Court. That paper was no verdict; and there ſhall be no advantage taken againſt you by it.

Clerk. How ſay you? Is William Penn guilty, &c. or not guilty?

Foreman. Not guilty.

Clerk. How ſay you? Is William Mead guilty, &c. or not guilty?

Foreman. Not guilty.

Clerk. Then hearken to your verdict. You ſay that William Penn is Not guilty in Manner and Form, as he ſtands indicted: You ſay that William Mead is Not guilty in Manner and Form, as he ſtands indicted; and ſo you ſay all.

Jury. Yes, we do ſo.

Obſer. The bench being unſatisfied with the verdict, commanded that every perſon ſhould diſtinctly anſwer to their names, and give in their verdict; which they unanimouſly did, in ſaying, Not Guilty, to the great ſatisfaction of the aſſembly.

Rec. I am ſorry, gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions, rather than the good and wholeſome advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands: But for this the court fines you forty marks a man, and impriſonment till paid. [At which Penn ſtepped up towards the bench, and ſaid]

Penn. I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury.

Mayor. No! you are in for your fines.

Penn. Fines! for what?

Mayor. For contempt of the court.

Penn. I aſk, If it be according to the Fundamental Laws of England, that any Engliſhman ſhould be fined, or amerced, but by the judgment of his Peers or Jury? Since it expreſly contradicts the Fourteenth and Twenty-ninth chapter of the Great Charter of England, which ſays, "No Freeman ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and "lawful men of the Vicinage."

Rec. Take him away, take him away, take him out of the court.

Penn. I can never urge the Fundamental Laws of England, but you cry, Take him away, take him away. But 'tis no wonder, ſince the Spaniſh Inquiſition hath ſo great a place in the Recorder's heart. God Almighty, who is juſt, will judge you all for theſe things.

Obſer. They haled the priſoners to the Bale-dock, and from thence ſent them to Newgate, for non-payment of the fines; and ſo were their jury.

AN
APPENDIX,
BY WAY OF
DEFENCE for the PRISONERS;
OR,
What might have been offered againſt the INDICTMENT, and illegal Proceedings of the COURT thereon, had they not violently over-ruled and ſtopped them.

UPON a ſober diſquiſition into ſeveral parts of the Indictment, we find it ſo wretchedly defective, as if it were nothing elſe but a mere compoſition of error, rather calculated to the malicious deſigns of the judges, than to the leaſt verity of fact committed by the priſoners.

To prove this, what we ſay will be a main help to diſcover the arbitrary proceedings of the bench, in their frequent menaces to the jury: As if it were not ſo much their buſineſs to try, as to condemn the priſoners; and that not ſo much for any fact they had committed, as what the court would have ſuggeſted to the jury to have been their fact.

Sect. 1. It is the conſtant common law of England, 'That no man ſhould be taken, 'impriſoned, amerced, diſſeized of his freehold, of his liberties, or free cuſtoms, but by 'the judgment of his Peers, which are vulgarly called a Jury, from *Jurare*, becauſe they 'are ſworn to do right.'

Sect. 2. The only aſſiſtance that is given the jury, in order to a verdict, is:

Firſt, The evidence given of the fact committed by the perſon indicted.----Secondly, The knowledge of that law, act, or ſtatute, the indictment is grounded upon, and which the priſoners are ſaid to have tranſgreſſed.

Sect. 3. We ſhall neglect to mention here how much they were deprived of that juſt advantage which the antient, equal laws of England do allow; deſigning it for a concluſion of the whole, and ſhall only ſpeak here to matter of fact and law.

Sect. 4. The evidence you have read in the trial; the utmoſt import of which is no more than this, 'That William Penn was ſpeaking in Gracious-ſtreet, to an aſſembly 'of people, but they knew not what he ſaid.' Which is ſo great a contradiction, as he that runs may read it; for no man can ſay another man preaches, and yet underſtand not what he ſaith. He may conjecture it, but that is a lame evidence in law. It might as well have been ſworn, That he was ſpeaking of Law, Phyſick, Trade, or any other matter of civil government. Beſides, there is no law againſt preaching what is truth, whether it be in the Street, or in any other place. Nor is it poſſible that any man can truly ſwear, That he preached Sedition, Hereſy, &c. unleſs he ſo heard him, that he could tell what he ſaid.

Sect. 5. The evidence farther ſaith, That W. Mead was there. 'But till being in 'Gracious-ſtreet be a fault, and hearing a man ſpeak the witneſs knows not what, be 'contrary to law,' the whole evidence is uſeleſs, and impertinent. But what they want of that, they endeavour to ſupply with Indictment; whoſe parts we proceed to conſider.

Exceptions againſt the Indictment.

Sect. 6. It ſaith, That the priſoners [*were met upon the 15th Day of Auguſt* 1670.] whereas their own evidence affirms it to be upon the 14th Day of Auguſt, 1670.

Sect. 7. [*That they met with force and arms.*] Which is ſo great a lie, that the court had no better cover for it, than to tell the jury it was only a piece of form; urging, that the man tried for clipping of money this preſent ſeſſions, had the ſame words uſed in his indictment.

But that this anſwer is too ſcanty, as well as it was too weak to prevail with the jury, we deſire it may be conſidered, that the ſame words may be uſed more of courſe, and out of form, at one time, than at another. And though we grant they can have little force with any jury in a clipper's caſe, for mere clipping; yet they are words that give ſo juſt a ground of jealouſy, nay, that carry ſo clear an evidence of illegality, where they are truly proved and affirmed of any meeting, as that they are the proper roots from whence do ſpring thoſe branches which render an indictment terrible, and an aſſembly truly the terror of the people.

Sect. 8. [*Unlawful, and tumultuouſly to diſturb the peace.*] Which is as true as what is ſaid before (that is, as falſe.) This will evidently appear to all that conſider how lawful it is to aſſemble, with no other deſign than to worſhip God. And their calling a lawful aſſembly an unlawful one, no more makes it ſo, than to ſay light is darkneſs, black is white, concludes ſo impudent a falſity true.

In ſhort, becauſe to worſhip God can never be a crime, no meeting, or aſſembly, deſigning to worſhip God, can be unlawful. Such as go about to prove an unlawful aſſembly, muſt prove theſe aſſemblers intent Not to worſhip God: But that no man can do, becauſe no man can know another man's intentions; and therefore it is impoſſible that any ſhould prove ſuch an aſſembly unlawful. That is properly an unlawful aſſembly, according to the definition of the law, when ſeveral perſons are met together with deſign to uſe violence, and to do miſchief: But that Diſſenters meet with no ſuch intention, is manifeſt to the whole world; therefore their aſſemblies are not unlawful. He that hath only right to be worſhipped, who is GOD, hath only right to inſtitute How he will be worſhipped: And ſuch as worſhip him in that way they apprehend him to have inſtituted, are ſo far from being unlawful aſſemblers, that therein they do but expreſs their duty they owe to God.

[*Tumultuouſly*] Imports as much as diſorderly, or an aſſembly full of noiſe, buſtle, and confuſion, uſing force and violence, to the injury of perſons, houſes, or grounds. But whether Religious Diſſenters, in their peaceable meetings, therein deſiring and ſeeking nothing more than to expreſs that duty they owe to God Almighty, be guilty of a tumultuous action, or meeting, in the ſenſe expreſſed (and which is the very definition of the law) will be the Queſtion. Certainly, ſuch as call theſe meetings tumultuous, as to break the peace, offer the greateſt violence to common words that can be well imagined; for they may as rightly ſay, ſuch perſons meet adulterouſly, thieviſhly, &c. as to affirm they meet tumultuouſly, becauſe they are as truly applicable. In ſhort, ſuch particulars as are required to prove ſuch meetings in law, are wholly wanting.

Sect. 9. [*To the diſturbance of the peace.*]

If the diſturbance of the peace be but matter of form with the reſt, as is uſually pleaded; leave out this matter of form, and then ſee what great matter will be left.

Certainly ſuch aſſemblies as are not to the breach and diſturbance of the peace, are far from being unlawful, or tumultuary. But if the peace be broken by them, how comes it the evidence was ſo ſhort? We cannot believe it was in favour of the priſoners. This may ſhew to all the reaſonable world, how forward ſome are to brand innocency with hateful names, to bring a ſuſpicion where there was none deſerved.

Sect. 10. [*That the ſaid Penn and Mead met by agreement beforehand made.*]

But if perſons that never ſaw each other, nor converſed together, neither had correſpondence by any other hand, cannot be ſaid to be agreed to any action before it be done; then the priſoners were far from an agreement; for they had never ſeen, converſed, nor correſponded, directly, nor indirectly, before the officers came to diſturb the aſſembly. We well know how far they would have ſtretched the word Agreement, or Conſpiracy; but God, who brings to nought all the counſels of the wicked, prevented their cruel deſigns.

Sect. 11. [*That William Mead did abet the ſaid William Penn in preaching.*]

No man can be ſaid to abet another, whilſt they are both unknown to each other; eſpecially in this caſe, where abetting follows Agreeing, and agreeing ſuppoſes Foreknowledge. Nay, the word *Abet* in law, ſignifies to *command, procure,* or *counſel* a perſon; which W. Mead could not be ſaid to do, in reference to W. Penn, they being ſo great ſtrangers one to another, and at ſo great a diſtance: For the evidence proves that he was with Lieutenant Cook; and Lieutenant Cook ſwears, he could not make his way to W. Penn for the croud.

Sect. 12. [*That W. Penn's preaching and ſpeaking cauſed a great concourſe and tumult of people to remain and continue a long time in the ſtreet.*]

But this is ſo improbable to believe, that the very nature of a tumult admits of no ſuch thing as preaching; but implies a diſorderly multitude, where all may be ſaid to ſpeak, rather than any to hear.

Sect. 1. [*In contempt of the king and his laws.*]

They are ſo far from contemning the king and his laws, that they are obliged and conſtrained by their own principles, to obey every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, “ but not againſt the Lord for Man's ſake,” which is the queſtion in hand. Beſides, their continuance there was not in contempt, but by the permiſſion of the chief officer preſent, that came there by the king's authority. Nor is it for the honour of the king, that ſuch perſons ſhould be ſaid to act in contempt of his laws, as only meet to honour God and His laws.

Sect. 2. [*And to the great diſturbance of the king's peace.*]

It is far from diſturbing or breaking the king's peace, for men peaceably to meet to worſhip God: For it is then properly broken and invaded, when force and violence are uſed, to the hurt and prejudice of perſons and eſtates; or when any thing is done that tends to the ſtirring up of ſedition, and begetting in people a diſlike of the civil government. But that ſuch things are not practiſed by us in our aſſemblies, either to offer violence to mens perſons and eſtates, or to ſtir up people to ſedition, or diſlike to the civil government, is obvious to all that viſit our aſſemblies.

Sect. 3. [*To the great terror and diſturbance of the king's liege people and ſubjects, and to the evil example of all others in the like caſe offending, againſt the king's peace, his crown and dignity.*]

Were theſe black criminations as true as they are wretchedly falſe, we ſhould give as juſt an occaſion to loſe our liberties, as our cruel adverſaries are ready to take any to deprive us unjuſtly of them. Oh! How notorious is it to all ſober people, that our manner of life is far from terrifying any: And how abſurd to think, that naked men (in the generality of their converſation known to be harmleſs and quiet) ſhould prove a terror or diſturbance to the people! Certainly, if any ſuch thing ſhould be in the time of our meetings, it is brought with the cruelty and barbarous actions of your own ſoldiers: They never learned by our example to beat, hale before magiſtrates, fine and impriſon for matters relating to God's worſhip: Neither can they ſay, we are their precedents for all thoſe adulterous, prodigal, laſcivious, drunken, ſwearing, and profane acts, they daily commit, and eſteem rather occaſion of brag and boaſt, than ſorrow and repentance: No, they need not go ſo far; they have too many (God Almighty knows) of their own ſuperiors for their example.

Sect. 4. But we can never paſs over with ſilence, nor enough obſerve, the deteſtable juggle of ſuch indictments; which we require all Engliſh and Conſcientious Men to mind, as they value themſelves on the like occaſions. How little a grain of fact was proved, yet how ſpacious an indictment was made: Had it related to the evidence, the bulk had been excuſable; but when it only ſwelled with malicious ſcaring phraſes, to ſuggeſt to the people that they were the mereſt villains, the moſt dangerous perſons, and deſigning mutually the ſubverſion of the law, and breach of the peace, to the terrifying of the people, &c. who can chooſe but tell them of their Romance Indictment, that is ſo forged, as it truly merits another againſt itſelf? This they childiſhly call Form. But had an Italian, or other ſtranger, been in court, he would have judged it matter of Fact, as thinking it unworthy of a King's Court, to accuſe men in terms not legally, truly, or probably, due to the fact they really had committed; as well as that no court would practiſe it, but that which loved to deprive men of their liberties and lives, rather than to ſave them, *Nolens, Volens*.

Sect. 5. Had their cruelty and juggle ended itſelf here, they would have ſpared us the pains of any farther obſervation. But that which we have to add on the priſoners behalf, renders their actions ſo abominable in the ſight of juſtice, that all honeſt and ingenuous hearts muſt needs abhor their baſe ſnares.

They tell the jury, “That being but judges of FACT only, they were to bring the priſoners in Guilty (that is, of the fact) at their peril; and it was the part of the Bench to judge what was Law.” So that if the jury had brought them in Guilty, without farther additional explanation (though intentionally they meant only of the Fact proved by Evidence) yet the bench would have extended it to Every Part of the indictment; and by this impious deluſion have perjured a well-meaning jury, and have had their barbarous ends upon the innocent priſoners. But the jury better underſtanding themſelves, brought in William Penn guilty of the fact proved, namely, “That he was ſpeaking to ſome people met in Gracechurch Street, but not to an Unlawful aſſembly, ſo circumſtantiated:” The mention of which ſtabbed their deſign of moulding the general anſwer of Guilty to their own ends, to the heart. Nor indeed could they do otherwiſe; for as well the jury, as priſoners, were denied to have any law produced, by which they might meaſure the truth of the indictment, and guilt of the fact. But becauſe the Recorder

1670. would not or could not (perhaps it is ſo long ſince he read law, that he may have forgotten it) we ſhall perform his part, in ſhewing what is that “ Common Law of the Land,” which, in general, he ſaid they were indicted for the breach of, and which indeed, if rightly underſtood, is the undoubted birth-right of every Engliſhman; yes, the Inheritance of Inheritances; *Major hæreditas venit, unicuique noſtrum à jure, & legibus, quam à parentibus.* Cook Inſtit. 2. 56.

Sect. 6. All the various kinds or models of government that are in the world, ſtand either upon Will and Power, or Condition and Contract; the firſt rule by Men; the ſecond, by Laws. It is our happineſs to be born under ſuch a conſtitution, as is moſt abhorrent in itſelf of all Arbitrary Government; and which is, and ever has been, moſt choice and careful of her laws, by which all Right is preſerved.

Sect. 7. All Laws are either Fundamental, and ſo Immutable; or Superficial, and ſo Alterable. By the firſt, we underſtand ſuch laws as enjoin men to be juſt, honeſt, virtuous; to do no wrong, to kill, rob, deceive, prejudice none; but to do as one would be done unto; to cheriſh good, and to terrify wicked men; in ſhort, UNIVERSAL REASON; ‘which are not ſubject to any revolution, becauſe no emergency, time, or occaſion, can ever juſtify a ſuſpenſion of their execution, much leſs their utter abrogation.’

Sect. 8. By Superficial laws, we underſtand ſuch acts, laws, or ſtatutes as are ſuited to Preſent Occurrences; and which may as well be abrogated for the Good of the kingdom, as they were firſt made for it. For inſtance, thoſe ſtatutes that relate to Victuals, Clothes, and Places of Trade, &c. which have ever ſtood whilſt the Reaſon of them was in force; but when that benefit, which once redounded, fell by croſs occurrences, they ended; according to that old maxim, *Ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat lex.* But this cannot be ſaid of Fundamental laws, ‘ till houſes ſtand without their Foundations, and Engliſhmen ‘ wholly ceaſe to be;’ which brings cloſe upon the point.

Sect. 9. There is not any country that has more conſtantly expreſſed her care and deep ſolicitude for the preſervation of her Fundamental laws, than the ENGLISH NATION: And though at particular times ſome evil perſons have endeavoured an utter abolition of thoſe excellent fundamentals, which we have before defined and defended from any juſt reaſon of revolution, yet God Almighty, who is always concerned to avenge the cauſe of Juſtice, and thoſe excellent good laws by which it is upheld, has by his Providence befooled their contrivances, and baffled their attempts, by bringing their deſigns to nought, and their perſons frequently to condign puniſhment and diſgrace: Their age no antiquary living can aſſure us; unleſs they ſay, “ As old as REASON itſelf:” But our own authors are not lacking to inform us, that the Liberties, Properties, and Privileges of the Engliſh Nation, are very ancient.

Sect. 10. For HERN, in his *Mirror of juſtice* (written in Edward the Firſt's time) Fol. 1. tells us, ‘ That after God had abated the nobility of the Britains, he did deliver the realm to men more humble and ſimple, of the counties adjoining, to wit, the Saxons, which came from the parts of Almaign to conquer this land, of which men there were forty ſoveraigns, which did rule as companions; and thoſe princes did call this realm England, which before was named the Greater Britain. Thoſe, after great wars, tribulation and pains, by long time ſuffered, did chooſe a king to reign over them, to govern the people of God, and to maintain and defend their perſons and their goods in quiet, by the rules of right; and at the beginning they did cauſe him to ſwear to maintain the Holy Chriſtian Faith, and to guide his people by right, with all his power, without reſpect of perſons, and to obſerve the laws. And after, when the kingdom was turned into an heritage, king Alfred, that governed this kingdom about an hundred and ſeventy-one years before the Conqueſt, did cauſe the great men of the kingdom to aſſemble at London, and there did ordain for a perpetual uſage, that twice in the year, or oftner, if need ſhould be, in time of peace, they ſhould aſſemble at London in parliament, for the government of God's people, that men might live in quiet, and receive right by certain uſages and holy judgments.

‘ In which parliament (ſaid our author) the rights and prerogatives of the kings and ſubjects are diſtinguiſhed and ſet apart:’ And particularly by him expreſſed, too tedious here to inſert; amongſt which ordinances we find, ‘ That no man ſhould be impriſoned, but for a capital offence. And if a man ſhould detain another in priſon by colour of right (where there was none) till the party impriſoned died, he that kept him in priſon ſhould be held guilty of murder, as you may read p. 33, and 36. He is declared guilty of homicide, by whom a man ſhall die in priſon, whether it be the judges, that ſhall too long delay to do a man right, or by cruelty of jailers, or ſuffering him to die by famine; or when a man is adjudged to do penance, and ſhall be ſurcharged by his jailer with irons, or other pain, whereof he is deprived of his life. And p. 149. That by the ancient law of England, it was felony to detain a man in priſon, after ſufficient bail offered, where the party was appealed of treaſon, murder, robbery, or burglary. Page 35. none ought to be put in common priſons, but only ſuch as were attainted, or principally appealed, or indicted, of falſe or wrongful impriſonment; ſo tender have

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'the ancient laws and conſtitutions of this realm been, of the liberty of their ſubjects 'perſons, that no man ought to be impriſoned but for a capital offence, as treaſon, mur- 'der, robbery, or burglary.'

Sect. 11. Nor is LAMBARD ſhort, in his excellent tranſlation of the *Saxon laws*, from king Ina's time, 712, to Hen. 3. 1100, in deſcribing to us the great obligation, and ſtrong condition the people were wont to put upon their kings, 'To obſerve the an- 'cient fundamental laws, and free cuſtoms of this land,' which were handed down from one age to another. And in the 17th chap. of king Edward the Confeſſor's Laws, the mention there made of a king's duty, is very remarkable, that if he brake his oath, or performed not his obligation, *Nec nomen regis in eo conſtabit*. The ſame Lambard far- ther tells us, 'that however any may affirm William of Normandy to be a conqueror, 'he was received by the people as Edward's ſucceſſor, and, by ſolemn oath taken, to 'maintain unto them the ſame laws that his kinſman Edward the Confeſſor did.' This doctrine remained in the general unqueſtioned to the reign of king John; who imperi- ouſly thought that *Voluntas regis*, and not *ſalus populi*, was *ſuprema lex*; or the King's Will was the Supreme Law, and not the People's Preſervation; till the incenſed barons of that time betook themſelves to a vigorous defence of their ancient rights and liberties, and learned him to keep thoſe laws, by a due reſtraint and timely compulſion; which his former invaſion of them evidenced to the world he would never have done willingly.

Sect. 12. The propoſals and articles of agreement, with the pledges given to the barons, on the behalf of the people, by the king, were confirmed in Henry the Third's time, his ſon and ſucceſſor; when the abuſed, ſlighted, and diſregarded law by his father, was thought fit to be reduced to record, that the people of England might not forever after be to ſeek for a written recorded law, to their defence and ſecurity: For *Miſera ſervitus eſt ubi jus eſt vagum aut incognitum*. And ſo we enter upon the Grand Charter of Liberty and Privilege, in the cauſe, reaſon, and end of it.

Sect. 13. We ſhall firſt rehearſe it, ſo far as we are concerned, (with the formalities of Grant and Curſe) and ſhall then ſay ſomething as to the cauſe, reaſon, and end of it.

A Rehearſal of the Material Parts of the GREAT CHARTER of ENGLAND.

HENRY, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. To all Archbiſhops, or Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Provoſts, Officers, and to all Bailiffs, and our faithful ſubjects who ſhall ſee this preſent charter, greeting. KNOW ye, That we, unto the honour of Almighty God, and for the ſalvation of the ſouls of our progenitors, and our ſucceſſors, kings of England, to the advancement of holy church, and amendment of our realm, of our mere and free will, have given and granted to all Archbiſhops, &c. and to all Freemen of this our realm, thoſe liberties underwritten, to be holden and kept in this our realm of England for evermore.

We have granted and given to all Freemen of our realm, for us and our heirs, for evermore, thoſe liberties underwritten, to have and to hold to them, and to their heirs, of us and our heirs fore-named.

A Freeman ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall fault, but after the quantity of the fault: And for a great fault, after the Manner thereof; ſaving to him his Contenements or Freehold. And a Merchant likewiſe ſhall be amerced, ſaving to him his Merchandize: And none of the ſaid amercements ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by the oath of good and honeſt men of the Vicinage.

No Freeman ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, nor be diſſeized of his freehold, or liberties, or free cuſtoms, or be out-lawed or exiled, or any other ways deſtroyed; nor we ſhall not paſs upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land: We ſhall ſell to no man, we ſhall deny nor defer to no man, either juſtice or right.

And all theſe cuſtoms and liberties aforeſaid, which we have granted to be holden within this our realm, as much as appertaineth to us, and our heirs, we ſhall obſerve; and all men of this our realm, as well ſpiritual as temporal, as much as in them is, ſhall obſerve the ſame againſt all perſons in like wiſe. And for this our gift and grant of thoſe liberties, and for other contained in our Charter of liberties of our Foreſt, the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and others our ſubjects, have given unto us the fifteenth part of their moveables: And we have granted unto them, on the other part, that neither we, nor our heirs, ſhall procure or do any thing whereby the liberties in this charter contained ſhall be infringed or broken: And if any thing be procured by any perſon contrary to the premiſes, it ſhall be held of no force or effect. Theſe being witneſſes, Boniface archbiſhop of Canterbury, &c. We ratifying and approving thoſe gifts and grants aforeſaid, confirm and make ſtrong all the ſame, for us and our heirs perpetually, and by the tenor of theſe preſents do renew the ſame willingly; and granting for us and our heirs, that this Charter, in all and ſingular his articles, for evermore ſhall be ſtedfaſtly, firmly, and inviolably obſerved. And if any article in the ſame Charter contained, yet hitherto peradventure hath not been obſerved,

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The Sentence of the CURSE given by the Biſhops, with the King's Conſent, againſt the Breakers of the Great Charter.

IN the year of our Lord 1253, the third day of May, in the Great Hall of the king at Weſtminſter, in the preſence, and by the conſent, of the lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, and the lord Richard, earl of Cornwall, his brother; Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, marſhal of England; Humphry, earl of Hereford; Henry, earl of Oxford; John, earl Warren; and other eſtates of the realm of England: We Boniface, by the mercy of God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of England; F. of London; H. of Ely; S. of Worceſter; E. of Lincoln; W. of Norwich; P. of Hereford; W. of Saliſbury; W. of Durham; R. of Exeter; M. of Carliſle; W. of Bath; E. of Rocheſter; T. of St. Davids, biſhops, apparrelled in pontificals, with taper burning, againſt the breakers of the church's liberties, and of the liberties and other cuſtoms of this realm of England; and namely, thoſe that are contained in the Charter of the Common Liberties of England, and Charter of the Foreſt, have denounced ſentence of excommunication in this form: By the authority of Almighty God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, &c. of the bleſſed apoſtles Peter and Paul, and of all apoſtles, and of all martyrs, of bleſſed Edward, king of England, and of all the ſaints of heaven, we excommunicate and accurſe, and from the benefit of our holy mother the church we ſequeſter, all thoſe that hereafter willingly and maliciouſly deprive or ſpoil the church of her right; and all thoſe that by any craft, or willingneſs, do violate, break, or diminiſh, or change the church's liberties, and free cuſtoms contained in the charter of the Common Liberties, and of the Foreſt, granted by our lord the king to archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelates of England, and likewiſe to the earls, barons, knights, and other freeholders of the realm; and all that ſecretly and openly, by deed, word or counſel, do make ſtatutes, or obſerve them being made, and that bring in cuſtoms, or keep them when they be brought in, againſt the ſaid liberties, or any of them; and all thoſe that ſhall preſume to judge againſt them; and all and every ſuch perſon, before-mentioned, that wittingly ſhall commit any thing of the premiſes, let them well know that they incur the aforeſaid ſentence, *ipſo facto*.

A Confirmation of the Charters and Liberties of England, and of the Foreſt, made the twenty-fifth year of Edward the firſt.

EDWARD, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Guyan, To all thoſe that theſe preſent letters ſhall hear or ſee, greeting. KNOW ye, That we, to the honour of God, and to the profit of our realm, have granted, for us and our heirs, that the Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of the Foreſt, which were made by common aſſent of all the realm in the time of king Henry our father, ſhall be kept in every point, without breach: And we will that the ſame Charter ſhall be ſent under our ſeal, as well to our juſtices of the foreſt, as to others, and to all ſheriffs of ſhires, and to all our other officers, and to all our cities throughout the realm, together with our writs, in the which it ſhall be contained, that they cauſe the aforeſaid Charters to be publiſhed, and to declare to the people that we have confirmed them in all points; and that our juſtices, ſheriffs, mayors, and other miniſters, which under us have the laws of our land to guide, ſhall allow the ſame charters pleaded before them in judgment, in all their points; that is to wit, the Great Charter, as the Common Law, and the Charter of our Foreſt, for the Wealth of our realm.

And we will, that if any judgment be given from henceforth contrary to the points of the Charter aforeſaid, by the juſtices, or by any other of our miniſters that hold plea before them, againſt the points of the Charter, it ſhall be undone, and holden for nought.

And we will that the ſame Charter ſhall be ſent under our ſeal to cathedral churches throughout our realm, there to remain; and ſhall be read before the people two times by the year.

And that all archbiſhops and biſhops ſhall pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt all thoſe, that by word, deed, or counſel, do contrary to the aforeſaid Charters, or that in any point do break or undo them: And that the ſaid curſes be twice a year denounced and publiſhed by the prelates aforeſaid: And if the ſame prelates, or any of them, be remiſs in the denunciation of the ſaid ſentences, the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York for the time being ſhall compel and diſtrain them to the execution of their duties in form aforeſaid.

The Sentence of the CLERGY, againſt the Breakers of the Articles above-mentioned.

IN the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, Amen. Whereas our ſovereign lord the king, to the honour of God, and of holy church, and for the common profit of the realm, hath granted, for him and his heirs for ever, theſe articles above-written. Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, admoniſhed all his province once, twice, and thrice, becauſe that ſhortneſs will not ſuffer ſo much delay, as to give knowledge to all the people of England of theſe preſents in writing: We therefore enjoin all perſons, of what eſtate ſoever they be, that they, and every of them, as much as in them is, ſhall uphold and maintain theſe articles, granted by our ſovereign lord the king, in all points: And all thoſe that in any point do reſiſt or break, or in any manner hereafter procure, counſel, or in any wiſe aſſent to reſiſt or break thoſe ordinances, or go about it, by word or deed, openly or privily, by any manner of pretence or colour; we, the aforeſaid archbiſhops, by our authority in this writing expreſſed, do excommunicate and accurſe, and from the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and from all the company of heaven, and from all the ſacraments of holy church, do ſequeſter and exclude.

We may here ſee, that in the obſcureſt times of ſottiſh popery, they were not left without a ſenſe of juſtice, and the neceſſity of Liberty and Property, to be inviolably enjoyed; which brings us to the Cauſe of it.

Firſt, The Cauſe of this famous charter was, as we have already ſaid, the incroachments that were made by ſeveral miniſters of precedent kings, that almoſt became cuſtomary, and which had near extinguiſhed the free cuſtoms due to Engliſhmen. How great care it coſt our anceſtors, it unbecomes us to ignore, or by our ſilence to neglect: It was that Yoke and Muzzle which failed not to diſable many raging bears from entering the pleaſant vineyard of Engliſh Freedoms, that otherwiſe would not have left a fruitful vine in being. Anon we may give the reader an account of ſome, with their wages as well as works.

Secondly, The Reaſon of it is ſo great, that it ſeems to be its own. It is the very Image and Expreſſion of Juſtice, Liberty and Property; points of ſuch eminent importance, as without which no government can be ſaid to be reaſonable, but arbitrary and tyrannical. It allows every man that liberty God and nature have given him, and the ſecure poſſeſſion of his property, from the inroad or invaſion of his neighbour, or any elſe of that conſtitution. It juſtifies no man in a fault; only it provides equal and juſt ways to have the offender tried, conſidering the malice of many perſecutors, and the great value of liberty and life.

Thirdly, The End of it was the moſt noble of any earthly projection; to wit, 'The 'refixing of thoſe ſhaken laws,' held for many hundred years by conſtant claim, that they living might be re-inſtated in their primitive liberty, and their poſterity ſecured in the poſſeſſion of ſo great happineſs.

Amongſt thoſe many rich advantages that accrue to the free people of England from this Great Charter, and thoſe many Confirmatory ſtatutes of the ſame, we ſhall preſent the reader with the ſight of ſome few, that may moſt properly fall under the conſideration and enquiry of theſe preſent times, as found in our common law books.

Firſt, [That every Engliſhman is born free.]

Secondly, [That no ſuch freeman ſhall be taken, attached, aſſeſſed, or impriſoned, by any petition or ſuggeſtion to the king or his council, unleſs by the indictment and preſentment of good and lawful men, where ſuch right as needs be done.] 5 Ed. 3. ch. 9. 25 Ed. 3. ch. 4. 17 Ri. 2. ch. 6. Rot. Parl. 42 Ed. 3. Cook, 2 Inſt. 43.

Thirdly, [That no ſuch freeman ſhall be diſſeized of his freehold, or liberties, or free cuſtoms, &c.] Hereby is intended, ſaith Cook, that Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, ſhall not be ſeized into the king's hands, contrary to this Great Charter, &c. 43 Aſſ. pag. 12. 43 Ed. 3. Cook, 2 Inſt. 32. Neither ſhall any ſuch freeman be put from his livelihood without anſwer, Cook, 2 Inſt. 47.

Fourthly, [That no freeman ſhall be out-lawed] unleſs he ſhroud and hide himſelf voluntarily from the juſtice of the law, 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. Dier. 114, 145.

Fifthly, [No freeman ſhall be exiled.] Cook ſaid, there are but two grounds upon which any man may be exiled; one by Act of Parliament (ſuppoſing it not contrary to the Great Charter)---the other, in caſe of Abjuration, for Felony by the Common Law, &c. Cook, Inſt. 2, 47.

Sixthly, [No freeman ſhall be deſtroyed; that is, he ſhall not be fore-judged of life, limb, diſherited, or put to torture, or death.] Every oppreſſion againſt law, by colour of any uſurped authority, is a kind of deſtruction; and it is the worſt oppreſſion that is done by colour of juſtice. Cook, Inſt. 2. 48.

Seventhly, [That no freeman ſhall be thus taken, or impriſoned, diſſeized, out-lawed,

1670. exiled, or be deſtroyed of his liberties, freeholds, and free cuſtoms, but BY THE LAWFUL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS, vulgarly called Jury. So that the judgment of any fact or perſon is, by this fundamental law, referred to the breaſts and conſciences of the jury. It is rendered in latin, PER LEGALE JUDICIUM; that is, Lawful Judgment; From whence it is to be obſerved, that the judgment muſt have law in it, and be according to law; which cannot be, where they are not judges how far the fact is legal, or the contrary; *Judicium quaſi juris dictum* [the voice of law and right.] And therefore is their verdict not to be rejected, becauſe it is ſuppoſed to be the truth, according to their conſciences: For verdict, from *verè dictum veritatis*, [or a true ſaying or judgment] 9 Hen. 3. 26. Cook's Inſt. 1. 32. Inſt. 4. 207. Cook ſays, That by the word LEGALE, three things are implied.

1ſt. That this was by Law, before the ſtatute; and therefore this ſtatute but declaratory of the ancient law.

2d. That their verdict muſt be legally given: Wherein is to be obſerved, 1ſt, The jury ought to hear no evidence but in the hearing and preſence of the priſoner. 2d. That they cannot ſend to aſk any queſtion in law of the judges, but in the preſence of the Priſoner: For, *De facto jus oritur*.

3d. The evidence produced by the king's council being given, the judges cannot collect the evidence, nor urge it by way of charge to the jury, nor yet confer with the jury about the evidence, but in the preſence of the priſoner, Cook's Inſt. 2. 49.

Eighthly, [or by the law of the Land.] It is a ſynonimous expreſſion, importing no more than 'by the trial of Peers, or a jury:' For it is ſometimes rendered not *(or)* disjunctively, but *(and)* which is connectively. However, it can never ſignify any thing contrary to the old way of trying by Peers; for then it would be connected to a contradiction.

Beſides, Cook well obſerves, That in the 4th chap. of the 25th Ed. 3. *Per legem terræ*, imports no more than a Trial by due Proceſs, and Writ Original at Common Law; which cannot be without a Jury: Therefore *Per judicium parum, & per Legem terræ*, ſignify the ſame privilege unto the people, Cook, Inſt. 2. p. 50.

Thus have we preſented you with ſome of thoſe maxims of law, dearer to our anceſtors than life, 'Becauſe they are the Defence of the Lives and Liberties of the people of 'England.' It is from this 29th chap. of the Great Charter (great, not for its bulk, but the privileges in it) as from a ſpacious root, that ſo many fruitful branches of the law of England ſpring, if Cook may be credited. But how ſacred ſoever they have been eſteemed, and ſtill are by noble and juſt minds, yet ſo degenerate are ſome in their proceedings, that, conſcious to themſelves of their baſeneſs, they will not dare ſtand the touch of this Great Charter, and thoſe juſt laws grounded upon it: Of which number, we may truly rank the Mayor and Recorder of London, with the reſt of their Wiſe Companions, in their late ſeſſions at the Old Baily, upon the occaſion of the priſoners.

Firſt, The priſoners were taken, and impriſoned, without preſentment of good and lawful men of the vicinage, or the neighbourhood, but after a Military and Tumultuous Manner, contrary to the Grand Charter.

Secondly, They refuſed to produce the Law upon which they proceeded; leaving thereby the priſoners, jury, and the whole aſſembly in the dark.

Thirdly, They refuſed the priſoners to plead, and directly withſtood that great privilege, mentioned in the firſt chap. 25 Ed. 1. 'where all Juſtices, mayors, ſheriffs, and 'other miniſters, that have the laws of the land to guide them, are required to allow 'the ſaid Charter to be pleaded in all its points, and in all caſes that ſhall come before 'them in judgment:' For no ſooner did William Penn, or his fellow-priſoner, urge upon them the Great Charter, and other good laws, but the Recorder cried, 'Take 'him away; take him away, and put him into the Bale-dock, or hole:' From which refuſal the Recorder can never deliver himſelf, unleſs it be by avowing, The laws are not his guide, and therefore he does not ſuffer them to be pleaded before him in judgment.

Fourthly, They gave the jury their charge in the Priſoners Abſence, endeavouring highly to incenſe the Jury againſt them.

Fifthly, The verdict being given (which is in law DICTUM VERITATIS, the voice of truth herſelf) being not ſuitable to their humours, they did five times reject it, with many abuſive, imperious, and menacing expreſſions to the jury, ſuch as no precedent can afford us; as if they were not the only conſtituted judges by the fundamental laws of the land, but mere cyphers, only to ſignify ſomething behind their figures.

Sixthly, Though the priſoners were cleared by their jury, yet were they detained for the non-payment of their fines, laid upon them for not pulling off their hats; in which the law is notoriouſly broken:

1ſt. In that no man ſhall be amerced, but according to the offence; and they have fined each forty marks.

2d. They were not amerced by any Jury, but at the will of an incenſed Bench.

Beſides, there is no law againſt the hat; and where there is no law, there can be no tranſgreſſion, and conſequently no legal amercement, or fine, 9 Hen. 3. chap. 14. But how the priſoners were trepanned into it, is moſt ridiculous on the ſide of the contrivers; who, finding their hats off, would have them put on again by their officers, to fool the priſoners with a trial of putting them off again: Which childiſh conceit not being gratified, they fined them forty marks a piece.

Seventhly, Inſtead of accepting their verdict as good in law, and for the true deciſion of the matter, according to their Great Charter, (that conſtitutes them proper judges, and which bears them out, with many other good laws, in what they agreed to as a verdict) the court did moſt illegally and tyrannically fine and impriſon them, as in the trial was expreſſed; and that notwithſtanding the late juſt reſentment of the Houſe of commons in judge Keeling's caſe, where they reſolved, That the precedents and practice of fining and impriſoning of juries for their verdicts, were illegal. And here we muſt needs obſerve two things:

Firſt, That the fundamental laws of England cannot be more ſlighted, and contradicted in any thing (next Engliſhmens being quite deſtroyed) than in not ſuffering them to have that equal medium, or juſt way of trial, that the ſame law has provided, which is by a Jury.

Secondly, That the late proceeding of the court at the Old Baily, is an evident demonſtration, that juries are now but mere formality, and that the partial charge of the bench muſt be the verdict of the jury: For if ever a rape were attempted on the conſcience of any jury, it was there. And indeed, the ignorance of jurors of their authority by law, is the only reaſon of their unhappy cringing to the court, and being ſcared into an anti-conſcience verdict by their lawleſs threats.

But we have lived to an age ſo deboiſt from all humanity and reaſon, as well as faith and religion, that ſome ſtick not to turn butchers to their own privileges, and conſpirators againſt their own liberties. For however Magna Charta had once the reputation of a ſacred, unalterable law, and few were hardened enough to incur and bear the long curſe that attends the violators of it, yet it is frequently objected now, that the benefits there deſigned are but temporary, and therefore liable to alteration, as other ſtatutes are. What game ſuch perſons play at, may be lively read in the attempts of Dionyſius, Phalaris, &c. which would have Will and Power be the people's law.

But that the privileges due to Engliſhmen by the Great Charter of England, have their foundation in reaſon and law; and that thoſe new Caſſandrian ways to introduce Will and Power, deſerve to be deteſted by all perſons profeſſing ſenſe and honeſty, and the leaſt allegiance to our Engliſh government, we ſhall make appear from a ſober conſideration of the nature of thoſe privileges contained in that charter.

1. The ground of alteration of any law in government, where there is no invaſion, ſhould ariſe from the Univerſal Diſcommodity of its Continuance: But there can be no diſprofit in the continuance of Liberty and Property; therefore there can be no juſt ground of alteration.

2. No one Engliſhman is born a ſlave to another, neither has the one a right to inherit the ſweat and benefit of the other's labour, without conſent; therefore the liberty and property of an Engliſhman cannot reaſonably be at the will and beck of another, let his quality and rank be ever ſo great.

3. There can be nothing more unreaſonable than that which is partial: But to take away the LIBERTY and PROPERTY of any (which are natural rights) without breaking the Law of Nature (and not of Will and Power) is manifeſtly partial, and therefore unreaſonable.

4. If it be juſt and reaſonable "for men to do as they would be done by;" then no ſort of men ſhould invade the liberties and properties of other men; becauſe they would not be ſerved ſo themſelves.

5. Where liberty and property are deſtroyed, there muſt always be a ſtate of force and war: Which however pleaſing it may be unto the Invaders, it will ſeem intolerable by the Invaded; who will no longer remain ſubject, in all human probability, than while they want as much power to free themſelves, as their adverſaries had to inſlave them. The troubles, hazards, ill conſequences, and illegality of ſuch attempts, as they have been declined by the moſt prudent in all ages, ſo have they proved moſt uneaſy to the moſt ſavage of all nations; who firſt or laſt have by a mighty torrent freed themſelves, to the due puniſhment and great infamy of their oppreſſors: Such being the advantage, ſuch the diſadvantage, which neceſſarily do attend the fixation, and removal, of Liberty and Property.

We ſhall proceed to make it appear, that Magna Charta, as recited by us, imports nothing leſs than their preſervation.

'No Freeman ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, or be diſſeiſed of his freeholds, or liber-'ties, or free cuſtoms, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any other ways deſtroyed;

1670. ‘ nor will we upon him paſs, nor condemn him, but by the lawful judgment of his Peers,’ &c.

‘ A Freeman ſhall be amerced for a ſmall fault, but after the Manner of the fault; and for a Great fault, after the greatneſs thereof: And none of the ſaid amercement ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the Vicinage.’

Firſt, It aſſerts Engliſhmen to be free: That is Liberty.

Secondly, That they have freeholds: That is Property.

Thirdly, That amercement, or penalties, ſhould be proportioned to the faults committed: ‘ Which is Equity.’

Fourthly, That they ſhall loſe neither, but when they are adjudged to have forfeited them in the judgment of their honeſt neighbours, according to the law of the land; ‘ Which is Lawful Judgment.’

It is eaſy to diſcern to what paſs the enemies of the Great Charter would bring the people of England.

Firſt, They are now Freemen: ‘ But they would have them Slaves.’

Secondly, They have now right unto their Wives, Children, and Eſtates, as their undoubted Property: ‘ But ſuch would rob and ſpoil them of all.’

Thirdly, Now no man is to be amerced, or puniſhed, but ſuitable to the fault: ‘ Whilſt they would make it ſuitable to their revengeful minds, and unlimited wills.’

Fourthly, Whereas the power of judgment lies in the breaſts and conſciences of twelve honeſt Neighbours; ‘ They would have it at the diſcretion of Mercenary Judges.’ To which we cannot chooſe but add, that ſuch diſcourſes manifeſtly ſtrike at this preſent Conſtitution of Government; for it being founded upon the Great Charter (which is the ancient Common Law of the land) as upon its beſt foundation, none can deſign the concealing the Charter, but they muſt neceſſarily intend the extirpation of the Engliſh Government; for where the cauſe is taken away, the effect muſt conſequently ceaſe. And as the reſtoration of our ancient Engliſh laws by the Great Charter, was the ſovereign balſam which cured our former breaches, ſo doubtleſs will the continuation of it prove an excellent prevention to any future diſturbances.

But ſome are ready to object, ‘ That the Great Charter conſiſting as well of Religious as Civil rights, the former having received an alteration, there is the ſame reaſon why the latter may have the like.’

To which we anſwer, That the reaſon of alteration cannot be the ſame; therefore the conſequence is falſe. The one being matter of Opinion, about faith and religious worſhip, which is as various as the unconſtant apprehenſions of men; but the other is matter of ſo immutable Right and Juſtice, that all generations (however differing in their religious opinions) have concentered and agreed to the certainty, equity, and indiſpenſable neceſſity of preſerving theſe fundamental laws: So that Magna Charta hath not riſen and fallen with the differing religious opinions that have been in this land, but hath ever remained as the ſtable right of every individual Engliſhman, purely as an Engliſhman. Otherwiſe, if the civil privileges of the people had fallen with the pretended religious privileges of the Popiſh Tyranny, at the firſt Reformation (as muſt needs be ſuggeſted by this objection) our caſe had ended here, that we had obtained a ſpiritual freedom, at the coſt of a civil bondage: Which certainly was far from the intention of the firſt reformers; and, probably, an unſeen conſequence by the objectors to their idle opinion.

In ſhort, there is no time in which any man may plead the neceſſity of ſuch an action as is unjuſt in its own nature; which he muſt unavoidably be guilty of, that doth deface or cancel that law by which the juſtice of Liberty and Property is confirmed and maintained to the people. And conſequently, no perſon may legally attempt the ſubverſion, or extenuation, of the force of the Great Charter. We ſhall proceed to prove them inſtances out of both.

Firſt, ‘ Any judgment given contrary to the ſaid Charter, is to be undone and holden for nought.’ 25 Edw. 1 chap. 2.

Secondly, ‘ Any, by word, deed, or counſel, that go contrary to the ſaid Charter, are to be excommunicated by the biſhops: And the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York are bound to compel the other biſhops to denounce ſentence accordingly, in caſe of their remiſsneſs, or neglect:’ Which certainly hath relation to the State, rather than to the Church; ſince there was never any neceſſity of compelling the biſhops to denounce ſentence in their own caſe, though frequently in the people's. 25 Edw. 1. chap. 4.

Thirdly, ‘ That the Great Charter, and Charter of the Foreſt, be holden and kept in all points: And if any ſtatute be made to the contrary, that it ſhall be holden for nought.’ 43. Edw. 3. 1. Upon which Cook, that famous Engliſh lawyer, ſaid, ‘ That albeit judgments in the king's courts are of high regard in law, and *Judicia* are accounted as *Juris dicta*; yet it is provided by the act of parliament, That if any judgment be given contrary to any of the points of the Great Charter, it ſhall be holden for nought,’

He farther ſaith, upon the ſtatute of 25 Edw. 1. chap. 1. ‘ That this Great Charter,

ter, and the Charter of Foreſt, are properly the Common Law of the Land, or the Law common to all the people thereof.'

Fourthly, Another ſtatute runs thus; If any force come to diſturb the execution of the Common Law, ye ſhall cauſe their bodies to be arreſted, and put in priſon: Ye ſhall deny no man right by the king's letters, nor counſel the king any thing that may turn to his damage or diſheriſon.' 18 Edw. 3. chap. 7. 'Neither to deny right by any command under the great or little ſeal.' This is the judges charge and oath, 2 Edw. 3. chap. 8. 14 Edw. 3. 14. 11 Rich. 2. chap. 10.

Fifthly, Such care hath been taken for the preſervation of this Great Charter, that in the 25th of Edw. 1. it was enacted, 'That commiſſioners ſhould iſſue forth, that there ſhould be choſen in every Shire-court, by the commonalty of the ſame ſhire, three ſubſtantial men, knights, or other lawful, wiſe, and well-diſpoſed perſons, to be juſtices, which ſhall be aſſigned by the king's letters patents, under the great ſeal, to hear and determine (without any other writ but only their commiſſion) ſuch plaints as ſhall be made upon all thoſe that commit, or offend againſt any point contained in the aforeſaid Charters,' 21 Edw. 1. chap. 1.

Sixthly, The neceſſity of preſerving theſe Charters, hath appeared in nothing more than in the care they have taken to confirm them; which, as Cook obſerves, 'have been by thirty-two parliaments confirmed, eſtabliſhed, and commanded to be put in execution, with the condign puniſhment they had inflicted upon the offenders.' Cook's proem to the Second book of his Inſtitutes.

Seventhly, That in the notable Petition of Right, many of theſe great privileges, and free cuſtoms, contained in the aforeſaid Charters, and other good laws, are recited and confirmed. 3 Car. 1.

Eighthly, The late king, in his declaration at New-market, 1641, acknowledged 'the Law to be the rule of his power:' By which he doubtleſs intended Fundamental Laws; ſince it may be the great advantage of countries, ſometimes to ſuſpend the execution of Temporary Laws.

Having ſo manifeſtly evidenced that venerable eſteem our anceſtors had of that Golden Rule the GREAT CHARTER, with their deep ſolicitude to preſerve it from the defacing of uſurpation and faction; we ſhall proceed to give an account of their juſt reſentment, and earneſt proſecution againſt ſome of thoſe, who in any age have adventured to undermine that ancient foundation, by introducing an arbitrary way of government.

Firſt, as judicious Lambard reports, in his Saxon tranſlation, 'That the kings in thoſe days, were by their coronation oaths obliged to keep the ancient Fundamental Laws and Cuſtoms of this Land (of which this Great Charter is but declaratory): So did king Alfred (reputed the moſt famous Compiler of laws amongſt them) give this diſcovery of his indignation againſt his own judges, for acting contrary to thoſe Fundamental Laws, that he commanded the execution of forty of them.' Which may be a ſeaſonable caveat to the judges of our times.

Secondly, Hubert de Burgo, once chief juſtice of England, having adviſed Edward the firſt, in the eleventh year of his reign (in his council holden at Oxford) 'to cancel this Great Charter, and that of the Foreſt,' was juſtly ſentenced according to law, by his peers, in open parliament, when the ſtatute called CONFIRMATIONIS CHARTARUM, was made: In the firſt chapter thereof, Magna Charta is peculiarly called the Common Law. 25 Edw. 1. chap. 2.

Thirdly, The Spencers (both father and ſon) for their arbitrary domination, and raſh and evil counſel to Edward the ſecond, (by which he was ſeduced to break the Great Charter) were baniſhed for their pains, as Cook relates.

Fourthly, The ſame fate attended Treſillian and Belknap, for their illegal proceedings.

Fifthly, The breach of this Great Charter was the ground of that exemplary juſtice done upon Empſon and Dudley, whoſe caſe is very memorable in this point: For though they gratified Henry the ſeventh in what they did, and had an act of parliament for their warrant, made the eleventh of his reign, yet met with their due reward from the hands of juſtice; that act being againſt equity and common reaſon, and ſo no juſtifiable ground, or apology, for thoſe frequent abuſes, and the oppreſſions of the people, they were found guilty of. Hear what the lord Cook farther ſaith concerning the matter, 'There was an act of parliament, made in the eleventh year of king Henry the ſeventh, which had a fair flattering preamble, pretending to avoid divers miſchiefs, which were, 1ſt, The high diſpleaſure of Almighty God. 2dly, The great let of the common law. And 3dly, The great let of the wealth of this land. And the purvieu of that act tended in the execution contrary, *Ex diametro*, viz. To the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and the great let, nay, the utter ſubverſion, of the Common Law, and the great let of the wealth of this land, as hereafter ſhall appear: The ſubſtance of which act follows in theſe words:

"That from henceforth, as well Juſtices of Aſſize, as Juſtices of the Peace, in every county, upon information for the King, before them made, without any find-

“ing or preſentment by twelve men, ſhall have full power and authority, by their diſcretion, to hear and determine all offences, as riots, unlawful aſſemblies, &c. committed and done againſt any act or ſtatute made, and not repealed,” &c. [A caſe that very much reſembles this of our own times.]

‘By pretext of this law, Empſon and Dudley did commit upon the ſubjects unſufferable preſſure and oppreſſion; and therefore this ſtatute was juſtly, ſoon after the deceaſe of Henry the ſeventh, repealed at the next parliament after his deceaſe, by the ſtatute of the 1 Hen. 8. chap. 6.

‘A good caveat to parliaments, to leave all cauſes to be meaſured by the golden and ſtraight metewand of the law, and not by the uncertain and crooked cord of diſcretion.’

‘It is almoſt incredible to foreſee, when any maxim or fundamental law of this realm is altered (as elſewhere hath been obſerved) what dangerous inconveniences do follow; which moſt expreſly appeareth by this moſt unjuſt and ſtrange act of the eleventh of Henry the ſeventh: For hereby not only Empſon and Dudley themſelves, but ſuch juſtices of the peace (corrupt men) as they cauſed to be authorized, committed moſt grievous and heavy oppreſſions and exactions, grinding the faces of the poor ſubjects by penal laws (be they never ſo abſolute, or unfit for the time) by information only, without any preſentment, or trial by jury, being the ancient birth-right of the ſubject; but to hear and determine the ſame by their diſcretions, inflicting ſuch penalty, as the ſtatute not repealed impoſed. Theſe, and other like oppreſſions and exactions by, or by the means of, Empſon and Dudley, and their inſtruments, brought infinite treaſure to the King's coffers; whereof the King himſelf, at the end, with great grief and compunction, repented, as in another place we have obſerved.

‘This ſtatute of the 11th of Henry the ſeventh we have recited, and ſhewed the juſt inconveniences thereof; to the end that the like ſhould never hereafter be attempted in any court of parliament; and that others might avoid the fearful end of thoſe two time-ſervers, Empſon and Dudley, *Qui eorum veſtigiis inſiſtant, eorum exitus perhorreſcant.*

‘See the ſtatute of 8 Edw. 4. chap. 2. A ſtatute of liveries, an information, &c. by the diſcretion of the judges, to ſtand as an original, &c. this act is deſervedly repealed, Vide 12 R. 2, chap. 13. Puniſhment by diſcretion, &c. vide 5th of H. 4. chap. 6. 8. See the commiſſion of ſewers; diſcretion ought to be thus deſcribed, *Diſcretio eſt diſcernere per legem quid ſit juſtum.*’ From whence three things ſeem moſt remarkable:

Firſt, The great equity and juſtice of the Great Charter, with the high value our anceſtors have moſt deſervedly ſet upon it.

Secondly, The dreadful malediction, or curſe, they have denounced upon the breakers of it, with thoſe exemplary puniſhments they have not ſpared to inflict upon ſuch notorious offenders.

Thirdly, So heinous a thing was it eſteemed of old, to endeavour an enervation, or ſubverſion, of theſe ancient rights and privileges, that acts of parliament themſelves (otherwiſe the moſt ſacred with the people) have not been of force enough to ſecure or defend ſuch perſons from condign puniſhment, who, in purſuance of them, have acted inconſiſtent with our Great Charter. Therefore it is, that the great lawyer, the Lord Cook, doth more than once aggravate the example of Empſon and Dudley (with perſons of the ſame rank) into a juſt caution, as well to Parliaments as Judges, Juſtices, and inferior Magiſtrates, to decline making or executing any act, that may in the leaſt ſeem to infringe upon or confine this ſo often avowed and confirmed Great Charter of the Liberties of England; ſince parliaments are ſaid to err, when they croſs it; the obeyers of their acts puniſhed, as time-ſerving tranſgreſſors; and that Kings themſelves (tho' enriched by thoſe courſes) have met with great compunction and repentance, and left among their dying words their recantations.

Therefore moſt notable and true it was, with which we ſhall conclude this preſent ſubject, what the King pleaſed to obſerve in a ſpeech to the parliament, about 1662. (viz.) “The good old rules of Law are our beſt ſecurity.”

The manner of the court's behaviour towards the priſoners and the jury, with their many extravagant expreſſions, muſt not altogether ſlip our obſervation.

1. Their carriage to the jury out-does all precedents; they entertained them more like a pack of felons, than a jury of honeſt men, as being fitter to be tried themſelves, than to acquit others. In ſhort, no jury, for many ages, received ſo many inſtances of diſpleaſure and affront, becauſe they preferred not the humour of the court before the quiet of their own conſciences, even to be eſteemed as perjured; though they had really been ſo, had they not done what they did.

2. Their treatment of the priſoners was not more unchriſtian than inhuman. Hiſtory can ſcarce tell us of one Heathen Roman, that ever was ſo ignoble to his captive. What! ‘To accuſe, and not hear them; to threaten to bore their tongues, gag and ſtop their mouths, fetter their legs, merely for defending themſelves, and that by the ancient

‘ fundamental laws of England too? O barbarous! Had they been Turks and Infidels, that carriage would have ill become a Chriſtian court; ſuch actions proving much ſtronger diſſuaſives, than arguments to convince them how much the Chriſtian religion inclines men to juſtice and moderation, above their dark idolatry. It is truly lamentable, that ſuch occaſion ſhould be given for intelligence to foreign parts, where England hath had the reputation of a Chriſtian country, by their ill treating of its ſober and religious inhabitants, for their conſcientious meetings to worſhip God. But, above all, Diſſenters had little reaſon to have expected this boariſh fierceneſs from the Mayor of London, when they conſider his eager proſecution of the King's party, under Cromwell's government, as thinking he could never give too great a teſtimony of his loyalty to that new inſtrument: Which makes the old ſaying true, “ That One Renegade is worſe than Three Turks.”

Alderman Bludworth, being conſcious to himſelf of his partial kindneſs to the Popiſh Friers, hopes to make an amends, by his zealous proſecution of the poor Diſſenters: For at the ſame ſeſſions he moved to have an evidence (of no ſmall quality) againſt Harriſon, the Mendicant Frier, ſent to Bridewell and whipped, he was earneſt to have the jury fined and impriſoned, becauſe they brought not the priſoners in guilty, when no crime was proved againſt them, but peaceably worſhipping their God. Whence it may be eaſy to obſerve, That Popiſh Friers, and prelatical perſecutors, are mere confederates.

But what others have only adventured to ſtammer at, the Recorder of London has been ſo ingenuous as to ſpeak moſt plainly; or elſe, what mean thoſe two fatal expreſſions, which are become the talk and terror of both city and country?

Firſt, In aſſuring the jury, ‘ That there would be a law next ſeſſions of parliament, that no man ſhould have the protection of the law, but ſuch as conformed to the Church. Which, ſhould it be true, as we hope it is falſe, (and a diſhonourable prophecy of that great aſſembly) the Papiſts may live to ſee their Marian days out-done by Profeſſed Proteſtants.

But ſurely no Engliſhman can be ſo ſottiſh, as to conceive that this right to Liberty and Property came in with his profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion! Or that his Natural and Human rights are dependent on certain Religious Apprehenſions: And conſequently he muſt eſteem it a cruelty in the abſtract, that perſons ſhould be denied the benefit of thoſe laws which relate to civil concerns, who by their deportment in civil affairs have no ways tranſgreſſed them, but merely upon an opinion of Faith, and matter of Conſcience.

It is well known that Liberty and Property, Trade and Commerce, were in the world long before the points in difference betwixt Proteſtants and Diſſenters, as the common privileges of mankind; and therefore not to be meaſured out by a conformity to this or the other religious perſuaſion, but purely as Engliſhmen.

Secondly, But we ſhould rather chooſe to eſteem this an expreſſion of heat in the Recorder, than that we could believe a London's Recorder ſhould ſay an Engliſh Parliament ſhould impoſe ſo much ſlavery on the preſent age, and entail it upon their own poſterity (who, for aught they know, may be reckoned among the Diſſenters of the next age) did he not encourage us to believe it was both his Deſire and his Judgment, from that deliberate elogy he made on the Spaniſh Inquiſition, expreſſing himſelf much to this purpoſe, viz. ‘ Till now, I never underſtood the reaſon of the policy and prudence of the ‘ Spaniards, in ſuffering the Inquiſition amongſt them: And certainly it will never be ‘ well with us, till ſomething like unto the Spaniſh Inquiſition be in England.’ The groſs malignity of which ſaying is almoſt inexpreſſible. What does this but juſtify that helliſh deſign of the Papiſts, to have prevented the firſt Reformation? If this be good doctrine, then Hoggeſtrant, the Grand Inquiſitor, was a more venerable perſon than Luther the Reformer. It was an expreſſion that had better become Cajetan, the Pope's Legate, than Howel, a Proteſtant City's Recorder. This is ſo far from helping to convert the Spaniard, that it is the way to harden him in his idolatry; when his abominable Cruelty ſhall be eſteemed Prudence, and his moſt barbarous and exquiſite torturing of TRUTH, an excellent way to prevent faction.

If the Recorder has ſpoke for no more than himſelf, it is well; but certainly, he little deſerves to be thought a Proteſtant, and a Lawyer, that puts both Reformation and Law into the Inquiſition. And doubtleſs the ſupreme governors of the land are highly obliged, in honour and conſcience, (in diſcharge of their truſt to God and the people) to take theſe things into their ſerious conſideration, as what is expected from them, by thoſe who earneſtly wiſh theirs and the kingdom's ſafety and proſperity.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Copy of Judge Keeling's Caſe, taken out of the Parliament Journal.

Die Mercurii, 11° Decembris, 1667.

1670. THE houſe reſumed the hearing of the reſt of the report, touching the matter of reſtraint upon juries; and that upon the examination of divers witneſſes, in ſeveral clauſes of reſtraints put upon juries, by the lord chief juſtice Keeling: Whereupon the committee made their reſolutions, which are as followeth.

Firſt, That the proceedings of the lord chief juſtice, in the caſes now reported, are innovations, in the trial of men for their lives and liberties; and that he hath uſed an arbitrary and illegal power, which is of dangerous conſequence to the lives and liberties of the people of England, and tends to the introducing of an arbitrary government.

Secondly, That in the place of judicature, the lord chief juſtice hath undervalued, vilified, and condemned Magna Charta, the great preſerver of our lives, freedom, and property.

Thirdly, That he be brought to trial, in order to condign puniſhment, in ſuch manner as the houſe ſhall judge moſt fit and requiſite.

Die Veneris, 13° Decembris, 1667.

Reſolved, &c. That the precedents and practice of fining or impriſoning jurors for verdicts, is illegal.

Now whether the juſtices of this court, in their proceedings (both towards the priſoners and jury) have acted according to law, and to their oaths and duty, to do juſtice without partiality, whereby right might be preſerved, the peace of the land ſecured, and our ancient laws eſtabliſhed; or whether ſuch actions tend not to deprive us of our lives and liberties, to rob us of (our birth-right) the fundamental laws of England; and finally, to bring in an arbitrary and illegal power, to uſurp the benches of all our courts of juſtice, we leave the Engliſh reader to judge.

Certainly, there can be no higher affront offered to king and parliament, than the bringing their reputations into ſuſpicion with their people, by the irregular actions of ſubordinate judges: And no age can parallel the carriage of this Recorder, Mayor, &c. Nor can we think ſo ignobly of the parliament, as that they ſhould do leſs than call theſe perſons to account, who failed not to do it to one leſs guilty, and of more repute; to wit, Judge Keeling: For if his behaviour gave juſt ground of jealouſy, that he intended an innovation, and the introducing an arbitrary government, this Recorder's much more. Did chief Juſtice Keeling ſay, "Magna Charta was magna farta?" So did this Recorder too: And did Juſtice Keeling fine and impriſon juries, contrary to all law? So did this Recorder alſo. In ſhort, there is no difference, unleſs it be that the one was queſtioned, and the other deſerves it. But we deſire in this they may be ſaid to differ, that though the former eſcaped puniſhment, the latter may not; who having a precedent before, did notwithſtanding notoriouſly tranſgreſs.

To conclude: The law ſuppoſes the King cannot err, becauſe it is willing to ſuppoſe he always acts by Law (and *Voluntas legis, eſt voluntas regis*; or, The King's will is regulated by the Law); but it ſays no ſuch thing of the Judges. And ſince they are obliged by oath to diſregard the King's letters (though under the broad and privy ſeal) if they any wiſe oppugn or contradict the law of the land; and conſidering that every ſingle action of an inferior miniſter has an ugly reference to the ſupreme magiſtrate, where not rebuked; we cannot but conclude, that both judges are anſwerable for their irregularities, eſpecially where they had not a limitation of a king's letter, or command; and that the ſupreme magiſtrate is obliged, as in honour and ſafety to himſelf, Alfred-like, to bring ſuch to condign puniſhment; leſt every ſeſſions produce the like tragical ſcenes of uſurpation over the conſciences of juries, to the vilifying and contemning of juſtice, and great detriment and prejudice of the good and honeſt men of this famous and free city.

FIAT JUSTITIA.

THE

GREAT CASE

OF

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

Once more briefly debated and defended,

BY THE AUTHORITY OF

REASON, SCRIPTURE, and ANTIQUITY:

Which may ſerve the Place of a General Reply to ſuch late DISCOURSES
as have Oppoſed a TOLERATION.

The Author W. P.

Whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them. MAT. vii. 12.
Render unto Cæſar, the things that are Cæſar's; and to God, the things that are God's. MARK xii. 17.

TO THE SUPREME AUTHORITY OF ENGLAND.

1670. TOLERATION, for theſe ten years paſt, has not been more the cry of ſome, than perſecution has been the practice of others, though not on grounds equally rational.

The preſent cauſe of this addreſs, is to ſolicit a converſion of that power to our relief, which hitherto has been employed to our depreſſion; that after this large experience of our innocency, and long ſince expired apprenticeſhip of cruel ſufferings, you will be pleaſed to cancel all our bonds, and give us a poſſeſſion of thoſe freedoms, to which we are intituled by Engliſh birth-right.

This has been often promiſed to us, and we as earneſtly have expected the performance; but to this time we labour under the unſpeakable preſſure of naſty priſons, and daily confiſcation of our goods, to the apparent ruin of intire families.

We would not attribute the whole of this ſeverity to malice, ſince not a little ſhare may juſtly be aſcribed to miſ-intelligence.

For it is the infelicity of governors to ſee and hear by the eyes and ears of other men; which is equally unhappy for the people.

And we are bold to ſay, that ſuppoſitions, and mere conjectures, have been the beſt meaſures that moſt have taken of us, and of our principles; for whilſt there have been none more inoffenſive, we have been marked for capital offenders.

It is hard that we ſhould always lie under this undeſerved imputation; and, which is worſe, be perſecuted as ſuch, without the liberty of a juſt defence.

In ſhort, if you are apprehenſive that our principles are inconſiſtent with the civil government, grant us a free conference about the points in queſtion, and let us know what are thoſe laws, eſſential to preſervation, that our opinions carry an oppoſition to? And if upon a due enquiry we are found ſo heterodox as repreſented, it will be then but time enough to inflict theſe heavy penalties upon us.

And as this medium ſeems the faireſt, and moſt reaſonable; ſo can you never do yourſelves greater juſtice, either in the vindication of your proceedings againſt us, if we be criminal; or if innocent, in diſengaging your ſervice of ſuch as have been authors of ſo much miſ-information.

But could we once obtain the favour of ſuch debate, we doubt not to evince a clear conſiſtency of our life and doctrine with the Engliſh government; and that an indulging of diſſenters in the ſenſe defended, is not only moſt Chriſtian and rational, but prudent alſo; and the contrary (how plauſible ſoever inſinuated) the moſt injurious to the peace, and deſtructive of that diſcrete ballance, which the beſt and wiſeſt ſtates have ever carefully obſerved.

But if this fair and equal offer find not a place with you, on which to reſt it's foot; much leſs that it ſhould bring us back the olive-branch of TOLERATION; we heartily embrace and bleſs the providence of God; and, in his ſtrength, reſolve by patience to outweary Perſecution, and by our conſtant ſufferings ſeek to obtain a victory, more glorious than any our adverſaries can atchieve by all their cruelties.

VINCIT QUI PATITUR.

From a priſoner for conſcience ſake,

W. P.

Newgate, the 7th of the 12th
month, called February,
1670.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

WERE ſome as chriſtian as they boaſt themſelves to be, it would ſave us all the labour we beſtow in rendering Perſecution ſo unchriſtian as it moſt truly is. 1670. Nay were they thoſe men of reaſon they character themſelves, and what the civil law ſtiles good citizens, it had been needleſs for us to tell them, that neither can any external coercive power convince the underſtanding of the pooreſt idiot, nor fines and priſons be judged fit and adequate penalties for faults purely intellectual; as well as that they are deſtructive of all civil government.

But we need not run ſo far as beyond the ſeas, to fetch the ſenſe of the Codes, Inſtitutes, and Digeſts, out of the *Corpus Civile*, to adjudge ſuch practices incongruous with the good of civil ſociety; ſince our own good, old, admirable laws of England have made ſuch excellent proviſion for its inhabitants, that if they were but thought as fit to be executed by this preſent age, as they were rightly judged neceſſary to be made by our careful anceſtors, we know how great a ſtroke they would give ſuch as venture to lead away our property in triumph (as our juſt forfeiture) for only worſhipping our God in a differing way from that which is more generally profeſſed and eſtabliſhed.

And indeed it is moſt truly lamentable, that above others (who have been found in ſo unnatural and antichriſtian an employment) thoſe that by their own frequent practices and voluminous apologies, have defended a ſeparation from the Papacy, ſhould now become ſuch earneſt perſecutors for it; not conſidering, that the enaction of ſuch laws as reſtrain perſons from the free exerciſe of their conſciences in matters of religion, is but a knotting whip-cord to laſh their own poſterity; whom they can never promiſe to be conformed to a National Religion. Nay, ſince mankind is ſubject to ſuch mutability, they cannot enſure themſelves from being taken by ſome perſuaſions that are eſteemed heterodox, and conſequently catch themſelves in ſnares of their own providing. And for men thus liable to change, and no ways certain of their own belief to be the moſt infallible, as by their multiplied conceſſions may appear, to enact any religion, or prohibit perſons from the free exerciſe of theirs, ſounds harſh in the ears of all modeſt and unbiaſſed men. We are bold to ſay, our Proteſtant anceſtors thought of nothing leſs, than to be ſucceeded by perſons vain-glorious of their Reformation, and yet adverſaries to Liberty of Conſcience: For to people in their wits it ſeems a paradox.

Not that we are ſo ignorant, as to think it is within the reach of human power to fetter conſcience, or to reſtrain its liberty, ſtrictly taken: but that plain Engliſh, of Liberty of Conſcience, we would be underſtood to mean, is this; namely, ‘The free and uninterrupted exerciſe of our conſciences, in that way of worſhip we are moſt clearly perſuaded God requires us to ſerve him in, without endangering our undoubted birthright of Engliſh freedoms:’ Which being matter of FAITH, we ſin if we omit; and they cannot do leſs, that ſhall endeavour it.

To tell us we are obſtinate, and enemies to government, are but thoſe groundleſs phraſes the firſt reformers were not a little peſtered with: But as they ſaid, ſo ſay we, The being called this, or that, does not conclude us ſo: And hitherto we have not been detected of that fact, which only juſtifies ſuch criminations.

But however free we can approve ourſelves of actions prejudicial to the civil government; it is moſt certain we have not ſuffered a little, as criminals, and therefore have been far from being free from ſufferings; indeed, in ſome reſpect, horrid plunders: Widows have loſt their cows, orphans their beds, and labourers their tools. A tragedy ſo ſad, that methinks it ſhould oblige them to do in England as they did at Athens: When they had ſacrificed their divine Socrates to the ſottiſh fury of their lewd and comical multitude, they ſo regretted their haſty murder, that not only the memorial of Socrates was moſt venerable with them, but his enemies they eſteemed ſo much theirs, that none would trade or hold the leaſt commerce with them; for which ſome turned their own executioners, and without any other warrant than their own guilt, hanged themſelves. How near a-kin the wretched mercenary informers of our age are to thoſe, the great reſemblance that is betwixt their actions manifeſtly ſhews.

And we are bold to ſay, the grand fomenters of perſecution are no better friends to the Engliſh ſtate, than were Anytus and Ariſtophanes of old to that of Athens; the

1670. caſe being ſo nearly the ſame, as they did not more bitterly envy the reputation of Socrates amongſt the Athenians for his grave and religious lectures (thereby giving the youth a diverſion from frequenting their plays) than ſome now emulate the true diſſenter, for his pious life, and great induſtry.

And as that famous common-wealth was noted to decline, and the moſt obſerving perſons of it dated its decay from that illegal and ingrateful carriage towards Socrates (witneſs their dreadful plagues, with other multiplied diſaſters) ſo it is not leſs worthy obſervation, that heaven hath not been wholly wanting to ſcourge this land, for, as well their cruelty to the conſcientious, as their other multiplied provocations.

And when we ſeriouſly conſider the dreadful judgments that now impend the nation (by reaſon of the robbery, violence, unwonted oppreſſion, that almoſt every-where have not only been committed upon the poor, the widow, and the fatherleſs; but moſt tenaciouſly juſtified, and the actors manifeſtly encouraged) in mere pity, and concern for the everlaſting welfare of ſuch as have not quite ſinned away their viſitation (for ſome have) we once more bring to public view our reaſons againſt perſecution, backed with the plaineſt inſtances both of Scripture and Antiquity; if but one may be perſuaded to deſiſt from making any farther progreſs in ſuch an Anti-proteſtant, and truly Anti-chriſtian path, as that of perſecuting honeſt and virtuous Engliſhmen, for only worſhipping the God that made them in the way they judge moſt acceptable with him.

But if thoſe who ought to think themſelves obliged to weigh theſe affairs with the greateſt deliberation, will obſtinately cloſe their eyes to theſe laſt remonſtrances, and ſlightly over-look the pinching caſe of ſo many thouſand families, that are by theſe ſeverities expoſed for prey to the unſatiable appetites of a villainous crew of broken informers, daubing themſelves with that deluding apprehenſion of pleaſing God, or at leaſt of profiting the country; (whilſt they greatly diſpleaſe the one, and evidently ruin the other) as certain as ever the Lord God Almighty deſtroyed Sodom, and layed waſte Gomorrah, by the conſuming flames of his juſt indignation, will he haſten to make deſolate this wanton land, and not leave an hiding-place for the oppreſſor.

Let no man therefore think himſelf too big to be admoniſhed, nor put too ſlight a value upon the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of ſo many thouſand free-born Engliſh families, embarked in that one concern of Liberty of Conſcience. It will become him better to reflect upon his own mortality, and not forget his breath is in his noſtrils, and that every action of his life the everlaſting God will bring to judgment, and him for them.

CHAP. I.

That Impoſition, Reſtraint, and Perſecution for Conſcience ſake, highly invade the Divine Prerogative, and diveſt the Almighty of a Right, due to none beſides Himſelf, and that in Five eminent Particulars.

THE great caſe of Liberty of Conſcience, ſo often debated and defended (however diſſatisfactorily to ſuch as have ſo little conſcience as to perſecute for it) is once more brought to public view, by a late Act againſt Diſſenters, and Bill, or an additional one, that we all hoped the wiſdom of our rulers had long ſince laid aſide, as what was fitter to be paſſed into an act of perpetual oblivion. The kingdoms are alarmed at this procedure, and thouſands greatly at a ſtand, wondering what ſhould be the meaning of ſuch haſty reſolutions, that ſeem as fatal as they were unexpected. Some aſk what wrong they have done? Others, what peace they have broken? And all, what plots they have formed to prejudice the preſent government, or occaſions given to hatch new jealouſies of them and their proceedings? being not conſcious to themſelves of guilt in any ſuch reſpect.

For mine own part, I publickly confeſs myſelf to be a very hearty Diſſenter from the eſtabliſhed worſhip of theſe nations, as believing Proteſtants to have much degenerated from their firſt principles, and as owning the poor deſpiſed Quakers, in life and doctrine, to have eſpouſed the cauſe of God, and to be the undoubted followers of Jeſus Chriſt, in his moſt holy ſtrait and narrow way that leads to the eternal reſt. In all which I know no treaſon, nor any principle that would urge me to a thought injurious to the civil peace. If any be defective in this particular, it is equal both individuals and whole ſocieties ſhould anſwer for their own defaults; but we are clear.

However, all conclude that union very ominous and unhappy, which makes the firſt diſcovery of itſelf "by a John Baptiſt's head in a charger." They mean that feaſt which ſome are deſigned to make upon the liberties and properties of free-born Engliſhmen: Since to have the entail of thoſe undoubted hereditary rights cut off, for matters purely relative of another world, is a ſevere beheading in the law: Which muſt be obvious to all, but ſuch as meaſure the juſtice of things only by that proportion they bear with their own intereſt. A ſort of men that ſeek themſelves, though at the apparent loſs of whole ſocieties; like to that barbarous fancy of old, which had rather that Rome ſhould burn, than it be without the ſatisfaction of a bon-fire. And ſad it is, when men have ſo far ſtupefied their underſtandings with the ſtrong doſes of their private intereſt, as to become inſenſible of the public's. Certainly ſuch an over-fondneſs for ſelf, or that ſtrong inclination to raiſe themſelves in the ruin of what does not ſo much oppoſe them, as that they will believe ſo, becauſe they would be perſecuting, is a malignant enemy to that tranquility, which all diſſenting parties ſeem to believe would be the conſequence of a Toleration.

In ſhort we ſay, there can be but two ends in perſecution; the one to ſatisfy (which none can ever do) the inſatiable appetites of a decimating clergy (whoſe beſt arguments are fines and impriſonments); and the other, as thinking therein they do God good ſervice: But it is ſo hateful a thing upon any account, that we ſhall make it appear, by this enſuing diſcourſe, to be a declared enemy to God, Religion, and the Good of human Society.

The whole will be ſmall, ſince it is but an epitome of no larger a tract than fourteen ſheets; yet divides itſelf into the ſame particulars, every of which we ſhall defend againſt Impoſition, Reſtraint, and Perſecution, though not with that ſcope of reaſon (nor conſequently Pleaſure to the readers) being by other contingent diſappointments limited to a narrow ſtint.

The terms explained, and the queſtion ſtated.

Firſt, By Liberty of Conſcience, we underſtand not only a mere Liberty of the Mind, in believing or diſbelieving this or that principle or doctrine; but 'the exerciſe of ourſelves in a viſible way of worſhip, upon our believing it to be indiſpenſibly required at our hands, that if we neglect it for fear or favour of any mortal man, we ſin, and incur divine wrath.' Yet we would be ſo underſtood to extend and juſtify the lawfulneſs of our ſo meeting to worſhip God, as not to contrive, or abet any contrivance deſtructive of the government and laws of the land, tending to matters of an external nature, directly or indirectly; but ſo far only as it may refer to religious matters, and a life to come, and conſequently wholly independent of the ſecular affairs of this, wherein we are ſuppoſed to tranſgreſs.

Secondly, By Impoſition, Reſtraint, and Perſecution, we do not only mean the ſtrict requiring of us to believe this to be true, or that to be falſe; and upon refuſal, to incur the penalties enacted in ſuch caſes; but by thoſe terms we mean thus much, 'any coercive lett or hindrance to us, from meeting together to perform thoſe religious exerciſes which are according to our faith and perſuaſion.'

The queſtion ſtated.

For proof of the aforeſaid terms thus given, we ſingly ſtate the queſtion thus;

Whether Impoſition, Reſtraint, and Perſecution, upon perſons for exerciſing ſuch a liberty of conſcience as is before expreſſed, and ſo circumſtantiated, be not to impeach the honour of God, the meekneſs of the chriſtian religion, the authority of Scripture, the privilege of nature, the principles of common reaſon, the well-being of government, and apprehenſions of the greateſt perſonages of former and latter ages?

Firſt, Then we ſay, that Impoſition, Reſtraint, and Perſecution, for matters relating to conſcience, directly invade the divine prerogative, and diveſt the Almighty of a due, proper to none beſides himſelf. And this we prove by theſe five particulars:

Firſt, if we do allow the honour of our creation due to God only, and that no other beſides himſelf has endowed us with thoſe excellent gifts of Underſtanding, Reaſon, Judgment, and Faith, and conſequently that he only is the object, as well as the author, both of our Faith, Worſhip, and Service; then whoſoever ſhall interpoſe their authority to enact faith and worſhip in a way that ſeems not to us congruous with what he has diſcovered to us to be faith and worſhip (whoſe alone property it is to do it) or to reſtrain us from what we are perſuaded is our indiſpenſible duty, they evidently uſurp this authority, and invade his incommunicable right of government over conſcience: 'For the Inſpiration of the Almighty gives underſtanding: And Faith is the gift of God,' ſays the divine writ.

Secondly, Such magiſterial determinations carry an evident claim to that Infallibility, which Proteſtants have been hitherto ſo jealous of owning, that, to avoid the Papiſts, they have denied it to all but God himſelf.

Either they have forſook their old plea; or if not, we deſire to know when, and where, they were inveſted with that divine excellency; and whether Impoſition, Reſtraint, and Perſecution, Were ever deemed by God the fruits of his Spirit. However, that itſelf was not ſufficient; for unleſs it appear as well to us that they have it, as to them who have it, we cannot believe it upon any convincing evidence, but by Tradition only; an anti-proteſtant way of believing.

Thirdly, It enthrones Man as king over conſcience, the alone juſt claim and privilege of his Creator; whoſe thoughts are not as mens thoughts, but has reſerved to himſelf that empire from all the Cæſars on earth: For if men, in reference to ſouls and bodies, things appertaining to this and the other world, ſhall be ſubject to their fellow-creatures, what follows, but that Cæſar (however he got it) has all, God's ſhare, and his own too? And being Lord of both, both are Cæſar's, and not God's.

Fourthly, It defeats God's work of Grace, and the inviſible operation of his eternal Spirit, (which can alone beget faith, and is only to be obeyed, in and about religion and worſhip) and attributes mens conformity to outward force and corporal puniſhments. A faith ſubject to as many revolutions as the powers that enact it.

Fifthly and laſtly, Such perſons aſſume the judgment of the great tribunal unto themſelves; for to whomſoever men are impoſedly or reſtrictively ſubject and accountable in matters of faith, worſhip and conſcience; in them alone muſt the power of judgment reſide: But it is equally true that God ſhall judge all by Jeſus Chriſt; and that no man is ſo accountable to his fellow-creatures, as to be impoſed upon, reſtrained, or perſecuted for any matter of conſcience whatever.

Thus, and in any more particulars, are men accuſtomed to intrench upon Divine Property, to gratify particular intereſts in the world; and (at beſt) through a miſguided apprehenſion to imagine 'they do God good ſervice,' that where they cannot give faith, they will uſe force; which kind of ſacrifice is nothing leſs unreaſonable than the other is abominable: God will not give his honour to another; and to him only, that ſearches the heart and tries the reins, it is our duty to aſcribe the gifts of Underſtanding and Faith, without which none can pleaſe God.

CHAP. II.

They overturn the Chriſtian Religion; 1. *In the Nature of it, which is Meekneſs*; 2. *In the Practice of it, which is Suffering*; 3. *In the Promotion of it, ſince all farther diſcoveries are prohibited*; 4. *In the Rewards of it, which are Eternal.*

THE next great evil which attends external force in matters of faith and worſhip, is no leſs than the overthrow of the whole chriſtian religion; and this we will briefly evidence in theſe four particulars 1. That there can be nothing more remote from the nature, 2. The practice, 3. The promotion, 4. The rewards of it.

Firſt, It is the privilege of the chriſtian faith above the dark ſuggeſtions of ancient and modern ſuperſtitious traditions, to carry with it a moſt ſelf-evidencing verity, which ever was ſufficient to proſelite believers, without the weak auxiliaries of external power. The Son of God, and great example of the world, was ſo far from calling his Father's omnipotency in legions of angels to his defence, that he at once repealed all acts of force, and defined to us the nature of his religion in this one great ſaying of his, MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD. It was ſpiritual, not carnal; accompanied with weapons as heavenly as its own nature, and deſigned for the good and ſalvation of the ſoul, and not the injury and deſtruction of the body: no goals, fines, exiles, &c. but 'ſound Reaſon, 'clear Truth, and ſtrict Life.' In ſhort, the chriſtian religion intreats all, but compels none.

Secondly, That Reſtraint and Perſecution overturn the Practice of it. I need go no farther than the allowed Martyrologies of ſeveral ages, of which the Scriptures claim a ſhare; begin with Abel, go down to Moſes, ſo to the Prophets, and then to the meek example of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf; how patiently devoted was he to undergo the contradictions of men! and ſo far from perſecuting any, that he would not ſo much as revile his perſecutors, but prayed for them: Thus lived his apoſtles, and the true Chriſtians of the firſt three hundred years. Nor are the famous ſtories of our firſt Reformers ſilent in the matter; witneſs the chriſtian practices of the Waldenſes, Lollards, Huſſites, Lutherans, and our noble martyrs; who, as became the true followers of Jeſus Chriſt, enacted and confirmed their religion with their own blood, and not with the blood of their oppoſers.

Thirdly, Reſtraint and Perſecution obſtruct the promotion of the Chriſtian Religion: For if ſuch as reſtrain, confeſs themſelves 'miſerable ſinners, and altogether imperfect,' it either follows, that they never deſire to be better, or that they ſhould encourage ſuch as may be capable of farther informing and reforming them: They condemn the Papiſts for incoffening the ſcriptures and their worſhip in an unknown tongue, and yet are guilty themſelves of the ſame kind of fact.

Fourthly, They prevent many of eternal rewards: For where any are religious for fear, and that of men, it is ſlaviſh, and the recompence of ſuch religion is condemnation, not peace: Beſides, it is Man that is ſerved; who having no power but what is temporary, his reward muſt needs be ſo too: He that impoſes a duty, or reſtrains from one, muſt reward; but becauſe no man can reward for ſuch duties, no man can or ought to impoſe them, or reſtrain from them. So that we conclude Impoſition, Reſtraint and Perſecution, are deſtructive of the Chriſtian religion, in the Nature, Practice, Promotion and Rewards of it, which are eternal.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

They oppoſe the plaineſt Teſtimonies of Divine Writ that can be, which condemn all Force upon Conſcience.

WE farther ſay, that Impoſition, Reſtraint and Perſecution are repugnant to the plain teſtimonies and precepts of the Scriptures.

1. 'The inſpiration of the Almighty gives underſtanding.' Job xxxii. 8.

If no man can believe before he underſtands, and no man underſtand before he is inſpired of God; then are the impoſitions of men excluded as unreaſonable, and their perſecutions for non-obedience as inhuman.

2. 'Wo unto them that take counſel, but not of me.' Iſa. xxx. 1.

3. 'Wo unto them that make a man an offender for a word, and lay a ſnare for him that reproves in the gate, and turn aſide the juſt for a thing of nought.' Iſa. xxix. 15, 21.

4. 'Let the wheat and the tares grow together, until the time of the harveſt, or end of the world.' Matt. xiii. 27, 28, 29.

5. 'And Jeſus called them unto him, and ſaid, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them, and they that are great exerciſe authority upon them; but it ſhall not be ſo amongſt you.' Matt. xx. 25, 26.

6. 'And Jeſus ſaid unto them, Render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Luke, xx. 25.

7. 'When his diſciples ſaw this, (that there were non-conformiſts then, as well as now) they ſaid, Wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and conſume them, as Elias did? But he turned and rebuked them, and ſaid, Ye know not what ſpirit ye are of; for the Son of man is not come to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.' Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.

8. 'Howbeit, when the Spirit of truth is come, he ſhall lead you into all truth.' John xvi. 8. 13.

9. 'But now the anointing which ye have received of him, abides in you; and you need not that any man teach you,' (much leſs impoſe upon any, or reſtrain them from what any are perſuaded it leads to) 'but as the ſame anointing teaches you of all things, and is truth, and is no lye.' 1 John ii. 27.

10. 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourſelves; but rather give place unto wrath' (much leſs ſhould any be wrathful that are called Chriſtians, where no occaſion is given). 'Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; and if he thirſt, give him drink; recompence no man evil for evil.' Rom. xii. 19, 20, 21.

11. 'For though we walk in the fleſh,' (that is, in the body, or viſible world) 'we do not war after the fleſh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal. 2 Cor. x. 3. (but fines and impriſonments are; and ſuch uſe not the apoſtle's weapons that employ thoſe). 'For a biſhop, 1 Tim. iii. 3. (ſaith Paul) muſt be of good behaviour, apt to teach, no ſtriker; but be gentle unto all men, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing, (not perſecuting) thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth.' 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

12. Laſtly, We ſhall ſubjoin one paſſage more, and then no more of this particular; 'Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them.' Mat. vii. 12. Luke vi. 31.

Now upon the whole, we ſeriouſly aſk, Whether any ſhould be impoſed upon, or reſtrained, in matters of Faith and Worſhip? Whether ſuch practices become the Goſpel, or are ſuitable to Chriſt's meek precepts and ſuffering doctrine? And laſtly, Whether thoſe, who are herein guilty, do to us as they would be done unto by others?

What if any were once ſevere to you; many are unconcerned in that, who are yet liable to the laſh, as if they were not. But if you once thought the impoſition of a Directory unreaſonable, and a reſtraint from your way of worſhip unchriſtian, can you believe that Liberty of Conſcience is changed, becauſe the Parties, in point of power, are? Or that the ſame reaſons do not yet remain in vindication of an indulgence for others, that were once employed by you for yourſelves? Surely ſuch conjectures would argue groſs weakneſs.

To conclude: Whether perſecutors at any time read the Scriptures, we know not; but certain we are, ſuch practiſe as little of them as may be, who with ſo much delight reject them, and think it no ſmall acceſſion to the diſcovery of their loyalty, to lead us and our properties in triumph after them.

CHAP. IV.

They are Enemies to the Privilege of Nature; 1. As rendering ſome more, and others leſs, than Men; 2. As ſubverting the Univerſal Good that is God's Gift to Men; 3. As deſtroying all natural Affection. Next, they are enemies to the noble Principle of Reaſon, as appears in Seven great inſtances.

1670. WE farther ſay, that Impoſition, Reſtraint, and Perſecution, are alſo deſtructive of the great Privilege of Nature and Principle of Reaſon. Of Nature, in three inſtances:

Firſt, If God Almighty 'has made of one blood all nations,' as himſelf has declared, and that he has given them both ſenſes corporeal and intellectual, to diſcern things and their differences, ſo as to aſſert or deny from evidences and reaſons proper to each; then where any one enacts the belief or diſbelief of any thing upon the reſt, or reſtrains any from the exerciſe of their faith, to them indiſpenſible, ſuch an one exalts himſelf beyond his bounds, enſlaves his fellow-creatures, invades their right of liberty, and ſo perverts the whole order of nature.

Secondly, Mankind is hereby robbed of the uſe and benefit of that Inſtinct of a Deity, which is ſo natural to him, that he can be no more without it, and be, than he can be without the moſt eſſential part of himſelf. For to what ſerves that Divine Principle in the Univerſality of Mankind, if men be reſtricted by the preſcriptions of ſome individuals? But if the excellent nature of it 'inclines men to GOD, not man; if the power of 'accuſing and excuſing be committed to it; if the troubled thoughts and ſad reflections 'of forlorn and dying men make their tendency that way only,' (as being hopeleſs of all other relief and ſuccour from any external power or command), What ſhall we ſay, but that ſuch as invalidate the authority of this Heavenly Inſtinct, (as Impoſition and Reſtraint evidently do) deſtroy Nature, or that privilege which men are born with, and to.

Thirdly, All natural affection is deſtroyed: For thoſe who have ſo little tenderneſs, as to perſecute men that cannot for conſcience-ſake yield them compliance, manifeſtly act injuriouſly to their fellow-creatures, and conſequently are enemies to Nature; for Nature being One in All, ſuch as ruin thoſe who are equally intituled with themſelves to nature, ruin it in them, as in Liberty, Property, &c. And ſo bring the ſtate of Nature to the ſtate of War; as the great Leviathan of the times, as ignorantly as boldly, does aſſert.

But, ſecondly, We alſo prove them deſtructive of the noble principle of Reaſon, and that in theſe ſeven particulars:

1. In that thoſe who impoſe, or reſtrain, are uncertain of the truth and juſtifiableneſs of their actions. In either of theſe, their own diſcourſes and confeſſions are pregnant inſtances, where they tell us, that they do not pretend to be infallible, only they humbly conceive it is thus, or it is not. Since then they are uncertain and fallible, how can they impoſe upon, or reſtrain others, whom they are ſo far from aſſuring, that they are not able to do ſo much for themſelves? What is this, but to impoſe an uncertain faith, upon certain penalties?

2. As he that acts doubtfully is damned, ſo faith in all acts of religion is neceſſary: Now in order to believe, we muſt firſt will; to will, we muſt judge; to judge any thing, we muſt firſt underſtand: If then we cannot be ſaid to Underſtand any thing againſt our underſtanding; no more can we judge, will, or believe againſt our underſtanding: And if the doubter be damned, what muſt he be that conforms directly againſt his judgment and belief, and they likewiſe that require it from him? In ſhort, that man cannot be ſaid to have any religion, that takes it by another man's choice, not his own.

3. Where men are limited in matters of religion, there the rewards which are entailed on the free acts of men are quite overthrown; and ſuch as ſuperſede that Grand Charter of Liberty of Conſcience, fruſtrate all hopes of recompence, by rendering the actions of men unavoidable. But thoſe think, perhaps, they do not deſtroy all freedom, becauſe they uſe ſo much of their own.

4. They ſubvert all True Religion; for where men believe, not becauſe it is True, but becauſe they are required to do ſo, there they will unbelieve, not becauſe it is Falſe, but ſo commanded by their Superiors, whoſe authority their intereſt and ſecurity oblige them rather to obey, than diſpute.

5. They delude, or rather compel people out of their eternal rewards; for where men are commanded to act in reference to religion, and can neither be ſecured of their religion, nor yet ſaved harmleſs from puniſhment, that ſo acting and believing diſprivileges them for ever of that recompence which is provided for the faithful.

6. Men have their liberty and choice in external matters; they are not compelled to marry this perſon, to converſe with that, to buy here, to eat there, nor to ſleep yonder; yet if men had power to impoſe or reſtrain in any thing, one would think it

ſhould be in ſuch exterior matters: But that this liberty ſhould be unqueſtioned, and that of the mind deſtroyed, iſſues here, ‘ That it does not unbrute us, but unman us: For take away Underſtanding, Reaſon, Judgment, and Faith, and, like Nebuchadnezzar, let us go graze with the beaſts of the field.’

Seventhly and laſtly, That which moſt of all blackens the buſineſs, is PERSECUTION: For though it is very unreaſonable to require Faith where men cannot chuſe but doubt, yet, after all, to puniſh them for diſobedience, is cruelty in the abſtract: For we demand, ‘ Shall men ſuffer for not doing what they cannot do?’ Muſt they be perſecuted here if they do not go againſt their conſciences, and puniſhed hereafter if they do? But neither is this all; for that part that is yet moſt unreaſonable, and that gives the cleareſt ſight of perſecution, is ſtill behind, namely, ‘ The monſtrous arguments they have to convince an heretick with:’ Not thoſe of old, as ſpiritual as the chriſtian religion, which were, ‘ to admoniſh, warn, and finally to reject;’ but ſuch as were employed by the perſecuting Jews and heathens againſt the Great Example of the world, and ſuch as followed him, and by the inhuman Papiſts againſt our firſt Reformers, as ‘ clubs, ſtaves, ſtocks, pillories, priſons, dungeons, exiles, &c. in a word, ruin to whole families; as if it were not ſo much their deſign to convince the ſoul, as to deſtroy the body.’

To conclude: There ought to be an adequation and reſemblance betwixt all ends, and the means to them; but in this caſe there can be none imaginable: The end, is the conformity of our judgments and underſtandings to the acts of ſuch as require it; the means are fines and impriſonments, and bloody knocks to boot.

Now, what proportion or aſſimilation theſe bear, let the ſober judge: The underſtanding can never be convinced, nor properly ſubmit, but by ſuch arguments as are rational, perſuaſive, and ſuitable to its own nature; ſomething that can reſolve its doubts, anſwer its objections, enervate its propoſitions. But to imagine thoſe barbarous Newgate inſtruments of clubs, fines, priſons, &c. with that whole troop of external and dumb materials of force, ſhould be fit arguments to convince the underſtanding, ſcatter its ſcruples, and finally convert it to their religion, is altogether irrational, cruel, and impoſſible. Force may make an hypocrite; ‘ it is Faith, grounded upon knowledge, and ‘ conſent, that makes a chriſtian.’ And to conclude, as we can never betray the honour of our conformity (only due to truth) by a baſe and timorous hypocriſy to any external violence under heaven; ſo muſt we needs ſay, Unreaſonable are thoſe Impoſers, who ſecure not the impoſed or reſtrained from what may occur to them, upon their account; and moſt inhuman are thoſe Perſecutors that puniſh men for not obeying them, though to their utter ruin.

CHAP. V.

They carry a Contradiction to Government: 1. In the Nature of it, which is Juſtice. 2. In the Execution of it, which is Prudence. 3. In the End of it, which is Fidelity. Seven common, but grand Objections, fairly ſtated, and briefly anſwered.

WE next urge, That Force, in matters relating to Conſcience, carries a plain contradiction to Government, in the Nature, Execution, and End of it.

By Government we underſtand, An external order of juſtice, or the right and prudent diſciplining of any ſociety by juſt laws, either in the relaxation or execution of them.

Firſt, It carries a contradiction to government in the Nature of it, which is Juſtice, and that in three reſpects.

1. It is the firſt leſſon that great Synteresis, ſo much renowned by philoſophers and civilians, learns mankind, ‘ To do as they would be done to;’ ſince he that gives what he would not take, or takes what he would not give, only ſhews care for himſelf, but neither kindneſs nor juſtice for another.

2. The juſt nature of government lies in a fair and equal retribution: But what can be more unequal, than that men ſhould be rated more than their proportion to anſwer the neceſſities of government, and yet that they ſhould not only receive no protection from it, but by it be diſſeized of their dear liberty and properties? We ſay, to be compelled to pay that power that exerts itſelf to ruin thoſe that pay it, or that any ſhould be required to enrich thoſe that ruin them, is hard and unequal, and therefore contrary to the juſt nature of government. If we muſt be contributaries to the maintenance of it, we are entitled to a protection from it.

3. It is the juſtice of government to proportion penalties to the crime committed. Now granting our diſſent to be a fault, yet the infliction of a corporal or external puniſhment, for a mere mental error (and that not voluntary) is unreaſonable and inadequate, as well as againſt particular directions of the Scriptures, Tit. iii. 9, 10, 11. For as corporal penalties cannot convince the Underſtanding; ſo neither can they be commenſurate puniſhments for faults purely intellectual: And for the government of this world to intermeddle with what belongs to the government of another, and which can have no ill aſpect or influence upon it, ſhews more of invaſion than right and juſtice.

1670. Secondly, It carries a contradiction to government in the Execution of it, which Prudence, and that in theſe inſtances:

1. The ſtate of the caſe is this, That there is no republick ſo great, no empire ſo vaſt, but the laws of them are reſolvable into theſe two ſeries or heads; ‘ Of Laws Fundamental, ‘ which are indiſpenſible and immutable; and Laws Superficial, which are temporary ‘ and alterable:’ And as it is juſtice and prudence to be punctual in the execution of the former, ſo, by circumſtances, it may be neither to execute the latter, they being ſuited to the preſent conveniency and emergency of ſtate; as the prohibiting of cattle out of Ireland was judged of advantage to the farmers of England, yet a murrain would make it the good of the whole that the law ſhould be broke, or at leaſt the execution of it ſuſpended. That the law of reſtraint in point of conſcience is of this number, we may farther manifeſt, and the imprudence of thinking otherwiſe: For firſt, if the ſaying were as true as it is falſe, “ No Biſhop, no King,” (which admits of various readings; as, “ No decimating Clergy, or no Perſecution, no King,”) we ſhould be as ſilent as ſome would have us; but the confidence of their aſſertion, and the impolicy of ſuch as believe it, makes us to ſay, That a greater injury cannot be done to the preſent government. For if ſuch laws and eſtabliſhments are fundamental, they are as immutable as mankind itſelf; but that they are as alterable as the conjectures and opinions of governors have been, is evident; ſince the ſame fundamental indiſpenſible laws and policy of theſe kingdoms have ſtill remained, through all variety of oppoſite ruling opinions and judgments, and disjoined from them all. Therefore to admit of ſuch a fixation to temporary laws, muſt needs be highly imprudent, and deſtructive of the eſſential parts of the government of theſe countries.

2. That ſince there has been a time of connivance, and that with no ill ſucceſs to public affairs, it cannot be prudence to diſcontinue it, unleſs it was imprudence before to give it; and ſuch little deſerve it that think ſo.

3. Diſſenters not being conſcious to themſelves of any juſt forfeiture of that favour, are as well grieved in their reſentments of this alteration, as the contrary did oblige them to very grateful acknowledgments.

4. This muſt be done to gratify all, or the greateſt part, or but ſome few only: it is a demonſtration; all are not pleaſed with it that the greateſt number is not, the empty public auditories will ſpeak: In ſhort, how ſhould either be, when ſix parties are ſacrificed to the ſeventh: That this cannot be prudence, common maxims and obſervations prove.

5. It ſtrikes fatally at Proteſtant ſincerity: For will the Papiſts ſay, Did Proteſtants exclaim againſt us for perſecutors, and are they now the men themſelves? Was it an inſtance of weakneſs in our religion, and is it become a demonſtration of ſtrength in theirs? Have they tranſmuted it from antichriſtian in us, to chriſtian in themſelves? Let perſecutors anſwer.

6. It is not only an example, but an incentive to the Romaniſts to perſecute the Reformed Religion abroad: For when they ſee their actions (once void of all excuſe) now defended by the example of Proteſtants, that once accuſed them, (but now themſelves) doubtleſs they will revive their cruelty.

7. It overturns the very ground of the Proteſtants retreat from Rome: For if men muſt be reſtrained, upon pretended prudential conſiderations, from the exerciſe of their conſcience in England; why not the ſame in France, Holland, Germany, Conſtantinople, &c. where matters of ſtate may equally be pleaded? This makes religion, ſtate-policy; and faith and worſhip, ſubſervient to the humours and intereſts of ſuperiors: Such doctrine would have prevented our anceſtors retreat; and we wiſh it be not the beginning of a back-march; for ſome think it ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected, where religion is ſuited to the government, and conſcience to its conveniency.

8. Vice is encouraged: For if Licentious perſons ſee men of virtue moleſted for aſſembling with a religious purpoſe to reverence and worſhip God, and that are otherwiſe moſt ſerviceable to the commonwealth, they may and will infer, it is better for them to be as they are; ſince not to be Demure, as they call it, is half-way to that kind of accompliſhment which procures preferment.

9. For ſuch perſons as are ſo poor-ſpirited as to truckle under ſuch reſtraints, What conqueſt is there over them, that before were conſcientious men, and now hypocrites? Who ſo forward to be avenged of them, that brought this guilt upon them, as they themſelves? And how can the impoſers be ſecure of their friendſhip, whom they have taught to change with the times?

10. Such laws are ſo far from benefiting the country, that the execution of them will be the aſſured ruin of it, in the revenues, and conſequently in the power of it: For where there is a decay of families, there will be of trade; ſo of wealth, and in the end of ſtrength and power: And if both kinds of relief fail, Men, the prop of Republicks; Money, the ſtay of Monarchies; this, as requiring Mercenaries; that, as needing Freemen; farewel the intereſt of England! 'Tis true, the prieſts get (though that is but for a time) but the King and People loſe, as the event will ſhew.

11. It ever was the prudence of wiſe magiſtrates to oblige their people; but what comes ſhorter of it than perſecution? What dearer to them than the liberty of their conſcience? What cannot they better ſpare than it? Their peace conſiſts in the enjoyment of it: And he that by compliance has loſt it, carries his penalty with him, and is his own priſon. Surely ſuch practices muſt render the government uneaſy, and beget a great diſreſpect to the governors, in the hearts of the people.

12. But that which concludes our prudential part ſhall be this, That after all their pains and good-will to ſtretch men to their meaſure, they never will be able to accompliſh their end: And if he be an unwiſe man, that provides means where he deſigns no end, how near is he of kin to him that propoſes an end unobtainable. Experience has told us, 1. How invective it has made the impoſed-on. 2. What diſtractions have enſued ſuch attempts. 3. What reproach has followed to the Chriſtian religion, when the profeſſors of it have uſed a coercive power upon conſcience. And laſtly, That Force never yet made either a Good Chriſtian, or a Good Subject.

Thirdly and Laſtly, Since the proceedings we argue againſt are proved ſo deſtructive to the juſtice and prudence of government, we ought the leſs to wonder that they ſhould hold the ſame malignity againſt the end of it, which is Felicity, ſince the wonder would be to find it otherwiſe; and this is evident from theſe three conſiderations:

1. Peace (the end of war and government, and its great happineſs too) has been, is, and yet will be, broken by the frequent tumultuary diſturbances that enſue the diſquieting our meetings, and the eſtreating fines upon our goods and eſtates. And what theſe things may iſſue in, concerneth the civil magiſtrate to conſider.

2. Plenty (another great end of government) will be converted into poverty, by the deſtruction of ſo many thouſand families as refuſe compliance and conformity, and that not only to the ſufferers, but influentially to all the reſt; a demonſtration of which we have in all thoſe places where the late Act has been any thing conſiderably put in execution. Beſides, how great provocation ſuch incharity and cruel uſage as ſtripping widows, fatherleſs, and poor, of their very neceſſaries for human life, merely upon an account of faith or worſhip, muſt needs be to the juſt and righteous Lord of heaven and earth, Scriptures, and plenty of other hiſtories, plainly ſhew us.

3. Unity (not the leaſt, but greateſt end of government) is loſt: For by ſeeking an unity of opinion, by the ways intended, the unity requiſite to uphold us as a Civil Society, will be quite deſtroyed. And ſuch as relinquiſh that, to get the other, beſides that they are unwiſe, will infallibly loſe both in the end.

In ſhort, We ſay that it is unreaſonable we ſhould not be entertained as men, becauſe ſome think we are not as good chriſtians as they pretend to wiſh us; or that we ſhould be deprived of our liberties and properties, who never broke the laws that gave them to us: What can be harder, than to take that from us by a law, which the great indulgence and ſolicitude of our anceſtors took ſo much pains to intail upon us by law; An. 18 Ed. 3. ſtat. 3. alſo ſtat. 20. Ed. 3. cap. 1. Again, Petition of Right, An. 3. Car. and more fully in *Magna Charta*; Farther, peruſe 37 Ed. 5. chap 8. 28. 42 Ed. 3. cap. 7.

And we are perſuaded, that no temporary ſubſequential law whatever to our fundamental rights, (as this of Force on Conſcience is) can invalidate ſo eſſential a part of the government, as Engliſh liberty and property: Nor that it is in the power of any on earth to deprive us of them, till we have firſt done it ourſelves, by ſuch enormous facts as thoſe very laws prohibit, and make our forfeiture of that benefit we ſhould otherwiſe receive by them: For theſe being ſuch cardinal and fundamental points of Engliſh law-doctrine, individually, and by the collective body of the people, agreed to, and on which, as the moſt ſolid baſis, our Secondary Legiſlative Power, as well as Executive, is built; it ſeems moſt rational that the ſuperſtructure cannot quarrel or invalidate its own foundation, without manifeſtly endangering its own ſecurity: The effect is ever leſs noble than the cauſe; the gift than the giver; and the ſuperſtructure than the foundation.

The ſingle queſtion to be reſolved in the caſe, briefly will be this, Whether any viſible authority (being founded in its primitive inſtitution upon thoſe Fundamental Laws, that inviolably preſerve the people in all their juſt rights and privileges) may invalidate all, or any, of the ſaid laws, without an implicit ſhaking of its own foundation, and a clear overthrow of its own conſtitution of government, and ſo reduce them to their *Statu quo prius*, or firſt principles? The reſolution is every man's, at his own pleaſure. Read Hen. 3. 9, 14, 29. 25 Ed. 3. Cook's inſtit. 2. 19, 50, 51.

Thoſe who intend us no ſhare or intereſt in the laws of England, as they relate to civil matters, unleſs we correſpond with them in points of faith and worſhip, muſt do two things, Firſt, it will lie heavy on their parts to prove, That the ancient compact and original of our laws carries that proviſo with it; elſe we are manifeſtly diſſeized of our free-cuſtoms.

Secondly, They are to prove the reaſonableneſs of ſuch proceedings to our underſtandings, that we may not be concluded by a law we know not how to underſtand: For if I take the matter rightly (as I think I do) we muſt not buy or ſell, unleſs of this or that perſuaſion in Religion; not conſidering Civil Society was in the world before the

1670. Proteſtant Profeſſion; men, as ſuch, and in affairs peculiarly relative to them in an external and civil capacity, have ſubſiſted many ages under great variety of religious apprehenſions, and therefore not ſo dependent on them as to receive any variation or revolution with them. What ſhall we ſay then? but that ſome will not that we ſhould live, breathe, and commerce as men, becauſe we are not ſuch modelled chriſtians as they coercively would have us; they might with as much juſtice and reputation to themſelves forbid us to look or ſee unleſs our eyes were grey, black, brown, blue, or ſome one colour beſt ſuiting theirs: For not to be able to give us faith, or ſave our conſciences harmleſs, and yet to perſecute us for refuſing conformity, is intolerable hard meaſure.

In ſhort, That coercive way of bringing all men to their height of perſuaſion, muſt either ariſe from exorbitant Zeal and Superſtition, or from a conſciouſneſs of Error and Defect, which is unwilling any thing more ſincere and reformed ſhould take place; being of that Cardinal's mind, who therefore would not hearken to a Reformation, at the ſitting of the Council of Trent, becauſe he would not ſo far approve the Reformers judgment (for having once condeſcended to their apprehenſions, he thought it would for ever inſlave them to their ſenſe); though otherwiſe he ſaw, as much as any man, the grand neceſſity of a Reformation, both of the Roman doctrine and converſation.

Some grand Objections in the Way muſt be conſidered.

Objection 1. 'But you are a people that meet with deſigns to diſaffect the people, and 'to ruin the government.'

Anſwer. A ſurmiſe is no certainty; neither is a may-be, or conjecture, any proof: That from the firſt we have behaved ourſelves inoffenſively, is a demonſtration; that our meetings are open, where all may hear our matter, and have liberty to object or diſcuſs any point, is notorious. Ignorant calumnies are ſandy foundations to build ſo high a charge upon: Let us fairly be heard in public conference, how far we can juſtify our principles from being deſervedly ſuſpected of ſedition or diſloyalty, and not over-run us with mere ſuppoſitions. We declare our readineſs to obey the ordinance of man, which is only relative to human or civil matters, and not points of Faith, or practice in Worſhip: But if accuſations muſt ſtand for proofs, we ſhall take it for granted that we muſt ſtand for criminals; but our ſatisfaction will be, that we ſhall not deſerve it, otherwiſe than as prejudice ſeeks to traduce us.

Object. 2. 'But you ſtrike at the doctrine, at leaſt the diſcipline, of the church; and 'conſequently are hereticks.'

Anſw. This ſtory is as old as the Reformation: If we muſt be objected againſt out of pure reputation, let it be in ſome other matter than what the Papiſts objected againſt the firſt Proteſtants; otherwiſe you do but hit yourſelves in aiming at us? To ſay you were in the right, but we are in the wrong, is but a mere begging of the queſtion; for doubtleſs the Papiſts ſaid the ſame to you, and all that you can ſay to us. Your beſt plea was, Conſcience, upon principles the moſt evident and rational to you: Do not we the like? What if you think our reaſons thick, and our ground of ſeparation miſtaken? Did not the Papiſts harbour the ſame thoughts of you? You perſuaded as few of them, as we of you: Were you therefore in the wrong? No more are we. It was not what they thought of you, or enacted againſt you, that concluded you: And why ſhould your apprehenſions conclude us? If you have the way of giving faith beyond what they had, and have the faculty of perſuaſion, evidence as much: But if you are as deſtitute of both, as they were to you; why ſhould fines and priſons, once uſed by them againſt you, and by you exclaimed againſt, as unchriſtian ways of reclaiming hereticks (ſuppoſing yourſelves to be ſuch) be employed by you as rational, chriſtian, and convincing upon us? To ſay we deſerve them more, is to ſuppoſe yourſelves in the right, and us in the wrong, which proves nothing. Beſides, the queſtion is not barely this, whether Hereticks or no Hereticks? But whether an heretick ſhould be perſecuted into a diſclaiming of his error? Your old arguments run thus, as I well remember.

1. Error is a Miſtake in the Underſtanding.
2. This is for want of a better Illumination.
3. This Error can never be diſlodged, but by Reaſon and Perſuaſion, as what are moſt ſuitable to the Intellect of man.
4. Fines, goals, exiles, gibbets, &c. are no convincing arguments to the moſt erring Underſtanding in the world, being ſlaviſh and brutiſh.
5. This way of Force makes, inſtead of an honeſt diſſenter, but an hypocritical conformiſt; than whom nothing is more deteſtable to God and man.

This being the Proteſtants plea, we are not to be diſliked by Proteſtants, for following their own avowed maxims and axioms of conſcience in defence of its own liberty.

In ſhort, either allow ſeparation upon the ſingle principle of ‘ My conſcience owns this, ‘ or diſowns that ;’ or never dwell in that building which knew no better foundation (indeed good enough) ; but, accuſing your forefathers of ſchiſm and hereſy, return to the Romiſh church. What ſhort of this can any ſay to an Anti-liberty-of-Conſcience Proteſtant ?

Object. 3. ‘ But at this rate ye may pretend to cut our throats, and do all manner of ‘ ſavage acts.’

Anſw. Though the objection be frequent, yet it is as foully ridiculous. We are pleading only for ſuch a liberty of conſcience as preſerves the nation in peace, trade, and commerce ; and would not exempt any man, or party of men, from not keeping thoſe excellent laws, that tend to ſober, juſt, and induſtrious living. It is a Jeſuitical moral, ‘ To kill a man before he is born :’ Firſt, to ſuſpect him of an evil deſign ; and then kill him, to prevent it.

Object. 4. ‘ But do not you ſee what has been the end of this ſeparation ? Wars, and ‘ revolutions, and danger to government ; witneſs our late troubles.’

Anſw. We ſee none of all this ; but are able to make it appear, that the true cauſe of all that perplexed diſturbance, which was amongſt the *Homoouſians* and *Arians* of old, and among us of latter years (as well as what has modernly attended our neighbouring countries) took its firſt riſe from a narrowneſs of ſpirit, in not tolerating others to live the free men God made them, in external matters upon the earth, merely upon ſome difference in religion.

And were there once but an hearty Toleration eſtabliſhed, it would be a demonſtration of the truth of this aſſertion. On this ground empire ſtands ſafe ; on the other, it ſeems more uncertain.

But theſe are only the popular devices of ſome to traduce honeſt men, and their principles ; whoſe lazy life, and intolerable advice, become queſtioned, by a toleration of people better inclined.

Object. 5. ‘ But what need you take this pains to prove liberty of Conſcience reaſonable and neceſſary, when none queſtions it ? All that is required is, That you meet but ‘ four more than your own families ; and can you not be contented with that ? Your diſobedience to a law ſo favourable, brings ſuffering upon you.’

Anſ. Here is no need of anſwering the former part of the objection : It is too apparent throughout the land, that Liberty of Conſcience, as we have ſtated it, has been ſeverely proſecuted, and therefore not ſo frankly enjoined. The latter part I anſwer thus, If the words Lawful or Unlawful may bear their ſignification from the nature of the things they ſtand for, then we conceive that a meeting of Four thouſand is no more unlawful than a meeting of Four ; for Number, ſingly conſidered, criminates no aſſembly : But the reaſon of their aſſembling ; the poſture in which ; and the matter tranſacted, with the conſequences thereof.

Now if thoſe things are taken for granted to be things diſpenſible (as appears by the allowance of four beſides every family) certainly the number can never render it unlawful : So that the queſtion will be this, Whether if Four, met to worſhip God, be an allowable meeting, Four thouſand, met with the ſame deſign, be not an allowable meeting ?

It is ſo plain a caſe, that the matter in queſtion reſolves it.

Object. 6. ‘ But the Law forbids it.’

Anſw. If the ENACTING any thing can make it Lawful, we have done : But if an Act ſo made by the papiſts againſt proteſtants, was never eſteemed ſo by a true Proteſtant ; and if the nature of the matter will not bear it ; and laſtly, that we are as much commanded by God to meet Four thouſand, as Four ; we muſt deſire to be excuſed, if we forbear not the aſſembling of ourſelves together, as the manner of ſome is.

Object. 7. ‘ But the reaſon of the prohibition of the number is’ (for you ſee they allow all that can be ſaid to Four thouſand to be ſaid to the Family and Four) ‘ that ‘ Tumults may ariſe, and Plots may be made, and the like inconveniencies happen to ‘ the government.’

Anſ. Great aſſemblies are ſo far from being injurious, that they are the moſt inoffenſive : For, firſt, They are open, expoſed to the view of all, which of all things Plotters are the ſhyeſt of. But how fair an opportunity it were for men ſo principled to do it in thoſe allowed meetings of but four beſides the family, is eaſy to gueſs, when we conſider, That Few make the beſt and cloſeſt council ; and next, That ſuch an aſſembly is the moſt private and clandeſtine, and ſo fitted for miſchief and ſurprize.

Secondly,

1670. Secondly, Such aſſemblies are not only public and large, but they are frequented, as well by thoſe that are not of their way, as by their own. From whence it follows, that we have the greateſt reaſon to be cautious and wiſe in our behaviour, ſince the more there be at our meeings, the more witneſſes are againſt us, if we ſhould ſay or act any thing that may be prejudicial to the government.

Laſtly, For theſe ſeveral years none could ever obſerve ſuch an ill uſe made of that freedom, or ſuch wicked deſigns to follow ſuch aſſemblies; and therefore it is high incharity to proceed ſo ſeverely upon meer ſuppoſitions.

To this we ſhall add ſeveral authorities and teſtimonies for farther confirmation of our ſenſe of the matter, and to let impoſers ſee, that we are not the only perſons who have impleaded Perſecution, and juſtified Liberty of Conſcience, as chriſtian and rational.

CHAP. VI.

They reflect upon the Senſe and Practice of the Wiſeſt, Greateſt, and Beſt States and Perſons of Ancient and Modern Times; as of the Jews, Romans, Egyptians, Germans, French, Hollanders, nay Turks and Perſians too: And Cato, Livy, Tacitus, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Jovianus, Chaucer, Dominicus Soto, Malvetzey, Grotius, Raleigh, Doctor and Student, French and Dutch Proteſtants in England, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Taylor, a nameleſs but great Perſon, Lactantius, Hilary, Jerom, Chryſoſtom, Poliſh and Bohemian kings, King James, and King Charles the Firſt.

A brief Collection of the Senſe and Practice of the Greateſt, Wiſeſt, and Learnedeſt Common-wealths, Kingdoms, and particular Perſons of their times, concerning Force upon Conſcience.

1. THOUGH the Jews, above all people had the moſt to ſay for impoſition and reſtraint within their own dominions, having their religion inſtituted by ſo many ſignal proofs of divine original, it being delivered to them by the Hand of God Himſelf, yet ſuch was their indulgence to Diſſenters, that if they held the common received Noachical principles tending to the acknowledgment of ONE GOD and a Juſt Life, they had the free exerciſe of their diſtinct modes or ways of worſhip, which were numerous. Of this their own Rabbies are witneſſes, and Grotius out of them.

2. The Romans themſelves, as ſtrict as they were, not only had thirty thouſand gods (if Varro may be credited) but almoſt every family of any note had its diſtinct *Sacra*, or peculiar way of worſhip.

3. It was the ſenſe of that grave, exemplary common-wealth's-man, Cato, in Salluſt, That among other things which ruin any government, Want of Freedom of Speech, or men's being obliged to humour Times, is a great one: Which we find made good by the Florentine Republick, as Guiccardine relates.

4. Livy tells us, 'It was a wonder that Hannibal's army, conſiſting of divers nations, divers humours, differing habits, contrary religions, various languages, ſhould live Thirteen years from their own country under his command without ſo much as once mutinying, either againſt their general or among themſelves.' But what Livy relates for a wonder, that ingenious marquis Virgilio Malvetzey gives the reaſon of; namely, 'That the difference of their Opinion, Tongues, and Cuſtoms, was the reaſon of their Preſervation and Conqueſt: For,' ſaid he, 'It was impoſſible ſo many contrary ſpirits ſhould combine; and if any ſhould have done it, it was in the general's power to make the greater party by his equal hand; they owing him more of reverence, than they did of affection to one another. This,' ſays he, 'ſome impute to Hannibal; but how great ſoever he was, I give it to the variety of humours in the army. For,' adds he, 'Rome's army was ever leſs given to mutinying when joined with the Provincial Auxiliaries, than when entirely Roman.' Thus much, and more, in his publick diſcourſes upon Cornelius Tacitus.

5. The ſame beſt ſtatiſt of his time, C. Tacitus, tells us in the caſe of Cremtius, That it had been the intereſt of Tiberius not to have puniſhed him; inaſmuch as curioſity is begotten by reſtriction of liberty to write or ſpeak, which never miſſed of proſelites.

6. Juſtin Martyr I will forbear to quote in leſs than his 'Two Whole Apologies,' dedicated to Adrian and Antoninus Pius, as I take it.

7. Tertullian ad Scapulam, that learned and judicious apologiſt, plainly tells us, 'That it is not the property of Religion to compel or perſecute for Religion:' She ſhould be accepted for herſelf, not for force; that being a poor and beggarly one that has no better arguments to convince; and a manifeſt evidence of her ſuperſtition and falſehood.

8. Of this we take the nine months reign of the emperor Jovianus to be an excellent demonſtration; whoſe great wiſdom, and admirable prudence in granting Toleration,

expreſly ſaying, 'He would have none moleſted for the exerciſe of their religion,' calmed the impetuous ſtorms of diſſention betwixt the *Homoouſians* and *Arrians*; and reduced the whole empire, before agitated with all kind of commotions during the reigns of Conſtantine, Conſtantius, and Julian, to a wonderful ſerenity and peace, as Socrates Scholaſticus affirms.

9. That little kingdom of Ægypt had no leſs than forty thouſand perſons retired to their private and ſeparate ways of worſhip, as Euſebius, out of Philo Judæus and Joſephus, relates.

10. And here let me bring in honeſt Chaucer, whoſe matter (and not his Poetry) heartily affects me: It was in a time when prieſts were as rich and lofty as they are now, and cauſes of evil alike.

(a) *THE Time was once, and may return again,*
(for oft may happen that hath been beforn)
when Shepherds had none Inheritance,
ne of Land, nor Fee in Sufferance,
But what might ariſe of the bare Sheep,
(were it more or leſs) which they did keep,
Well ywis was it with Shepherds tho':
nought having, nought fear'd they to forgo,
For PAN *(God) himſelf was their Inheritance,*
and little them ſerv'd for their Maintenance,
The Shepherd's God ſo well them guided,
that of nought were they unprovided;

(b) *Butter enough, Honey, Milk, and Whay,*
and their Flock Fleeces them to array.
But Tract of Time and long Proſperity,
(that Nurſe of Vice, this of Inſolency)
Lulled the Shepherds in ſuch Security,
that not content with Loyal Obeyſance,
Some gan to gap for greedy Governance,
and match themſelves with mighty Potentates.

(c) Lovers of Lordſhips and Troublers of States;
then gan Shepherds Swains to look aloft,
And leave to live hard, and learn to lig ſoft,
though under colour of Shepherds ſame while
There crept in Wolves *full of Fraud and Guile,*
that often devour'd their own Sheep,
And often the Shepherd that did them keep.

(d) *This was the firſt Source of the Shepherds Sorrow.*
that nor will be quit, with bale nor borrow.

11. Who knows not that our firſt Reformers were great champions for Liberty of Conſcience? As Wickliff in his Remonſtrance to the parliament; the Albigenſes to Lewis the 11th and 12th of France: Luther to the ſeveral diets under Frederick and Charles the Fifth; Calvin to Francis the Firſt; and many of our Engliſh martyrs, as the poor "Plowman's Famous Complaint," in "Foxe's martyrology," &c.

12. The preſent affairs of Germany plainly tell us, that Toleration is the preſervation of their ſtates; the contrary having formerly almoſt quite waſted them.

13. The ſame in France: Who can be ſo ignorant of their ſtory, as not to know that the timely Indulgence of Henry the Fourth, and the diſcreet Toleration of Richlieu and Mazarin, ſaved that kingdom from being ruined, both by the Spaniards and one another?

14. Holland, than which what place is there ſo improved in wealth, trade and power, chiefly owes it to her Indulgence in matters of Faith and Worſhip.

15. Among the very Mahometans of Turkey and Perſia, what variety of opinions, yet what unity and concord is there? We mean in matters of a civil importance.

16. It

(*a*) The primitive ſtate of things, obſerved by a poet, more than 300 years old; by which the clergy may read their own apoſtacy and character.

(*b*) Time and proſperity corrupted them, and then they grew ſtateſmen.

(*c*) 'Twas now they began to perſecute; they hated any that were more devout than themſelves: Devotion was counted diſaffection; religious aſſemblies, conventicles; primitive-ſpirited chriſtians, upſtart hereticks: Thus the tragedy began, Cain ſlaying Abel about religion.

(*d*) He truly maketh their avarice the cauſe of their degeneration; for it is the root of all evil.

1670.

16. It was the opinion of that great maſter of the "ſentences," Dominicus à Soto, ‘That every man had a natural right to inſtruct others in things that are good: And he may teach the Goſpel-truths alſo, but cannot compel any to believe them; he may explain them: And to this, (ſays he) every man has a right,’ as in his 4 Sent. diſt. 5, art. 13. pag. 115. 7.

17. ‘Strifes about religion,’ ſaid judicious and learned Grotius, ‘are the moſt pernicious and deſtructive, where proviſion is not made for Diſſenters; The contrary moſt happy; as in Muſcovy.’ He farther ſays, upon the occaſion of Campanella, ‘That not a rigid, but eaſy government, ſuits beſt with the northern people.’ He often pleads the relaxation of temporary laws to be reaſonable and neceſſary; as in the caſe of the *Curatii* and *Horatii*, and *Fabius Vitulanus*; and others ſtinted to Time and Place, as the Jewiſh laws, &c. Polit. Maxims, p. 12, 18, 78, 98.

18. The famous Raleigh tells us, ‘That the way for magiſtrates to govern well, and gain the eſteem of their people, is to govern by piety, juſtice, wiſdom, and a gentle and moderate carriage towards them: And that diſturbance attends thoſe ſtates, where men are raiſed, or depreſſed by parties.’ See his Obſervations and Maxims of ſtate.

19. If I miſtake not, the French and Dutch Proteſtants enjoy their ſeparate ways of worſhip in London, if not in other parts of theſe lands, without moleſtation: We do the like in remote countries, "but not in our own."

20. This muſt needs be the meaning of the learned Doctor to his inquiſitive Student, in their judicious dialogue about the Fundamental Laws of the kingdoms, when he ſays, ‘That ſuch laws as have not their foundation in nature, juſtice and reaſon, are void, *ipſo facto*.’ And whether perſecution or reſtraint upon conſcience be congruous with either, let the impartial judge. Lib. 1. chap. 6.

21. Doctor Hammond himſelf, and the grand patron of the Engliſh Church, was ſo far from urging the legality of reſtriction in matters relating to Conſcience, that he writ, argued, and left upon his dying-bed, his ſenſe to the contrary; as the Author of his Life might have been pleaſed to obſerve, but that intereſt ſtood in the way; the doctor exhorting his party, ‘not to ſeek to diſplace thoſe then in the Univerſity, or to perſecute them for any matter of Religious Difference.’

22. That a perſon, of no leſs ability, in the Iriſh Proteſtant church, did the ſame, I mean Dr. Jer. Taylor, his whole diſcourſe of "Liberty of Prophecy," is a moſt pregnant demonſtration.

23. It was the ſaying of a perſon once, too great to be named now, ‘That Liberty of Conſcience is every man's natural right; and he who is deprived of it, is a Slave in the midſt of the greateſt Liberty: And ſince every man ſhould do as he would be done to, ſuch only do not deſerve to have it, that will not give it.

24. Lactantius reflects upon perſecutors thus, ‘If you will with blood, with evil, and with torments defend your worſhip, it ſhall not thereby be defended, but polluted.’ Lib. 5. cap. 20.

25. Hillary againſt Auxentius ſaith, ‘The Chriſtian church does not perſecute, but is perſecuted.’

26. Jerom, thus; ‘Hereſy muſt be cut off, with the ſword of the Spirit,’ Proœm, lib. 4.

27. Chryſoſtom ſaith, ‘That it is not the manner of the children of God to perſecute about their religion, but an evident token of antichriſt.’ Relig. Uriſ. pag. 192.

28. Stephen, king of Poland, declared his mind in the point controverted, thus; ‘I am king of Men, not of Conſcience; a commander of Bodies, not of Souls.’

29. The king of Bohemia was of opinion, ‘That men's conſciences ought in no ſort tobe violated, urged, or conſtrained.’

30. And laſtly, let me add (as what is, or ſhould be now, of more force) the ſenſe of king James and Charles the firſt, men famed for their great natural abilities and acquired learning, That no man ought to be puniſhed for his Religion, nor diſturbed for his Conſcience; in that it is the duty of every man to give what he would receive. ‘It is a ſure rule in divinity, ſaid king James, that God never loves to plant his church by Violence and Bloodſhed.’ And in his Expoſition on Revel. 20. he ſaith, ‘That *Perſecution* is the note of a falſe church.’ And in the laſt king's advice to the preſent king, he ſays, ‘Take heed of abetting any factions: Your partial adhering *to any one ſide*, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome men's hearts, (who are prone to be of their King's religion) as it loſeth you in others, who think themſelves and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you.’

Again, ‘Beware of exaſperating any factions, by the croſſneſs and aſperity of ſome men's paſſions, humours, or private opinions employed by you, grounded only upon their difference in leſſer matters, which are but the ſkirts and ſuburbs of religion; wherein a charitable connivance, and chriſtian toleration, often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed party into ſuch combinations as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their

‘ perſecutors; who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration which attends all
‘ that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

‘ Always keep up *ſolid piety*, and thoſe fundamental truths which mend both hearts
‘ and lives of men, with impartial favour and juſtice. Your prerogative is beſt ſhown and
‘ exerciſed in Remitting, rather than exacting the Rigour of laws; there being nothing
‘ worſe than Legal Tyranny.’

Now upon the whole, we aſk, what can be more equal, what more reaſonable, than Liberty of Conſcience; ſo correſpondent with the reverence due to God, and reſpect to the nature, practice, promotion, and rewards of the Chriſtian religion, the ſenſe of Divine Writ, the great privilege of Nature, and noble principle of Reaſon, the juſtice, prudence, and felicity of Government; and laſtly, to the judgment and authority of a whole cloud of famous witneſſes, whoſe harmony in opinion as much detects the unreaſonableneſs and incharity of perſecutors, as their ſavage cruelties imply an high contempt of ſolid determinations: Of which number I cannot forbear the mention of two, whoſe actions are ſo near of kin to one another, and both to inhumanity, as the ſame thing can be to itſelf.

The firſt is a great Lord of Buckinghamſhire, but ſo hearty a perſecutor of the poor Quakers, that rather than they ſhould peaceably enjoy the liberty of worſhipping God, (and to ſupply the county-defect of informers) he has encouraged a pair of ſuch wretches, that it had been a diſgrace for the meaneſt farmer to converſe with; one having been priſoner in Ailſbury, for Theft, and ſaid to have been burnt in the hand; and the other of a complexion not much leſs ſcandalous and immoral.

To give an undeniable teſtimony of their Merit, once for all, I ſhall briefly relate a moſt notorious piece of Perjury. They, ſuſpecting a religious aſſembly to be at a certain place in the ſame county, came; and finding one in reality, repaired to one they call Sir Thomas Clayton, and a juſtice; where they depoſed, ‘ That not only a meeting was ‘ at ſuch an houſe, but one Tho. Zachery and his wife were there;’ who at the ſame time, as at the trial upon indictment for perjury at Ailſbury was proved by ſufficient witneſſes from London, were then at that city; yet fined not only for being there, but for the Speaker alſo, though none ſpoke that day.

Upon the proſecution of theſe men, as perjured men, and by the law diſprivileged of all employ, and never to be credited more in evidence, ſeveral delays were made, much time ſpent, and not a little pains beſtowed, all in hopes of an exemplary ſucceſs, which proved ſo, but the wrong way; for the very laſt ſeſſions, when the matter ſhould have received an abſolute deciſion, and the attendants have been diſmiſſed (eſpecially on the ſcore of the witneſſes, that came from London the ſecond time, upon no other account) a letter was reported to have been writ from the aforeſaid lord, in favour of thoſe informers, to this purpoſe, ‘ That ſince Sir Tho. Clayton was not preſent, the buſineſs could not well be ‘ determined; but if the court would undertake the ending of it, he beſought them ‘ to be favourable to thoſe HONEST MEN.’ If this be true, as ſaid, it is a moſt aggravated ſhame to nobility! What! to protect them from the laſh of the law, who went about to deſtroy Truth, the Life of it! It is a diſhonour to the government, a ſcandal to the country, and a manifeſt injury to an inoffenſive and uſeful inhabitant.

The other is as well known by his Cruelty as by his Name, and he ſcarce deſerves another; however, he is underſtood by that of the Reading Knight-errant, and always in Armour for the Devil; a man whoſe life ſeems to be whole BONNER revived. Hogeſtrant, the Popiſh Inquiſitor, could not hate Martin Luther more, than he does a poor Diſſenter; and wants but as much power, as he has will, to hang more than he has impriſoned. The Laws made againſt Papiſts, he inflicts upon the Quakers; and makes it crime enough for a Premunire, to have an eſtate to loſe.

The ſingle queſtion is not, ‘ Were you at ſuch a meeting?’ (which the act intends) but, ‘ Will you ſwear?’ (which it intends not). And women eſcape him as little for this, as thoſe of his own tribe do for ſome things elſe. But what of all things moſt aggravates the man's impiety, is the making a deviliſh ſnare of a chriſtian duty; ſince ſuch as have come to viſit the impriſoned, have been impriſoned themſelves for their Charity. So that with him it ſeems a current maxim, that thoſe muſt not come to ſee priſoners, and not be ſuch themſelves, who will not take the oath of allegiance to do it.

To relate the whole tragedy, would render him as bad, as the diſcourſe big; and the latter not leſs voluminous, than the former odious. But three things I ſhall obſerve:

Firſt, That he has crouded ſeventy-two perſons (of thoſe called Quakers) men and women, immodeſtly into jail, not ſuffering them to enjoy common conveniences. And for his diverſion, and the puniſhment of little children, he pours cold water down their necks.

Secondly, His impriſonments are almoſt perpetual. Firſt, he premunires them, without any juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion; then impriſons them; and laſtly plunders them, and that by a law enacted againſt Romaniſts: Which, if all be true that is ſaid, is more his concern than theirs, if, without offence, it may be ſuppoſed he has any religion at all.

Thirdly, Some have been there about eight years; and ſhould be eighteen more, were he as ſure to live (being more than ſeventy) and enjoy his power, as doubtleſs he hopes to die before thoſe good laws overtake him that would make an example of ſuch an oppreſſor. In ſhort, wives, widows, poor and fatherleſs, are all fiſh for his net; and whether over or under age, he caſts none away, but ſeems to make it his privilege to correct law, by out-doing it. When we have ſaid all we can (and we can never ſay too much, if enough) he is ſtill his own beſt Character.

Such are the paſſions, follies, and prejudices, men devoted to a ſpirit of impoſition and perſecution are attended with.

Non enim poſſumus quæ vidimus, & audivimus, non loqui.

In ſhort, what religious, what wiſe, what prudent, what good-natured perſon, would be a perſecutor? Certainly it is an office only fit for thoſe, who being void of all Reaſon, to evidence the verity of their own religion, fancy it to be true, from that ſtrong propenſity and greedy inclination they find in themſelves to perſecute the contrary. A weakneſs of ſo ill a conſequence to all civil ſocieties, that the admiſſion of it ever was, and ever will prove their utter ruin, as well as their great infelicity, who purſue it.

And though we could not more effectually expreſs our revenge, than by leaving ſuch perſons to the ſcope of their own humours; yet being taught to love and pray for our perſecutors, we heartily wiſh their better information, that (if it be poſſible) they may act more ſuitably to the good pleaſure of the eternal juſt God, and beneficially to theſe nations.

To conclude; Liberty of Conſcience, as thus ſtated and defended, we aſk, as our undoubted Right by the Law of God, of Nature, and of our own Country. It has been often promiſed; we have long waited for it; we have writ much, and ſuffered in its defence, and have made many true complaints, but found little or no redreſs.

However, we take the righteous holy God to record, againſt all objections that are ignorantly or deſignedly raiſed againſt us, That

1ſt. We hold no principle deſtructive of the Engliſh Government.

2d. That we plead for no ſuch Diſſenter (if ſuch a one there be.)

3d. That we deſire the temporal and eternal happineſs of all perſons (in ſubmiſſion to the divine will of God); heartily forgiving our cruel perſecutors.

4thly, and laſtly, We ſhall engage, by God's aſſiſtance, to lead peaceable, juſt and induſtrious lives amongſt men, to the good and example of all. But if, after all we have ſaid, this ſhort diſcourſe ſhould not be credited, nor anſwered in any of its ſober reaſons and requeſts, but ſufferings ſhould be the preſent lot of our inheritance from this generation; be it known to them all, That meet we muſt, and meet we cannot but encourage all to do (whatever we ſuſtain) in God's Name and authority, who is Lord of Hoſts and King of Kings; at the revelation of whoſe righteous judgments, and glorious tribunal, mortal men ſhall render an account of the deeds done in the body. And whatever the apprehenſions of ſuch may be concerning this diſcourſe, it was writ in love, and from a true ſenſe of the preſent ſtate of things, and Time and the Event will vindicate it from untruth. In the mean while, it is matter of great ſatisfaction to the author, that he has ſo plainly cleared his Conſcience, in pleading for the "Liberty of Other Men's," and publicly borne his honeſt teſtimony for God, not out of ſeaſon to his POOR COUNTRY.

POSTSCRIPT.

A few brief Obſervations upon the late Act, and the uſual Terms of Acts of this Nature.

THAT which we have to ſay, relates either to the Terms of the Act, or the Application of them to us. As to the Terms of the Act, they are theſe; "Seditious Conventicles, Seditious Sectaries, and Meetings under Colour or Pretence of Religion." P. 1.

1. SEDITIOUS, from SEDITION, imports as much as "Turbulent, Contentious, Factious, which ſows Strife and Debate, and hazards the Civil Peace of the Government."

2. CONVENTICLE, "is a diminutive private Aſſembly, deſigning and contriving Evil to particular Perſons, or the Government in general." See LAMB. p. 173. In Tertullian's ſenſe, it is "an aſſembly of immodeſt and unclean perſons;" at leaſt it was ſo taken in thoſe days, and objected againſt the Chriſtians as their practice, whom he defends. TER. APOL.

3. SECTARIES, "muſt be ſuch as diſjoin or diſ-member themſelves from the Body of Truth, and confeſs to a ſtrange and untrue Opinion. If any ſubject of this Realm, be-

" ing Sixteen Years of Age, or upwards, ſhall be preſent at any Aſſembly, or Conventicle, on pretence of Religion, &c." Which can ſignify no more than thus much, "That true it is, ſome may meet and aſſemble to worſhip God, and upon a religious account, that are Diſſenters; ſuch we cenſure not; but thoſe who, under Colour or Pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, conſpire, &c. they are to be ſuſpected and proſecuted."----This being the true explanation of the Terms of the Act, we proceed to ſhew how unreaſonably they are applied to us.

1. Words are but ſo many intelligible marks and characters, ſet and employed to inform us of each other's conceptions, and therein of the nature of thoſe things they ſtand for. Now becauſe we take the Act to mean what it ſpeaks, and that the law concludes no man guilty upon conjectures, but from the detection of ſome fault; we affirm ourſelves altogether unconcerned in that word *Seditious*, becauſe it was never our practice, in words or actions, 'to diſturb the Government, or ſuggeſt principles that might hatch Conſpiracies, or feed the vulgar with diſaffection to their Rulers;' but before the King's coming in, at his coming in, and ever ſince, notwithſtanding our frequent ſuffering, 'we have made it our buſineſs to heal Animoſities, preach Forgiveneſs and Charity amongſt men,' and that they would, by an hearty repentance, turn to God, rather than hunt after revenge upon one another: Therefore we aſſert, we have not done one thing that may be proved *Seditious*, in the ſenſe above-mentioned.

2. That we are ſtrangers to *Conventicles* is moſt evident; for where the parts that render it ſuch are wanting, there can be no Conventicle: But that they are in our aſſemblies, appears; Firſt, 'Becauſe our meetings are not ſmall. 2. Neither are they private or clandeſtine; but in the view of all people. Nor are they riotous, licentious, or otherwiſe immodeſt, or immoral; but on purpoſe to diſſuade perſons from ſuch impieties.' So that we are clear in the interpretation of the law, 13 H. 5. cap. 8. 19, and 19 H. 7. cap. 13, and in the ſenſe of the famous father Tertullian.

3. *Sectaries*, is a word, that whoſoever has but confidence enough to conceit himſelf in the right, by conſequence wants none to ſuppoſe the contrary in the wrong, and ſo to call him a *Sectary*. But this is but a mere begging of the queſtion; for to ſay thoſe are *Sectaries*, does not conclude them ſuch; nor does the Act ſpeak ſo plainly of Diſſenters. But granting it did, yet they muſt be *Seditious* ones, or elſe all will be in vain. Where we may obſerve, that purely to be a *Sectary* is not what the Act ſtrikes at, but to be a *Seditious* one: For a man may differ in judgment about matters of faith, from the national religion, and yet correſpond with the government in matters civil. So that the Act upon the whole aims not at *Sectaries* ſimply, but they muſt be ſuch as are enemies to the civil conſtitution to be rendred *Seditious* ones, from which we have ſufficiently cleared ourſelves.

4. "That we meet under colour and pretence, and not really, to worſhip God," we deny, and none can prove. It were high incharity to affirm poſitively, 'this or that people meet only under a Colour of Religion.' Yet unleſs the Act had ſo expreſſed itſelf, we conceive their authority lame and imperfect that perſecute us by it. It will help but little to ſay, The King, Lords and Commons, by the following words, "In other manner than according to the Liturgy of the Church of England," meant, that ſuch meet under a pretence that did not conform to that worſhip; ſince the precedent words ſay, "under colour or pretence of any exerciſe of religion in other manner," &c. So that they are only ſtruck at, who are not ſincere diſſenters; but that are ſuch, with deſign to carry on another end.

Obj. But may ſome ſay, 'It is granted, you have very evidently evaded the force of the Act, ſo far as relates to theſe recited expreſſions. But what if a Bill be ready, for an Explanatory and Supplementory Act to the former, wherein this ſcope for argument will not be found; becauſe your meetings will be abſolutely adjudged ſeditious, riotous, and unlawful.'

To which we anſwer, That as the granting of the firſt, which none reaſonably can deny, is a manifeſt impeachment of ſuch as have violently proſecuted people for being preſent at religious aſſemblies (almoſt to their utter undoing) ſo ſhall we as eaſily anſwer the ſecond, which amounts to the force of an objection, and briefly thus:

Firſt, It is not more impoſſible for Mankind to preſerve their Society without *Speech*, than it is abſolutely requiſite that the Speech be *regular* and certain. For, if what we call a *man*, a *lion*, a *whale*, to-day, we ſhould call a *woman*, a *dog*, a *ſprat* to-morrow; there would be ſuch uncertainty and confuſion, as it would be altogether impoſſible to preſerve ſpeech or language intelligible.

Secondly, It is not in the power of all the men in the world to reconcile an abſolute *contradiction*, to convert the nature of *light* into that of *darkneſs*, nor to enact a thing *to be* that which it *is not:* But that thoſe endeavour to do, who think of making our religious meetings Routs and Riots. For, 1. They offer violence to our common propriety of

1670. language; it being the firſt time that ever a religious and peaceable aſſembly would be enacted a Rout or Riot. Nature, Reaſon, the Law of the Land, and common Practice and Obſervation, give a clear contrary definition of a Rout and Riot. 2. They endeavour to reconcile contradictions; for they would have a thing that, which by nature it cannot be: For that which is Peaceable cannot be Riotous; and what is Religious can never be Seditious. For any to ſay, 'our meetings are not religious,' is not only a poor evaſion, but great incharity: For that is properly a religious aſſembly, where perſons are congregated with a real purpoſe of worſhipping God, by prayer, or otherwiſe, let the perſons met be eſteemed doctrinally orthodox, or not. Can any be ſo ignorant, or ſo malicious, as to believe we do not aſſemble to worſhip God, to the beſt of our underſtanding? If they think otherwiſe, they muſt, and do, aſſume unto themſelves a power beyond the arrogancy of the POPE himſelf, that never yet adventured to tell man his thoughts, nor the purpoſes and intents of his heart; which he, or they, muſt do, that definitively judge our aſſemblies (void of ſword or ſtaff, drum or muſket, tumult or violence, and circumſtantiated with all the tokens of Chriſtian devotion) a Rout or a Riot. And truly, If proteſtants deny the legality of thoſe Acts or Edicts, which were contrived and executed in order to their ſuppreſſion, by the reſpective kings and parliaments that owned the Romiſh faith and authority, where they either did or do live, let them not think it ſtrange, if we on the ſame terms (namely, Scruple of Conſcience) refuſe compliance with their laws of Reſtraint. And as the firſt Reformers were no whit daunted at the black characters the Romaniſts faſtened on them, neither thought their Aſſemblies, in a way of profeſſed ſeparation, the more unlawful for their repreſenting them ſuch; no more are we ſurprized or ſcared at the ugly phraſes daily caſt upon us by a ſort of men, that either do not know us, or would not that others ſhould: For we are not ſo eaſily to be braved, menaced, or perſecuted out of our Senſe, Reaſon, and Privilege.

They ſay, 'LOSERS have leave to ſpeak;' at leaſt we take it; none being greater loſers, than ſuch as, for diſſenting from national inſtitutions in point of Faith or Worſhip, are deprived of their common Rights and Freedoms, and hindered as much as may be from reverencing the God that made them, in that way which to them ſeems moſt acceptable to him.

To conclude; we ſay, (and by it let our intentions in our whole diſcourſe be meaſured) that we have not defended any Diſſenters, whoſe quarrel or diſſent is rather Civil and Political, than Religious and Conſcientious: For we really think ſuch unworthy of protection from the Engliſh Government, who ſeek the Ruin of it; and that ſuch as are contributors to the Preſervation of it, (though Diſſenters in point of Faith or Worſhip) are unqueſtionably intituled to a Protection from IT.

A
SEASONABLE CAVEAT
AGAINST
POPERY:
Or, A PAMPHLET, intituled,
An EXPLANATION of the ROMAN CATHOLICK BELIEF,
Briefly Examined.

By WILLIAM PENN.

But in vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, Matt. xv. 9.
Now as Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo do theſe alſo reſiſt the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobates concerning the faith. 2 Tim. iii. 8.

TO
The ENGLISH PROTESTANT Reader.

WE hope it may not be too late to militate for Truth againſt the dark ſuggeſtions of Papal Superſtition.---Nor can we think that it ſhould be eſteemed Heterodox, for a diſſenting Proteſtant (whilſt almoſt gaſping for his Own liberty) to vindicate that of Reformation, from the quainteſt ſtratagems, and moſt unwearied endeavours, of Romiſh emiſſaries, to put both it and us into their inquiſition. 1670.

We know they have ſo far maſtered their ancient fierceneſs, and maſked their ſanguine looks with thoſe more modeſt and familiar; that though we need not more Reaſon than before, we need more Skill and Caution, or elſe we may too fatally experience the force of that vulgar proverb; "Laugh in thy face, and cut thy throat."

They are grown ſo complaiſant, as none ſeem more exaſperated at perſecution than themſelves, (whilſt the very Fathers of it) decrying the fierceneſs of ſome countries (whoſe Incendiaries they were, and ſtill are) and imputing all the blood of poor Proteſtants to ſome unwarrantable civil ſcore, (therein abuſing the Civil Magiſtrate with the execution of their own conſpiracies): Nay, for all their venerable eſteem of the Pope's infallibility, they have not ſtuck to cenſure his roaring bulls (though procured by their own means) and all that might expreſs their new tenderneſs; that many, unacquainted with their practices, are ready to believe them what they ſay themſelves to be; 'whoſe 'moral is to have two ſtrings to their bow, to be ambo-dexter, and furniſhed with 'Meanings to ſuit the compaſs of all Occaſions.'

In ſhort, I premiſe three things:

Firſt, That I cordially believe a great number of Romaniſts may be abuſed Zealots, through the idle voluminous Traditions of their Church; whom I rather pity, than dare to wrong.

Secondly, That I deſign nothing leſs than incenſing of the Civil Magiſtrate againſt them (were ſuch a thing poſſible): For I profeſs myſelf 'a Friend to an Univerſal To'leration of Faith and Worſhip.'

Thirdly, That the pamphlet anſwered, being but one ſheet, I confine my examination to a narrow compaſs: And the rather, becauſe a more conſiderable diſcourſe is under my preſent enquiry; which, if Providence ſo order it, may ſpeedily be made publick.

However, let this go for Preface to that larger Tract; in which the Romaniſts may ſee both their ignorance in the marks of a True Church, and their little ſhare or intereſt in thoſe they attribute to her as ſuch.

Penn, Buckinghamſhire,
the 23d of the 11th
Month, 1670.

W. P.

A SEA-

A

SEASONABLE CAVEAT

AGAINST

POPERY.

1670. THOUGH to argue againſt a tribe of men, that eſteem *all* REASON *Carnal*, and SCRIPTURES *imperfect*, might rightly be judged a mere beating of the air, and a taſk only to be enterprized by ſuch as are deſirous of no ſucceſs; yet to prevent thoſe who may be deceived, and if poſſible to reclaim ſuch as are; and laſtly, to clear mine own conſcience, (moſt of all in mine eye) I ſhall deſcend to conſider the *unſound*, as well as *untrue*, Confeſſions of the Romaniſts in the Pamphlet under examination.

I. Of the SCRIPTURES.

Papiſt. 'WE believe the Holy Scriptures to be of Divine Inſpiration, and Infallible Authority; and whatſoever is therein contained to be the Word of God.' Page 1.

Anſw. Certainly theſe men muſt either think we are wholly ignorant of their principles, or we muſt needs conclude they have forſaken them. It is ſo manifeſt that they have robbed the Scriptures of their authority, that the POPE has all; and they have then only any, when he is pleaſed to ſtamp his *probatum eſt* upon them. That this is true, how frequent do we find the Romaniſts in their reflections upon the Proteſtants on this occaſion, 'That they had not known the Scriptures to be ſuch; nay, they might have been as an idle tale to them; had they not been received, believed, and delivered down, as divine writ, by their Church!' As if the ground of believing this to be true, and that to be falſe, had been as much that of true Faith, as we know it, by ſad experience, to be the cauſe of that ſtupid ſuperſtition, and brutiſh zeal, which reign amongſt the abuſed Romaniſts. Beſides, if the Scriptures be infallible, as they confeſs, why are thoſe doctrines and practices retained in the Romiſh church, which moſt expreſly oppoſe the ſenſe of ſcripture, upon the ſingle edicts of the Pope; as that of 'prohibiting Prieſts to marry, and fleſh to be eaten upon certain days?' Of which the truly catholick apoſtle gives this definitive judgment, they are "the doctrine of devils." Nor are their practices, in lieu thereof, leſs diabolical; ſince their Faſts are moſt uſually kept with 'exceſſive treats of Wine and Sweetmeats,;' and their Prieſts are notoriouſly allowed to frequent Stews, or to keep as many ſtrumpets as their purſe or luſt ſhall pleaſe; though it be a moſt Cardinal offence, by marrying, to have One Honeſt Woman. But thoſe who travel Italy are not unacquainted with the Pope's gain, or taxes on ſuch places, for which they have his Broad-Seal, or open Licence.

Perhaps ſome will ſay, 'Theſe are but minute matters,' (however good old Paul might zealouſly ſtile them Doctrines of Devils) and therefore we will inſtance in ſomething more important. What think the Papiſts of their IMAGES? 'Tis true, that they ſay they do not adore them Now; but we know what eſteem their firſt erectors put upon them, and the high value the Romiſh church places upon the inventors: And 'tis as impoſſible we ſhould give our eyes the lie, when we behold them macerating their Breaſts and Knees before thoſe unſenſible Stocks and Stones, as Romaniſts are wont to think us moſt abſurd in crediting our ſenſes; as if that proverb were of no moment, 'Seeing is Believing, or rather Convincing.'

Alas, their Popes, Cardinals, Friars, Nunneries, Holy-days, with other points more doctrinal yet to be examined; Whence came they? What Scripture ever authorized ſuch practices in the Chriſtian Church? Paul told the churches, "He had not been wanting to declare the whole Counſel of God unto them;" and yet were they wholly ignorant of theſe things, and that for above Three hundred years after.

Therefore we infer, that ſince there is that manifeſt jar betwixt this piece of their Profeſſion, and their preſent Practice, as well as Doctrine, they have either relinquiſhed their former faith, or play the wretched impoſtors with the People. I wiſh the firſt, but fear the laſt.

Papiſt. ‘But ſince in the Scripture there are ſome things hard to be underſtood, which ‘the unſtable wreſt to their own deſtruction; we therefore profeſs, for the end of controverſies, to ſubmit our judgments to that of the Church in a Free General Council.’

Anſw. A poor ſhift to invalidate Scriptures, and entitle their own Traditions to the honour of a rule, and as what moſt aptly ſhould decide all controverſies.

Peter's words, applied to render this pretence more plauſible, are miſerably miſapplied. The apoſtle only ſays, that Paul had writ to them concerning “the long-ſuffering of God, that it was ſalvation;” (the preſent ſubject handled by Peter) and that in thoſe epiſtles Paul had “ſome things hard to be underſtood.” But what were thoſe things? Not thoſe in controverſy betwixt us and the Papiſts, nothing being more notorious. And who were they that wreſted them, but the Unlearned and Unſtable, not in the Wiſdom of this World! (that being Science, falſly ſo called!) but wicked and ungodly men; as the profuſe Atheiſt of the times, in his frequent Abuſe of the Scripture, by his ſcurrilous Miſinterpretation of it. For as the wiſe man ſaid, “To fear God, is Wiſdom (or true Learning) and “to depart from iniquity, that is a good Underſtanding;” and as Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, “They that do my Will, ſhall know of my “Doctrine.” How then can the Papiſts infer from hence, that the Scriptures are imperfect, in the more fundamental points of faith and worſhip? Can it be the Word of God, and yet wanting Sufficiency?

A Free General Council is a monſter, in the Romiſh church! How dare they talk ſuch language here in England, who know the ſeverity of the Jeſuits and Popiſh faction againſt it beyond the ſeas? What meant thoſe ill reſentments againſt White and Serjeant of England, and Welch of Ireland, in Rome, if this latitudinarian or new kind of popery had not diſguſted? Nor can I take it for an inſtance of their return; but as the next beſt ſtep to the exorbitancy of popiſh infallibility.

What ſhould a Council be called for? That principles ſhould be received or diſowned? Then muſt a General Council give Faith, and Underſtanding; or elſe men muſt be concluded to believe againſt their belief, by Plurality of Votes: A thing ridiculous, with half-witted people. If God's Grace, and the Scripture Record, be not ſufficient; Reaſon and Experience tell us that General Councils are much more inſufficient. Beſides, this were to uſher in all kind of impiety: For whatever intereſt in the General Council (as that of Trent) concludes as requiſite to be received or done, that muſt indiſpenſibly be obeyed: So that the Moral or Doctrinal Good or Evil of an Act, or Principle (in and from a man's own Judgment) ſhall not be obliging; but he muſt be bound againſt his own Senſe, Reaſon and Faith.

The Senſe of Antiquity, and their own Authors.

Their pretence of uſing Tradition for a neceſſary ſupply to the Defects of the Scriptures, is a mere juggle; ſince they only evade the clearneſs of the one, to ſhroud their defective doctrines under the abuſed antiquity of the other. For it is well known, that by their “Expurgatory Indices,” they have endeavoured to purge the works of the firſt Fathers of ſuch matters as might make to the overthrow of their ſuperſtitious doctrines. This is evident out of Junius, in the caſe of Bertram, elder than Theophylact, Oecumenius, &c. Bellarmine himſelf ſticks not to allow it, but ſhifts it off to an Arrian.

This may be farther ſeen, in the collection Binius made of the Fathers, pag. 28. 2 edit. an. 1611. In ſhort, whole ſentences are put out, and whole ſentences put in. Much might be ſaid of this, but in my other diſcourſe I ſhall enlarge.

And what they mean by a Free General Council, we may read in the Council of Trent, whoſe ſimony and cheats out-do all precedents.---Beſides, theſe men little dream of one Turrecrementa, that in ſo many words tells us, “The Pope is the Foundation, “Rule and Principle of Faith” (which is God's gift:) “For to him it belongs,” ſays that Doctor, “to be the Meaſure, Rule and Science of things that are to be believed, “and of things which are neceſſary to be believed unto life eternal.” *Turrecrem. lib.* 2. *cap.* 107. This is the Sting. Conſider the Pope's Intereſt; and what that is, ſuch will be his Impoſitions: Horrible Slavery, and moſt unpardonable Idolatry! For as he can make a new Creed, or ſymbol of Faith, ſo he can multiply new Articles one upon another, ſays, Aug. *Triumphus extravag. de Urb. Qu.* 59. Art 2. *Salmeron prolog.* in com. in *Epiſt. ad Rom.* part 3. pag. 176.

II. Of the Bleſſed Trinity: Of Prayer to Saints and Angels.

Papiſt. ‘We humbly believe the ſacred myſtery of the Bleſſed Trinity, One ‘Eternal Almighty and Incomprehenſible God, whom only we adore ‘and worſhip, as alone having ſovereign dominion over all things; to whom we acknowledge, as due from men and angels, all glory, and ſervice, and obedience; ab-

1670. ‘ horring from our hearts (as a moſt deteſtable ſacrilege) to give our Creator's honour to ‘ any creature whatſoever.’

Anſw. Theſe fine words look newly ſtamped out of the Jeſuits mint. Were they as plain, as they are filled with equivocation, the Romaniſt would deceive us all in our opinion of him, concerning the point in controverſy. Obſerve his cunning.

His words of the Trinity are modeſt, neither highly ATHANASIAN nor yet SOCINIAN, as ſome phraſe it, but calculated to both Meridians. Yet how men can own God, and deny the expreſs rules of his Spirit, as moſt preciſely mentioned in the Scriptures of Truth, is to me a Paradox. But how much the Progenitors of the Romaniſts have been injurious to the Chriſtian faith, by their multiplied obſcure phraſes about the TRINITY, is not unknown to ſome.

He thinks to clear himſelf of *Imagery*, but plainly catches himſelf in his own reſervations. What honour does he give to God? ‘ That which is due to him, as having ‘ ſovereign dominion over all things.’ He does not ſay that none is due to Saints or Angels. ‘ They abhor to give their Creator's honour to any creature;’ but do they deny to give any divine honour to Images, or the repreſentations of Saints and Angels? Of this they are ſilent, but we know they do it.

Papiſt. ‘ And therefore we ſolemnly proteſt, that by the prayers we addreſs to Angels ‘ and Saints, we intend no other than humbly to ſollicit their aſſiſtance before the Throne ‘ of Grace: Not that we hope any thing from them as *original authors*, but from God ‘ through Jeſus Chriſt, our only Mediator and Redeemer.’

Anſw. It were endleſs to bring the contradictions of their own authors, to the ſenſe theſe words ſeem to import; and yet they are ſo laid as to admit of various conſtructions; an art they are greatly maſters of.

Firſt, What ground have they to believe that ſuch ſollicitations have ſuch effects? The Scriptures are ſilent in the caſe; nor was it the practice of ſeveral ages after that of the apoſtles. So that it is neither warrantable by the Scripture, nor the moſt unſpotted Tradition.

Nor do we ſay, that the Papiſts ever held thoſe Images to have any virtue ſimply from within themſelves, but that GOD was the Original Author: Yet their own words imply, they may be *mediate* authors of benefit to us.

And what is it but to contradict themſelves, to ſay, ‘ They own but One Mediator ‘ Chriſt Jeſus;’ and yet to allow a Mediating power to Saints and Angels, at the Throne of Grace? If people will be phraſed out of their Religion, they may. But ſuch deſerve to be Papiſts, who have ſo mean an opinion of their own Underſtandings, as to embrace theſe croſſing confeſſions for ſincere articles of faith.

The Senſe of ANTIQUITY.

Images of old were not admitted to be in churches (ſo called); Simon Magus being their moſt notorious founder, and by whoſe example they were firſt reverenced. The Gnoſticks, and Carpocratians, are charged with this Popiſh veneration, as hereticks, in *Theodoret*, lib. 1. *Auguſt. Hæret. Fabul.----Iræneus de Hæreſ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 23. “ It is forbidden to us to uſe that deceitful art,” ſaid Clemens Alexandrinus, more than 1300 years ago, *lib.* 6. *Strom.* The Pictures of what was worſhipped were prohibited to be painted on the walls, or that there ſhould be any Images in churches (ſo called.) Thus in the council of Eliberis, *Placuit Picturas in Eccleſiâ eſſe non debere; ne quod colitur, aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur,* Con. 36. So Auguſt. de Morib. Eccleſ. lib. 1. cap. 24.

III. Of Juſtification of MERITS.

Papiſt. ‘ WE firmly believe that no Force of Nature, nor Dignity of our beſt ‘ Works, can merit Juſtification; but we are juſtified freely by Grace, ‘ through the Redemption that is in Chriſt Jeſus.’

Anſw. The Roman Catholick is ſo far from firmly believing what he ſays, that upon his own avowed principles he believes nothing firmly. Can any ſober Perſon think, that to be juſtified for the Sake of Works, is to be juſtified by Grace? If ſo, contradictions are moſt reconcileable, and darkneſs may not unaptly be termed Light. This is the very caſe that Paul of old ſtrenuouſly argued againſt the *Meritorians* of his time, “ If of Grace, “ then not of Works; if of Works, then not of Grace.”

It is to mock the world to ſay, ‘ That Romaniſts expect to be juſtified by Grace,’ who have for ages impleaded that doctrine, as dangerous and heretical. Bellarmine, in his diſcourſe of this point, is moſt plain, and more modern authors follow his ſteps. But they ſay, Papiſt. 'All other Merits (according to our ſenſe of that word) ſignify no more than actions done by the aſſiſtance of God's Grace, to which he has promiſed a Reward.--- Thus we believe the Merit or Rewardableneſs of holy living (both which ſignify the ſame with us) ariſes not from the Self-value even of our beſt actions, as they are ours, but from the Grace and Bounty of God.'

Anſw. Methinks theſe men are run to a narrow ſtrait, who venture to reconcile *Merits* and *Grace*: They cannot wholly be divorced from *Merits*, and yet would they fain eſpouſe *Grace*; and by ſeeking to wed both, they do not a little manifeſt their own palliated deſigns: For either they muſt confeſs themſelves, and all their anceſtors, moſt ignorant perſons, that they could never find any diſtinction betwixt Merit and Grace before; or elſe they would retain the Force of their Meritorious Opinions, under their more General Conceſſion of God's Grace: A way of evading, they are not a little ſkilled at.

Nor is there leſs difference betwixt *merit* and *rewardableneſs*, as they phraſe it, than betwixt the Middle and the End. Grace and Merit, as ſtated by Calviniſts and Papiſts, are taken for "Faith without Works," and "Works without Faith;" like the two poles: Doctrines the moſt oppoſite. Now *rewardableneſs* is neither; but ſomething in the Middle; and indeed the moſt true: For *Grace* is a *free gift*, requiring nothing: *Merit* is a Work proportioned to the *wages*: *Rewardableneſs* is a Work without which God will not beſtow his Favour, and yet not the meritorious Cauſe; for that there is no proportion betwixt the Work, that is Finite and Temporary; and the Reward, which is infinite and eternal: In which ſenſe both the creature obeys the commands of God, and does not *merit*, but *obtain* only, and God *rewards* the creature, and yet ſo as that he *gives* too. But the Papiſts are very far from this medium; and their ſhuffling this doctrine of Merit betwixt *Grace* and *Rewardableneſs*, only ſhews how unwilling they are to venture it in the plain field, and not that any thing of reſemblance is betwixt it and them, they being of three diſtinct natures and ſignifications.

Beſides, it is wretched to think by what ways the abuſed Romaniſts fancy to merit Juſtification; not by keeping the Moral Law (as we ſhall ſhew anon); not by fulfilling the Evangelical Precepts; but by their vain repetitions 'of their Ave Maria's, Beads, Faſts, Feaſts, Holy-days; Adoration of Images, Frequenting of Maſſes, Praying to the *Dead*; Invoking the Virgin Mary for her Interceſſion; ſigning themſelves with the Croſs; Abſtaining from Fleſh, and Prieſts from Marriage; by perpetrating ſome notorious fact for the Good of their Church, whether by Killing a Prince, or Blowing up a State.' Theſe, and the like practices (ſtrange and exotic to the Primitive and Chriſtian Faith and Worſhip) are the grand motives to Juſtification; and ſometimes they have gone ſo high, as to deſerve a canonizing at Rome itſelf. Thus briefly have I given an account of their Merits of Juſtification.

IV. Of the HOLY EUCHARIST.

Papiſt. 'IN the Holy Euchariſt, or moſt venerable ſacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord; we acknowledge that there are, as in all other ſacraments, Two things: The Viſible Sign, which is the Forms of Bread and Wine, to which no Catholic may, or doth, direct his worſhip. There is alſo Inviſible Grace ſignified, the Body of our Lord; whom, being preſent, we worſhip with all poſſible reverence for ſo great a bleſſing, warranted herein by our Bleſſed Lord himſelf in Two of the Goſpels.'

Anſw. Above all other inſtances, this is the moſt pregnant for defence of our aſſertion; namely, That either theſe men have relinquiſhed their old doctrine, or elſe they go about to put the trick upon us. We hear no word at all of *tranſubſtantiation* herein, the moſt ſacred of their myſterious abſurdities, but what we are at great pains to obſerve and collect. Perhaps they are aſhamed of it, and willing it ſhould paſs under ſome more general phraſe, and leſs offenſive. However, by that expreſſion of the 'Body of our Lord, whom being preſent we adore,' we gueſs their meaning; but how incoherent with their own words, as well as Reaſon, may eaſily appear.

Firſt, They acknowledge that it is a *ſacrament*, or ſign. If ſo, it is impoſſible that it ſhould be, at the ſame time, both the *ſign*, and the *thing ſignified*: For if the very Body of Chriſt be preſent CORPORALLY, (as they uſe to aſſert) it cannot be *ſacramentally* ſo, but Really and Corporally there; which is deſtructive of the *nature* of a *ſacrament*, which is but the *repreſentative*, or *image*, of ſomething myſtical, thereby reſembled and ſignified.

Secondly, If this doctrine were true, their LORD would be made by their *prieſt*: For till he ſays the words, there is no Real Preſence: And ſo the *creature* (and ſometimes a ſad one too) makes his CREATOR! Which is nothing ſhort of wretched blaſphemy.

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Fourthly, I know but of One goſpel, perhaps they know of Two, becauſe they ſeem to own principles ſo contrary to the True one; but let that other be accurſt! If they would have us underſtand by their expreſſion, two of the *Evangeliſts*, then it is not unlikely but we may ken their meaning; and what they refer to muſt be Chriſt's benediction of the bread and wine, and the giving them both to his diſciples, ſaying, "Take, this is my "body;" and "take, this is my blood." But what then? Can any think that Chriſt gave his Body *with* his *body*? That it was the *giver* and the *gift*? That it was the Body *bleſſing*, and the Body *bleſt*? Did the ſame body *hold* the ſame body in its own *fingers*? And was it *eaten* by the diſciples, and yet *without them*? And was it *no bigger* than a *ſmall piece of Bread*, and yet of the proportion of a *Man*? And was it *inſenſible*, and *broken* with their *mouths*, and yet *whole* and *ſenſible* out of them; and all at the *ſame inſtant of time*?

Laſtly, Could *every one* of the Twelve *eat* the Very Whole Body, and yet that Very Body be *viſible* with them? And all this while *one* and the *ſame* body? But methinks I hear ecchoing from ſome Popiſh Zealot, no ſmall Anathema, for offering to affront ſo Sacred a Myſtery with ſo many Carnal Cavils, and Vain Interrogatories!

To whom I ſhall anſwer once for all, in this point, That I ſtand amazed, how any man of ſenſe can be a Papiſt; when the only Demonſtration of his religion, muſt be his not Underſtanding it.

Many fond abſurdities unmentioned (for brevity) might have been obſerved: For 'Reason never triumphed more over any opinion, than this ſenſeleſs one of Tranſub'ſtantiation;' which may be one very good argument why ſo much Perſecution has ever attended the Diſbelief of it.

The Senſe of Antiquity, and their own Authors.

Antiquity knows it not. For Eight hundred years after Chriſt it was never heard of; and when ſtarted, with great diſguſts entertained.

The Council of Lateran was the firſt that undertook to impoſe it: And the Decrees, as to this point, were wholly abortive; for they are not to be found as *conciliary*. This was above Twelve hundred years after Chriſt.

Tertullian againſt Marcion, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 40. Juſt. Mart. againſt Tryphon the Jew. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 2. *in Paſh.* and Pope Gelaſius himſelf, renounced and diſclaimed it, attributing only to it, 'The nature of a bear Figure, as retaining the Subſtance and Nature of Bread and Wine.' And many of their doctors, Scotus, Bellarmine, Biel, &c. aſſure us of its novelty.

But how far are ſuch from the ſpirituality of the myſtery and knowledge of the True Heavenly Bread and Wine that deſcended from above, (the Anti-type) who ignorantly affirm the certainty of ſuch a Tranſubſtantiation, as renders that very Viſible Elementary Bread and Wine, at the ſame Time, the very Inviſible, Spiritual, and Glorified Body of Chriſt? By which they make him a Glorified, *crucified*, Viſible, *inviſible*, Spiritual, *elementary* Chriſt, all at the ſame Time! But more of this in my larger tract.

V. Of COMMUNION in One kind.

Papiſt. 'We humbly confeſs, That from the Beginning of Chriſtianity, the Holy 'Communion was adminiſtered frequently in Both, and ſometimes in 'Each Kind, according to ſeveral Circumſtances.'

Anſw. We may know him to be a Papiſt, by his frequent Confeſſions: And methinks it ſhould not only prevent people from being ſeduced by them, but reduce thoſe of their own way to an utter abhorrence of ſo much allowed apoſtacy.

How many times has he confeſſed this, that, and the other thing, not to be of Primitive practice and inſtitution? If the Ancient Chriſtians did commune in both kinds, upon what better reaſons or motives was it ſo ſeverely prohibited by Romaniſts? Is the Blood of leſs virtue than the Body? Even that which the Scripture frequently commemorates after this manner, "The Blood of Cleanſing; and ſaved by faith in his Blood." But they proceed farther, and ſay,

Papiſt. 'Hence the Holy Church, following the piety of Chriſtians, who inſenſi'bly became accuſtomed to receive it almoſt univerſally in One kind, upon great motives 'did afterwards ordain to have it in One, as now adminiſtered; though the receiving of 'it ſo is not matter of Faith.'

Anſw. Three things are very obſervable from this part of their confeſſion.

1. 'That becauſe it was ſometimes received in One kind according to Circumſtances,

‘ it inſenſibly became received by Holy Church but in one kind.’ More Nonſenſe and Falſhood could not well be in ſo many words. [Nonſenſe], For what conſequence can the latter words be to the former? If in *each* kind, then not any one more than the other: Or why not Blood, and not Bread; as well as Bread, and not Blood? But among the Papiſts, the people only partake of the Wafer. [Falſhood], For they neither have, nor can they give one inſtance of that ſlippery or heedleſs way of receiving it, as in *each* kind; but whenever it was taken, for Three hundred years together, it was in *both* kinds.

And what were thoſe Circumſtances, that we can hear of none of them? Horrible cheats, and idle impoſtures, to delude the unlearned and unſtable! Nor is it leſs impudence for them to ſay, ‘ That the church received it in but One kind upon any ſuch ‘ ſcore.’ The concluſion can never be right, where the premiſes are falſe.

2. ‘ That upon great motives, it was afterwards ordained to be received but in One ‘ kind:’ Which great motives they keep to themſelves. Either they muſt think us ſuch fools as to credit them hand over head, and ſo needed not to mention them; or elſe, they doubting their great motive to be down-right Diſſuaſives with all ſober and intelligent people, choſe rather to be ſilent, than more particular.

3. ‘ That the ſo receiving it is no matter of Faith,’ Which is ſo notorious an untruth, as their own *Annals* expreſly tell us, that Boniface the 8th, and John the 22d, (if I miſtake not; for I was, when I met the Pamphlet, deſtitute of ſuch books) highly contradicted one another: One threatening the Prieſts to turn them out, if they did not adminiſter it in *both* kinds; and the other, to Excommunicate them, if not Burn them, in caſe they *did*. Which as it ſhews the eagerneſs of the Popes, ſo there is a choice piece of *infallibility* to be obſerved: ‘ Two *infallible* Popes accuſing each other of groſs *Falli*‘*bility*.’

Papiſt. ‘ Neither do we believe religious communicants are hereby bereaved of any be‘ nefit in obeying the Church's order; ſince our belief inſtructs us, that our Bleſſed ‘ Lord is equally preſent in One kind, as in Both.’

Anſw. To ſay that Religious communicants are not bereaved of any benefit by receiving it in One kind, would imply, that Irreligious communicants, the receivers of *both* Kinds, have the advantage. If ſo, methinks it is natural to believe, That religious communicants, in *both* kinds, have the moſt benefit. But what church is it that gives thoſe orders? ‘ A Free General Council of Chriſtians, where men may ſpeak with‘ out being in danger of their lives?’ No, but a Cabal of perſons, picked, with a *probatum eſt* ſtamped upon them, out of the Pope's Cloſet, or Conclave of Cardinals, before they be admitted into the aſſembly of judges; as moſt of the Council of Trent notoriouſly were (often cited by the author of this pamphlet). So that in plain terms, ‘ The Church is what the Pope and his Cardinals will have it:’ To whoſe intereſt moſt Councils have ſacrificed their privileges, and thereby brought univerſal bondage upon whole kingdoms and ſtates.

That belief which inſtructs them, ‘ That Chriſt is *equally* preſent, and therefore no ‘ need of receiving in *both* kinds,’ muſt needs be built upon the ſandy foundation of Papal Tradition; not that of Scripture, Reaſon, or Antiquity. For if that very Specifical and Numerical Virtue which is in the Bread, be in the Wine, then Chriſt is implicitly charged, by the Romaniſts, of an unneceſſary matter. But if there be ſome virtue ſignified by the Wine, more than by the *bread*, ‘ It is horrid ſacrilege to rob the *ſign*, ‘ much more the *thing ſignified*. It is a *ſupper*; and at ſupper there ſhould be *to drink*, ‘ as well as *to eat*.’ There can be no body without blood; and the *drinking* of his ‘ *blood*, ſhews a *ſhedding* of his blood for the world and a *participation* of it.’

Beſides, the ſign is incompleat; and the end of that ſacrament or ſign not fully anſwered, but plainly maimed; and what God hath put together, they have put aſunder. So that the falſeneſs and unſcriptural practice of theſe men are very manifeſt.

The Senſe of Antiquity, and their own Authors.

Of their diſmembring this ſign or figure, their own Council of Conſtance is very plain, ‘ That whereas ſome preſume to affirm, that Chriſtian people ought to receive the ſa‘ crament of the Euchariſt under both kinds of Bread and Wine,’ &c.

(Hence the council decrees againſt this error): ‘ And that though Chriſt did ſo ad‘ miniſter it, and although in the primitive church it was received,’ (confeſſions very large of the author, and example) ‘ we command, under excommunication, that no ‘ prieſt communicate to the people under both kinds of bread and wine.’ C. C. Seſſ. 13. So ſays Aquin. Com. in 6 John, Lect. 7.

And ſaid Pope Geläſius, ‘ Let them receive in both kinds, or neither.’ Thus Popes againſt Councils, and Doctor againſt Doctor: Yet will the fooliſh Romaniſts (to ſay no more) vaunt of the Unity and Infallibility of both.

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VI. Of the SACRIFICE of the ALTAR.

Papiſt. 'THE holy Sacrifice indeed of the Altar, we clearly believe ought to be 'celebrated in both kinds as now it is, according to the divine inſtitution, 'as being done in commemoration of the Lord's bleſſed Paſſion on the Croſs, wherein 'the Body and Blood were ſeparated.'

Anſw. Whether it be fair for the Papiſts to ſacrifice at the Altar in both kinds, and refer to Chriſt's words, Luke xxi. 9. as a divine inſtitution, and yet deny both kinds to the people, as no matter of faith, or of eminent regard; let the ſober judge. Is the paſſage of divine inſtitution for the Sacrifice, and not for the Sacrament? But it plainly manifeſts the exorbitant power they aſcribe to their church above the ſcriptures; ſince with them an order of her's may, and ought, to break what themſelves call a divine inſtitution.

Papiſt. 'Whatſoever, therefore, propitiatory power our holy religion attributes to this 'Commemorative ſacrifice; it is by virtue of the Sacrifice of the Croſs, as being by this 'applied to us: So that we ſtill humbly acknowledge the ground of our ſalvation to be 'derived from our Lord's bleſſed Paſſion.'

Anſw. Their affront to God, and juggle with men, in this very matter, are moſt deteſtable! For notwithſtanding the ſcriptures expreſly tell us, that we have an High Prieſt that "needs not ſacrifice once a year," but "who hath offered One ſacrifice; and that, "by the will of God we are ſanctified through the offering of the body of Jeſus Chriſt "ONCE for all; and that by ONE offering he perfected them that are ſanctified," Heb. x. 10, 11, 14; yet do they daily ſacrifice him afreſh, as if his firſt were inſufficient, or their daily ſins required a new one. But what man, endued with the leaſt ſhare of common ſenſe, can be ſo ſtupid as to imagine, 'that Chriſt is ſacrificed by every 'Popiſh Prieſt, when he offers up a *bloodleſs fleſhleſs wafer*? What greater irreverence can be ſhown to the bitter paſſion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt? Making ſuch a may-game of his moſt dreadful agony and cruel death, as the Jews did with a crucified child!

This is ſo much worſe than the *Aaronical* prieſt-hood, as that was before Chriſt, and ſo typical of his coming, and of divine authority; and this after his coming: Whoſe own words and the apoſtle's (whom theſe men pretend to ſaint, and own) bear record, "That "*ONCE* for all, and by *ONE* offering of himſelf," &c. And conſequently void of all commiſſion, as well as precedent.

The cheat they put upon men is plainly this, That whilſt with fine words they ſeem originally to ground their ſalvation upon Chriſt's ſacrifice of the croſs, they craftily attribute to their daily ſacrifice of him, 'no ſmall ſhare of Merit, as ſo many mediate and 'ſecondary Cauſes;' which muſt needs be obvious to every unbiaſſed reader. Their curious Epithets ſeem only to ſerve the place of ſo many covers for the malignity of their Sophiſtical Doctrines.

VII. Of PRAYER in Latin.

Papiſt. 'WE freely acknowledge that it is no ways commanded by the Church, 'that the people ſhould pray in a language they underſtand not.'

Anſw. I perceive the man is ſtill upon his free acknowledgments. Certainly if what he ſo often confeſſes not to have been the practice of the Primitive Church, and to be unwarrantable from her example, were but abſtracted, there would remain a very abrupt and narrow faith for the Romaniſts to explain.

But he is too equivocal upon the word *church*. If by it he would have us underſtand, the *ancient Chriſtian church*, it is true, that no prayers were made in an unknown tongue; for the ſcriptures, of divine authority with her, expreſly condemn it, as irregular, and unprofitable.

"Let ſuch keep ſilent," ſaid the apoſtle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 28. and Peter never contradicted him. But if by the church, he underſtands the Roman, he is either careleſs of his own reputation (that whilſt he makes the Moral Law the ninth head of his confeſſion, commits ſo great an error aginſt it, as to obtrude a lie) or elſe he truſts to our ignorance of her preſent practice; for that ſhe is guilty in this particular, and the point defended too, I recommend the reader to the following authorities.

Papiſt. 'Nay there is given them all poſſible encouragement to increaſe their devotions, 'by ordaining and publiſhing moſt excellent prayers in vulgar languages for their uſe. 'There is an expreſs command of our Holy Mother the Church, in the Council of 'Trent, that paſtors, in the time of divine ſervice, ſhould expound to the people's 'capacities,' &c.

Anſw. I ſhall return my anſwer, in theſe four particulars.

Firſt, That all poſſible encouragement is not given where more may: But that more may, view SPAIN, FRANCE, and ITALY, where Prayers are in Latin, unknown to many Millions of Souls. And let us remark it, for a more infallible truth than any the Pope's Chair can afford us, That the great depth of the policy and ſecurity of that religion, lies in the Ignorance and Stupidity of the people.

Secondly, No thanks to the Romaniſts, that the people have any where ſo much privilege, at any time to underſtand what they ſay: For this is only owing to the light of Reformation; for that having given a diſcovery of the groſs darkneſs of Popiſh practices, they were neceſſitated to move ſomewhat from their ancient cuſtoms; which is no better than a lame excuſe made by a thief caught in the fact. Had there been no Luther in Germany, nor Zwinglius in Switzerland, we could not expect, nor ever believe, that the Council of Trent would have allowed of that liberty; when to cloud the people, and to lock up their Underſtandings in the Pope's Arcanum, is the Dianian project of his Conclave.

Thirdly, It is worth our obſervation, that thoſe very books of devotion are never doctrinal, I mean explanatory of their Principles (thoſe they hide); but filled with elegant phraſes, and rare cuts of imagery, ſuited to the affectionate paſſions, and voluntary humilities, of a ſort of people, whoſe Judgment goes always in the rear of their Affections, and that make their religion of ſhews and compliments.

Fourthly, But I deny that they have the nature of prayer in them; and therefore the people are almoſt as much to ſeek in their own language, as a ſtrange one. "Prayer is "the gift of God:" No man can be ſaid to pray, who has not, firſt, A deep ſenſe of his own wants: Second, Of the reaſonableneſs of the thing prayed for: Third, Enough of faith to obtain: Fourth, A due reverence of that God to whom he makes his ſupplication; "For the prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord," ſays the Divine Writ (or are no prayers at all, in a religious ſenſe). But if theſe books of devotion were prayers, then might the wicked as well pray as the righteous; for the prayer is equally expoſed to the uſe of both. It is not Words that make the prayer; wherefore ſaid the apoſtle, "I will pray with the Spirit," (there is the moſt eſſential part of prayer; but this he might do with none but himſelf;) "and I will pray with Underſtanding al-"ſo" (by this he meant, not in an Unknown tongue): It was the ſubject of his diſcourſe in his fourteenth chapter in his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. But the church of Rome has otherwiſe learnt, than had that good apoſtle.

In ſhort, We need the leſs wonder at the unparallelled villainy which reigns throughout the Papacy, when we conſider how cardinal a practice it is, for the people not to underſtand how to be better. Their late proſelytes forgot, or elſe never heard, how criminal it was to have an Engliſh Teſtament about One hundred and fifty years ſince. But rather than not, the Papiſts will turn Half-Proteſtants, to fetch back Proteſtants to be whole Papiſts again. But ſuch might deſerve to be begged, had they but as much of Religion as ſometimes fools uſe to have of Eſtate. What ſhall I ſay? They are fit to believe any thing, whoſe debaucheries have hardened them againſt any belief: When ſin has baniſhed all fear of God, intereſt ſteps in its place; and that religion which moſt promotes it, muſt with ſuch be the beſt; wherein the Papiſt has only the advantage of all others upon earth.

The Report of Antiquity, and their own Practice.

However in Proteſtant countries they are willing to bring their devotion into vulgar languages; yet that it is matter of neceſſity, and not of choice, view Italy, France, Spain, &c. where they retain their Latin Service, as beneficial to the people; which is a language that generally they underſtand not.

Origen was againſt it, *lib.* 8. *cont. Celſ.* So *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 1. *in* 8 *Johan. Auguſt de doct. Chriſti,* cap. 5. *Ambroſe upon* 1 *Cor.* xiv. Thus alſo their own doctors; *Aquin. in* 1 *Cor.* xiv. *Caſſander, Liturg. cap.* 18. So that they err from Scripture, Fathers, and their own Doctors.

VIII. Of PRAYER for the DEAD.

Papiſt. 'OUR Faith teaches us to exerciſe Chriſtian charity, by humbling ourſelves 'before the Divine Throne of God's mercy, to beg forgiveneſs of the 'debts and treſpaſſes of thoſe middle ſort of Chriſtians (as St. Auſtin and the Council of 'Florence call them) who had not brought forth ſufficient fruits of repentance, dying 'in the communion of the faithful: Which indigent condition of theirs, relievable by 'the churches, or the prayers of the faithful ſurviving, ſpeaks what the ancients call 'Purgatory.'

1670. Anſw. How much the Romiſh faith teaches the holders of it to exerciſe Chriſtian charity, the MARTYROLOGIES of theſe thouſand years may teſtify. But they would have you know, they do not intend ſuch perſons as were active in thoſe bloody maſſacres: for the ſingle merit of their horrid murders is ſupererogatory, or more than ſufficient to deliver them from the fiery furnace of a cleanſing purgatory. They took a ſhorter cut to heaven; for inſtead of travelling the main continent, they (blown with the freſh gale of their own cruelty) ſailed through the main ſea of Proteſtant Blood.

But what authorities have theſe men for their aſſertion? Firſt, St. Auſtin; and ſecondly, the council of Florence. To theſe I will ſpeak in the cloſe of this head. Are theſe all? No, for ſays he,

Papiſt. 'We are warranted herein by the practice under the Law, recorded in the '*Maccabees*; which being in no ſort reprehended by our Lord, or his apoſtles, amongſt 'the reſt of the Jews unlawful practices, was and is juſtly preſumed to have been allowed by him, as many of the Fathers underſtood him, in the Mount; and by them, as 'is hinted by St. Paul: Whereupon it hath been continued ever ſince, as even Graveſtones, and all other Chriſtian monuments, do witneſs.'

Anſw. I muſt confeſs I do not wonder that ſo little Reaſon ſhould induce a Romaniſt to believe; than which, nothing ſcares him more. But I cannot otherwiſe than admire, that any Proteſtant ſhould make ſuch poor inſtances a ground of his return to Popery.

Firſt, His ſtory of the Maccabees is not cited; nor does he very plainly refer us.

Secondly, He knows the Proteſtants deny it the credit due to other Scriptures; and the Papiſts cannot but be conſcious to themſelves of inſufficiency to prove its Canon.

Thirdly, It is prepoſterouſly ſilly to ſay, that becauſe Chriſt did not particularly condemn 'the practice of praying for the dead,' (ſuggeſted to have been uſed by the Maccabees) therefore it was a laudable cuſtom: Since I may with equal reaſon argue, that becauſe Chriſt never mentioned the Maccabees, nor did particularly own the canon of their writings, 'therefore there was no ſuch people; and their writings (if any) of no authority.'

Fourthly, The Fathers ſenſe (if theirs) of theſe ſcriptures, Mat. v. 29. 1 Cor. xv. 29. muſt needs be Non-ſenſe in the abſtract, with all but Papiſts, who notoriouſly deny themſelves the uſe of Senſe: Altho' I am of opinion, the Fathers are much abuſed by the author of this confeſſion, or elſe we ſhould have had their names in Capitals. However, we will compare theſe paſſages with this opinion.

Firſt, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and caſt it from thee; for it is "profitable for thee, that one of thy members ſhould periſh, and not that thy whole "body ſhould be caſt into hell fire." Mat. v. 29. *Ergo* what? That there is a purgatory after this life,' ſays the Romaniſt. O! ſtupendous folly and weakneſs! Is there any thing plainer, than that Chriſt preached a preſent practical doctrine? as that which ſtood every man upon in this world; viz. The denial of his luſts, and circumciſion of his corruptions. In ſhort, ſince Chriſt was in the world when he ſpake it; ſince it was to people in the world, and a work then to be ſet about; it is moſt evident the paſſage has no relation to a ſtate after this life (I mean for Purgation). Nay, the ſtrongeſt argument that is well conceiveable for the contrary, may eaſily be deduced from hence: For if ſuch as pluck not out their right eyes here, (that is, purge not themſelves of their iniquities, by unfeigned repentance) ſhall be caſt into hell fire; then there is no middle ſtate called Purgatory. But that ſuch perſons as pluck not out their right eyes (that is, mortify not their members of corruption) here, are to be caſt into hell fire, the text proves: Therefore there is no middle ſtate. The contrary, of Heaven, may be affirmed; for *contrariorum eadem eſt ratio*.

Secondly, "Elſe, what ſhall they do that are baptized for the dead? If the dead riſe "not at all; why are they then baptized for the dead?" 1 Cor. xv. 29.

This ſcripture is as much to his purpoſe as the former; and were I not uſed ſo frequently to meet with the like incoherences, it would amaze me to read ſuch disjoined matter, and unnatural conſequences; things in their own nature ſo remote and oppoſite. What relation has the *reſurrection* to the ſoul's entering *purgatory*, or that popiſh middle ſtate? Who are they that are baptized? And who thoſe for whom they were baptized? And how have either any relation to prayers for the dead, and ſouls in purgatory? But the Romaniſt thinks, however, that God is not offended at this charitable practice: Hear what he ſays.

Papiſt. 'Neither can we diſcern how poſſibly this may be conceived offenſive to God; 'whoſe juſtice herein, we hope, we do humbly appeaſe, by an exerciſe of brotherly 'compaſſion.'

Anſw. It is no wonder at all that blind men do not ſee; and ſuch as error has hoodwinked for generations, we cannot think ſhould diſcern truth, till they dare truſt their *eyes*, *ears*, and *underſtandings*, to anſwer the end for which God gave them.

There can be nothing conceived more offenſive to God, as well as unreaſonable with men, than that a Mortal Creature (indebted *himſelf* more than ever he can *diſcharge*) ſhould be able to appeaſe the diſpleaſed juſtice of an infinite God! The arrogancy of this ſaying only fits the ſize and meaſure of a meritorious Papiſt. But the man, fearing this retort, would anticipate its force by an half confeſſion and ſolution thus:

Papiſt. 'There is no law of God which aſſures us, in rigour of juſtice, of God's acceptance of the acts of another man for my ſins: Yet this hinders not but that they may 'prevail, by way of *ſuffrage* and *impetration*, for our pardon.'

Anſw. If he could have given but one place of ſcripture, it would have helped the matter: but we take leave to ſay, we will not be wiſe (in this caſe) above what is written, and *quod non lego, non credo*. I ſhall return this ſhort anſwer to this evaſion. It is a poor ſhift from the force of the objection; for not only in the ſtricteſt, but largeſt ſenſe too, GOD ONLY, out of his free gift and mercy in Chriſt Jeſus, is Author of our Remiſſion and Forgiveneſs. Since there can ſcarcely be a more abſurd poſition, than that a man unable to relieve himſelf, ſhould be the occaſion of relief to others in the ſame condition, whether by appeaſing divine juſtice, or by *ſuffrage* only; a word incongruous, and inapplicable in this place.

Beſides, what Need is there for praying for ſouls in Purgatory? That they ſhould be *ſaved*? That is held for granted before they go thither. Is it that they ſhould be *delivered* thence? That is the Conſequence of the opinion. Or would they, that God ſhould forbear his hand, and mitigate his rigour? (Which ſeems the moſt natural conſequence of their opinion). If ſo, they are the greateſt enemies: For their holding that the end of the chaſtiſements of Purgatory is to prepare them for Heaven; by how much the leſs they are chaſtiſed by thoſe fiery afflictions, by ſo much the leſs they are purged, and conſequently the more unfit for heaven. So that ſince heaven is ſooneſt attainable, as their ſouls come to be the ſooneſt and moſt effectually purged, they in charity ought to pray, that God would mend his fire, add fuel to his flames, and double his fiery tortures, that they may be the ſooner purged and more refined for heaven.

Thus, while the Romaniſts are arguing for Purgatory, they confute themſelves by not underſtanding it.

I ſhall conclude my ſenſe of this point, with the authority of Scripture, Reaſon, and Antiquity.

Firſt, "Then ſhall the duſt return to the earth, as it was, and the ſpirit unto God "who gave it." Eccleſ. xii. 7. Gen. iii. 9. (then not to Purgatory.)

Secondly, "For there is no work nor device, nor knowledge, nor wiſdom in the "grave, whither thou goeſt." Eccleſ. ix. 10. (then none in Purgatory.)

Thirdly, "And they ſtoned Stephen, calling upon God, and ſaying, Lord Jeſus re- "ceive my ſpirit." Acts vii. 59. (no Purgatory ſtill, but a certain immutable ſtate.)

That it is againſt all Reaſon, I offer theſe conſiderations.

1ſt. No man can merit for another: Nor is it poſſible a poor indebted man ſhould pay another's debt (it may be greater than his own) and not be able to pay *his own*.

2d. The Repentance ought to be where the Sin is. But the Sin is *here*; therefore ſhould the Repentance be here alſo.

3d. Where there is a ceſſation from Sinning, there is a ceſſation from Repentance. But there *is* a ceſſation from ſinning; therefore is there a ceſſation from Repentance.

4th. Whatever attends the ſoul, after ſeparation from this mortal life, is Immortal and Eternal: This none can deny. But Purgatory is a ſtate that attends the ſoul after this mortal life; and therefore, ſay I, it is an Immortal and Eternal ſtate. And if it be, it is either for *ſomething*, or *nothing*. If for *nothing*, God makes things in vain: If for the ſouls of men and women; then they are never to be ranſomed thence. But ſince the Romaniſts hold a Redemption from thence, their confeſſion of the Temporarineſs of that ſtate proves it a mere fiction: For when the ſoul is withdrawn from this viſible mortal life, which ſtands in Time, it is centered in an inviſible and immortal ſtate, beyond the wings and reach of time.

In ſhort, this world is the ſtage on which all men do act for eternity; and every venture of theirs brings its true weight of eternal life or death. Death is the conſumation of all; and when we ceaſe to work, we enter upon reward. But if Purgatory were in being, the greateſt work were to be done there: Which, becauſe it is abſurd to affirm, we conclude that after death we ceaſe from all our labours, and enter upon our recompence of everlaſting happineſs or miſery.

I ſhall ſubjoin ſome authorities from antiquity.

The Senſe of Antiquity, and their own Authors.

The doctrine of Praying for the dead, we know, was too old a practice; yet not ſo old as the apoſtle. But how? As for ſouls in a *third* place (for that theſe Romaniſts mean by their Purgatory, however modeſt they ſeem by their half-expreſſions)? Nothing leſs! however the ſuperſtition of the Papiſts has driven them into ſo foul an apprehenſion:

1670. henſion: But the ancients, believing there would be a General Day of Judgment, prayed that God would ſhew Such mercy in that day. Gregory the firſt is ſaid to be its father. Certain we are, that Superſtition was both its mother and its nurſe: For that this fond purgatorian opinion is altogether new, read both their own authors and the Fathers. Polyd. cap. 1. *De inven. rerum.* Alphonſ. a Caſtro, lib. 8. *verb. indul.* lib. 12. *lib. Purgat.* So Sextus Senenſis, Medina, Caſſander, and Bellarmine himſelf.

That the Fathers diſowned it, in the ſenſe aſſerted by the Romaniſts, and particularly their great ſaint Auſtin, let them peruſe theſe places, Juſt. Martyr. *reſp. ad queſt.* 75. Cyprian. *ad Demetrian.* ſect. 16, 22. and in *ſerm. de lapſis.* Greg. Nazian. *orat.* 15. in *plag. grandinis.* Auguſt. *Enchirid.* cap. 68, 69. Again, *de Dogmat. Eccleſ.* 6. cap. 79. But, above all, that the Romaniſts ſhould *pray for* thoſe, to whom they pray to *intercede* for them, is moſt abſurd! yet this is frequent. But for this time enough.

IX. Of the Moral Law: Of Obedience to Civil Magistrates.

Papiſt. 'WE farther do firmly believe, and highly reverence the Moral Law, being ſo ſolemnly delivered to Moſes upon the Mount, ſo expreſly confirmed by our Saviour in the Goſpel, and containing in itſelf ſo perfect an abridgment of our whole duty both to God and man.'

Anſw. We may take his belief to be as hearty, as his confeſſions are ſincere. I know not what to ſay more truly, than that his whole diſcourſe is an Irony; we are to meaſure it by contraries, eſpecially when the fruits give the tree the lie.

How far the Roman Catholicks reverence the Moral Law, is beſt ſeen by conſidering how many laws they have made to deſtroy it.

1. That of *images*. For though God did expreſly injoin Moſes, 'That the Iſraelites ſhould not make to themſelves the likeneſs of any thing in heaven or in earth,' (whence the primitive Chriſtians abhorred Painture) or, when they had ſo done, that 'they ſhould not bow down unto it;' yet how many Edicts are there in being, that require them to be ſet up in their churches, as laymens calendars, to whom daily homage is performed? They are the ſplendid enſigns of the Popiſh Pageantry Religion.

2. In not only diſpenſing with Diſobedience in Children, but in exciting them to it, if they apprehend ſome ſervice to their church, be it to make a Frier, &c.

3. In thoſe frequent Bulls for Maſſacres, that can no more be denied than light at noon-day; by which people have been ſtirred up, upon the promiſe of forgiveneſs of ſins, redemption from purgatory, and eternal ſalvation, or dreadful denunciation of eternal damnation, to enterprize that work of murdering many hundred thouſands of men, women, and children, without any legal preſentment, trial or conviction. But the conſideration of theſe things is too much out of faſhion in England; ſince many embrace them upon their preſent diſguiſes, and not in their true ſanguinary appearances.

4. The breach of the Moral Law is ſignally manifeſt in their diſpenſations of public Stews, eſpecially at Rome; where the Pope's revenue is not a little greatened by thoſe ungodly licences. And it is too fatally known, that by ſuch immoral courſes, they have crept into the moſt cabinet counſels of princes; and not only rendered themſelves maſters of their ſecrets, but inſinuated their projects by the force of effeminate temptations; which, if denied, might eaſily be proved in the caſe of Henry the fourth of France, and others.

5. That religion hath proved the greateſt thief in nature: Its Popes Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Chapters, and whole Orders of Friers, have near engroſſed the greateſt ſhare of the wealth of Europe, I mean of thoſe countries where yet they are regent. Before Conſtantine, how mean and meek were Chriſtian miniſters! But in his time, and a few ages after, to what a ſtrange degree of exorbitant pride and avarice did the clergy mount, when it could dare entitle Peter's Chair to the whole world! Kingdoms and empires muſt be given and taken with a "WE WILL, or WEGRANT," &c.--- View thoſe countries; and the univerſal Poverty of them impute to thoſe ſwarms of locuſts and caterpillars, who both corrupt and beggar them. This is a theft, though leſs ſharking, yet more criminal.

6. They notoriouſly break the Moral Law, in that great command, "Thou ſhalt not "bear falſe-witneſs againſt thy neighbour;" which comprehends all Truth-ſpeaking. For as no witneſs is bound to anſwer, farther than by interrogatories he is provoked; ſo is it utterly impoſſible that ever Truth ſhould be told, or men ſin in Lying (whilſt one of the greateſt ſins) if the Romiſh maxims were but once practiſed: Some of which I ſhall touch upon in the ſequel of this chapter.

As to that part of their confeſſion which may relate to their keeping of promiſe, and paying ſubjection to the civil magiſtrates of what religion ſoever, and much more to thoſe under whom they live; I purpoſely over-looked it, becauſe it is well known, that they have been ſo far from yielding obedience to the magiſtrates of any religion, that they have not ſtuck to aſſaſſinate thoſe of their own, to whoſe power they owed their civil and religious protection. And truly, if ſuch double cords of duty cannot tie the hands of men from murdering their natural and religious princes (as Henry the third and fourth of France, both kings of their country, and therein of their religion; becauſe a little refractory to the ſiniſter deſigns of an inſolent clergyman or two) I think it needleſs to give their plainer Engliſh of Obedience, who ſo excellently render it in the Paraphraſe of their Life.

I ſpeak not this to incenſe the powers againſt them: For it is my real belief, that neither are All of them ſuch, nor would I take the burden off my own ſhoulder, to lay it on theirs (being a profeſſed abettor of an Univeſal Toleration): But this being matter of Fact, as they cannot deny it, ſo ſhould I gladly hear of their confeſſion of theſe impieties; and that they diſown the like practices, not by fine gloſſes, but an amendment of life, and reformation of doctrine; which would really entitle them to that verity they do but hitherto fictitiouſly attribute to themſelves.

The Senſe and Opinion of their own Authors.

Firſt, Vaſquez teacheth, ‘That not only an Image of God, but any Creature in the ‘world, reaſonable or unreaſonable, may without danger be worſhipped with God, as ‘His Image. That we ought to adore the Relicks of Saints, tho' under the form of ‘Worms.’ *De Adorat. lib.* 3. *diſp.* 1. *cap.* 2.

Secondly, They teach, ‘That children may diſobey their parents, in being Nuns or ‘Friers: And this Girls may do at Twelve, and Boys at Fourteen years of age.’ But the Council of Trent enlarged the Parent's authority to Sixteen. This wretched doctrine was taught and decreed by Pope Clement the third. Tho. Aquin. and after him his ſcholars, taught the ſame. *cap. cum virum de regular. Aquin.* 2. 2. *qu.* 88. *art.* 9, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 101. alſo in caſe the parents were hereticks.

Thirdly, ‘If a nobleman be ſet upon (ſays cardinal Tollet) and may eſcape by going ‘away, he is not obliged to do it; but may kill him that intends to ſtrike him with a ‘ſtick.’ *Inſtruct. Sacerd. lib.* 5. *cap.* 6. *num.* 15.

Fourthly, ‘If a man be beaſtly drunk, and then commits fornication, it is no ſin. *Lib.* 14. *cap.* 13. *n.* 4. Alſo, ‘That a man may lie with women, to ſatisfy his carnal ‘deſire, or for his health-ſake.’ *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 10, 13. ‘A man may bed with his intended wife; nay, it is good to do ſo if the marriage be deferred;’ ſays *Emanuel Sa. Aphor. tit. debitum conjugale* 6.

Fifthly, They inſtruct how to be an honeſt thief. ‘It is lawful to deceive or rob a ‘brother, when to do ſo is neceſſary to preſerve a good name. For no man is bound ‘to reſtore ſtolen goods.’ Thus Navar. cardinal Cajetan, and Tolet; who farther add, ‘That this is a doctrine taught by many, and which may be followed with a ſafe conſcience,’ *Tolet. Inſtruct. Sacerd.* lib. 5. cap. 2. *Manual.* cap. 18. *n.* 7.

Sixthly, How juſt they may be to their promiſes, how ſubject to the ſupreme magiſtracy, and of how eminent ſervice to human ſocieties, may beſt appear out of theſe following maxims.

‘If a man ſwear he will take A. C. to wife, he may ſecretly mean, *if hereafter ſhe ‘pleaſe me.*’ *Inſtruct. Sacerd. lib.* 4. *cap.* 21, 22.

‘If a man ſwear he will give a thief twenty crowns, he may ſecretly ſay, *if I pleaſe ‘to do it*; and then he is not bound.’ Of this rare invention Vaſquez vaunts not a little, as being gathered out of *Auguſt.* and *Aquin.* In. 3. *tom.* 4. *qu.* 93. *art.* 5. *dub.* 13.

‘There are two diſtinct tribunals (ſays Becanus) and the Eccleſiaſtical is the Superior: ‘And therefore, if a ſecular prince gives his ſubjects a ſafe conduct, he cannot extend it to ‘the ſuperior Tribunal; nor, by any ſecurity given, hinder the Biſhop, or the Pope, to exerciſe their juriſdiction.’ *Theol. Schola.* That this is ſo, let us call to mind, that the Pope, and other of his eccleſiaſticks, did prevail at Conſtance, ‘for the burning of their ‘priſoners, J. Huſs, &c. to whom ſafe conduct was given.’

In ſhort, ‘If a man have taken an oath of a thing lawful and honeſt, and in his ‘power; yet, if it hinders him from doing a greater good, the Pope can diſpenſe with it.’ Thus Canus, biſhop of the Canaries, *Relict. de pœnitent.*

‘The Pope's denunciation againſt an excommunicated prince, diſengages his ſubjects ‘from their obedience.’ This was once our caſe, as in Henry the eighth's time, *Concer. Eccl. in Angl. fol.* 336.

Nay, ‘even before the ſentence be denounced, though the ſubjects are not bound to ‘it, yet lawfully they may deny obedience to an heretical prince.’ Thus *Greg. de Valentia, tom.* 3. *diſp.* 1. *qu.* 12. *punct.* 2.

To conclude, the ingenuity of Panormitan and Moſconius out-does all:

The firſt affirming, ‘That the Pope hath power to diſpenſe in all the Laws of God.’ *Cap. propoſui de conceſſ. prebende, n.* 20.

The ſecond, with as much zeal aſſerting, ‘That the Pope can diſpenſe above Law, ‘and againſt Law; for the Pope's Tribunal and God's is but One: And therefore every 'reaſonable creature is ſubject to the Pope's Empire;' as may be ſeen in his diſcourſe of the "Majeſty of the church militant," and in *lib.* 1. *de ſummo Pontif.*

X. Of Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy.

Papiſt. 'WE firmly believe, that according to Divine Ordination in the Catholick 'Church, there is an Hierarchy, conſiſting of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Mi-'niſters. He gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and others Evangeliſts, and 'others Paſtors and Doctors, to the conſummation of the ſaints, unto the work of the 'Miniſtry, unto the edifying of the Body of Chriſt, until we all meet in the unity of 'faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, &c.'

It is a great truth, that Biſhops, Paſtors, Teachers, &c. were given by Chriſt Jeſus, for the work of the Miniſtry; but what then? Can Romaniſts make uſe of this to juſtify their moſt injurious and tyrannical Hierarchy? Do the Scriptures of Truth tell us, that ever God gave lordly, proud, and voluptuous Popes, Cardinals, Primates, Archbiſhops, Deans, Chapters, Friers, Nuns, &c. for the edifying of the Church, and Body of Chriſt? The primitive biſhops were to be "*Blameleſs*;" not living in all manner of Uncleanneſs: "*Gentle*, no ſtrikers, no brawlers, nor perſecutors of their brethren," as are the Popes of Rome: "Apt to teach;" not by roaring bulls to excommunicate: "To eat and drink ſuch things as were ſet before them;" not racking and grinding the faces of the poor, the widows, and the fatherleſs, and extorting their labours, to greaten their revenues, to live in idleneſs, pomp and luſt: "The huſband but of one wife;" not condemners of marrying of one honeſt woman, and diſpenſers with as many whores as luſt may require; cardinal and eminent points and practices amongſt the Romaniſts.

In ſhort, the Romiſh Hierarchy is ſo far from being ſuited within the order of the Goſpel, by them quoted in their Confeſſion; that the whole deſign of their lordly Popes, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Jeſuits, and other Friers of many ſorts, (eſteemed of the Religious Tribe) is but to over-ballance the Civil Power, and render themſelves maſters of the ſwords and purſes of Princes and Commonwealths, to maintain them in idleneſs, plenty, and pleaſure; and to blind the Underſtandings of them they abuſe, that they may abuſe them as the Philiſtines did Sampſon, when they had put out his Eyes, to anſwer their own wicked ends with the greater ſecurity.

To conclude, 'If we would not receive a Thief, until he has repented;' let the Papiſt firſt recant his voluminous errors; not known in Scripture, nor ever heard of for Three hundred years together after Chriſt.

But above all, 'let us have good teſtimony of his hearty ſorrow, for that Sea of Blood 'ſhed in England, France, Holland, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, and 'Germany, of many hundred thouſands of poor Proteſtants, that for pure conſcience 'could not conform to their moſt exorbitant practices, as well as new doctrines, impoſed 'upon them:' Such inhuman and barbarous inventions and cruelties, as no age could ever parallel; and are the only demonſtrations of their wicked wits, that lived in that; and that not only upon the parties themſelves, but their poor, little innocent babes: For that ENGLISH PROTESTANTS ſhould ſo far neglect theſe weighty conſiderations, as to be gulled and cheated out of the religion purchaſed them by their Martyred Anceſtors; and perſuaded to embrace that old, bloody, apoſtatized church again, with all her ſlaviſh, as well as ridiculous ſuperſtition, is a crime ſo offenſive to God, and intolerable to Men, as the time haſtens, 'That the very ſtones in the ſtreets will riſe up in judgment againſt 'them.'

Thus while ſome Proteſtants (and thoſe chiefly concerned in theſe affairs) are moſtly buſied in perſecuting Diſſenters; I hope it will not be ill reſented, that one of them has, in the mean time, undertook (though with much brevity) an Enervation of the Romaniſts Faith, at leaſt a detection of their Craft, their horrid Couſenage, and preſent way of Inſinuation amongſt the people.

But we muſt once more declare, it is not to our purpoſe to bring them under Perſecution; but to preſent the people with ſuch an information, as may prevent them from ever having power to perſecute others.

A Queſtionary POSTSCRIPT.

1670.

I Here ſubjoin theſe few following Queries; which if the Romaniſts will frankly anſwer, and with that grave ſincerity that becomes ſo weighty an affair; we may eaſily know whereabouts they are.

I. Whether we ought to believe and accept any principle, as fundamentally True and Orthodox, that is not laid down, and avouched to be ſuch, by evident Scripture, and the moſt pure and primitive Tradition?

If they ſay, *we ought*, let them tell us out of what Scripture we may read it: But if we ought not-----Then,

II. Whether the doctrine of Papal Infallibility; of Tranſubſtantiation; of the Sacrifice of the Maſs; of Images; of Auricular Confeſſions; of Indulgences; of Prayers for the Dead; of Purgatory; of Prayers in Latin; of their whole Eccleſiaſtical Government, and pretended Religious Orders; be allowed or recommended, as matter of Chriſtian Faith, and Diſcipline, by Scripture and Antiquity?

If they are not to be found there, why ſhould any be ſo abſurd as to receive them? If they are taken thence, let them aſſign us the places, both in Scripture and primitive Antiquity; for the firſt Three hundred years after Chriſt (and in ſome particulars much more) are wholly ſilent in the matter, any farther than to furniſh us with pregnant inſtances *againſt* thoſe idle dotages, and groſs ſuperſtitions. But,

III. Whether in caſe they could not be conformed to, they would allow a TOLERATION, were they powerful?

IV. Whether in caſe they ſhould ſay YES, we ought to believe them; Since it is one of their moſt ſacred Maxims, "Not to keep Faith with Hereticks;" as was ſeen in the caſe of thoſe of the Alpine Valleys, J. Huſs, &c. and in that they have in all ages brought ſo great a deluge of blood upon the European world.

V. Whether it be the intereſt of the Engliſh nation to ſubject herſelf to a yoke? Conſidering the incomparable bloody Maſſacres of that ſort of men in ſeveral reigns, with the ſpiritual Tyranny ſhe would bring upon herſelf, which muſt end in the draining of her people to enrich the Papacy, who make it a fundamental maxim, "That the Enriching of the Church, (or rather the Impoveriſhing of the People) "is the Securing of it:" For Seculars (the Laity) being impoveriſhed, as of old, the Church-Party will have the Treaſury, and conſequently the triumphing Power, in their hands; which brings to the ancient arrogancy of Popes, viz. "Setting their feet upon the necks of Princes."

VI. And laſtly, whether the deſign of Popery be not an utter deſtruction of all True and Solid Religion, and the introduction of Formality and Superſtition, to the inſecuring of Civil Authority, and putting the People's Judgment into the Prieſts Inquiſition? Since the moſt *ignorant* and *careleſs*, or the moſt *vitious* and *prophane*, are generally found to be their Proſelytes; their religion (by reaſon of its latitude in point of INDULGENCE) being an open ſanctuary for refuge to all looſe and debauched livers.

THE
PROPOSED COMPREHENSION.
SOBERLY, and NOT UNSEASONABLY,
CONSIDERED.

1672. ALthough the benefits wherewith Almighty God has univerſally bleſſed the whole creation, are a ſufficient check to the narrowneſs of their ſpirits, who would unreaſonably confine all comforts of life within the ſtrait compaſs of their own party (as if to recede from their apprehenſions, whereof themſelves deny any infallible aſſurance, were reaſon good enough to deprive other Diſſenters of Nature's Inheritance, and, which is more peculiar, England's Freedom's); yet ſince it fares ſo meanly with thoſe excellent examples, that many vainly think themſelves then beſt to anſwer the end of their being born into the world, when by a ſeverity, which leaſt of all reſembles the GOD of LOVE, they rigorouſly proſecute the extirpation of their brethren; let it not ſeem unreaſonable, or ill-timed, that we offer to your more ſerious thoughts the great Partiality and Injuſtice that ſeem to be the companions of a Comprehenſion, ſince you only can be concerned at this time to prevent it, by a more large and generous freedom.

Firſt, then, Liberty of Conſcience (by which we commonly underſtand the Free Exerciſe of any Diſſenting Perſuaſion) is but what has been generally pleaded for, even by the warmeſt ſticklers for a Comprehenſion, and without which it would be utterly impoſſible they ſhould be comprehended. The queſtion then will be this, ‘What ground can there be, why Some, and not All, ſhould be tolerated?’ It muſt either reſpect Conſcience or Government: If it be upon matter of mere Religion, what reaſon is there that one party ſhould be tolerated, and another reſtrained; ſince all thoſe reaſons, that may be urged by that party which is comprehended, are every whit as proper to the party excluded? For if the former ſay, ‘They are Orthodox;’ ſo ſay the latter too. If the one urge, ‘It is impoſſible they ſhould believe without a Conviction; that the Underſtanding cannot be forced; that Mildneſs gains moſt; that the True Religion never perſecuted; that Severity is moſt unworthy of her; that Sound Reaſon is the only weapon which can diſarm the Underſtanding; that Coercion doth rather obdurate than ſoften; and that they therefore chuſe to be ſincere Diſſenters, rather than hypocritical Conformiſts;’ the other party ſays the ſame. In fine, There can be nothing ſaid for Liberty of Conſcience, upon pure conſcientious grounds, by any one party in England, that every one may not be intereſted in; unleſs any will undertake to judge that of Five ſorts of Diſſenters, Two are really ſuch on Conviction, and Three upon mere Deſign. But if ſuch ſentence would be looked upon as moſt arrogant and unjuſt, how can it be reaſonable, that thoſe whom ſome endeavour to exclude ſhould be thus prejudged; and ſuch as are comprehended, be therefore ſo only from a ſtrong opinion of their reality? We may conclude then, that ſince Liberty of Conſcience is what in itſelf Comprehenders plead, and that it is evident, to affirm this, or that, or the other party Orthodox, is but a mere begging of the queſtion, what may be urged for one is forceable for any other; Conſcience (not moveable but upon conviction) being what all pretend themſelves alike concerned in.

But they ſay, ‘That ſuch as are like to be comprehended, are perſons *not eſſentially* differing; that it were pity to exclude them whoſe difference is rather in minute matters, than any thing ſubſtantial; whereas you err in Fundamentals.’ But how paradoxical ſoever ſuch may pleaſe to think it, that we ſhould therefore plead the juſtice of taking thoſe in, ſome unkindly would have left out, we know not; however, we believe it moſt reaſonable to do ſo: For certainly the Reaſon for Liberty or Toleration ſhould hold proportion with the weighty Cauſe of Diſſent, and the ſtreſs Conſcience puts upon it. Where matters are trivial, they are more blameable that make them a ground for Diſſent, than thoſe who perhaps (were that all the difference) would never eſteem them worth contending for; much leſs that they ſhould rend from that church they otherwiſe confeſs to be a True one. So that whoever are condemnable, certainly thoſe who have been authors and promoters of ſeparation upon mere toys and niceties, are not moſt of all others to be juſtified. Had they conſcientiouſly offered ſome Fundamental Diſcontent, and pleaded the impoſſibility of reconciling ſome doctrines with their Reaſon or Conſcience, yet promiſing quiet living, and all due ſubjection to Government, they might have been thus far more excuſable, that people would have had reaſon to have ſaid, Certainly ſmall matters could not have induced theſe men to this diſgraceful ſeparation, nor any thing of this life have tempted them to this ſo great and troubleſome alteration: 'But to take pet at a Ceremony, then rend from the Church, ſet up a new 'Name and Model, gather People, raiſe animoſity, and only make fit for Blows,' by a furious zeal kindled in their heads againſt a few *Ineptiæ*, mere trifles; and, being utterly vanquiſhed from theſe proceedings, to become moſt earneſt ſolicitors for a Comprehenſion; though at the ſame time of hot purſuit after this privilege, to ſeek nothing more than to prevent others of enjoying the ſame favour, under the pretence of more Fundamental Difference; certainly this ſhews, that had ſuch perſons power, they would as well diſallow of a Comprehenſion to thoſe who are the aſſertors of thoſe ceremonies they recede from, as that for mere ceremonies they did at firſt zealouſly diſſent, and ever ſince remain more unjuſtifiably fierce for ſuch Separation. And truly, if there were no more in it than this, it would be enough for us to ſay, That ſome in England never rent themſelves from the Church at all, much leſs for little matters: that they never endeavoured her Exile, but ſhe found them upon her return, which they oppoſed not; nor yet ſince have any ways ſought to inſtall themſelves in her dignities, or enrich themſelves by her preferments. We appeal then to all ſober men, if what is generally called the *Epiſcopal* party of England, can with good conſcience and true honour, diſinherit thoſe of their native rights, peace and protection, and leave them as orphans to the wide world, indeed a naked prey to the devourer, who from firſt to laſt have never been concerned, either to endeavour their ruin, or any ways withſtand their return; whilſt it may be ſome of thoſe, who have been the moſt vigorous in both, and that for *circumſtantial*, and not *eſſential* differences, may be reputed more deſerving of a Comprehenſion, than we are of a Toleration.

But it will be yet ſaid, 'You are inconſiſtent with Government; They are not: 'Therefore you are excluded, not out of partiality, but neceſſity.' What Government beſides their own they are conſiſtent with, we leave on the ſide of ſtory to tell, which can better ſpeak their mind than we are either able or willing to do. But this give us leave to ſay in general, if any apprehend us to be ſuch as merit not the care of our ſuperiors, becauſe ſuppoſed to be deſtructive of the Government, let us be called forth by name, and hear our charge; and if we are not able to anſwer the Unbyaſſed Reaſon of mankind, in reference to our conſiſtency with the Peace, Quiet, Trade, and Tribute of theſe Kingdoms, then, and not before, deny us all protection. But that men ſhould be concluded before heard, and ſo ſentenced for what they really are not, is like *beheading* them before they are *born*. We do aver, and can make it appear, that there is no one party more quiet, ſubject, induſtrious, and, in the bottom of their very ſouls, greater lovers of the good Old Engliſh Government and Proſperity of theſe Kingdoms among the Comprehended, than, for aught we yet ſee, may be found among thoſe who are like to be unkindly excluded. However, if ſuch we were in any one point, *Cure* rather than *Kill* us; and ſeek the publick good ſome cheaper way than by our *Deſtruction*. Is there no expedient to prevent ruin? Let REASON qualify *Zeal*, and CONSCIENCE *Opinion*.

To conclude, If the publick may be ſecured, and conſcience freely exerciſed by All, for the ſame reaſons it may by Some. And ſince Liberty of Conſcience *is* Liberty of Conſcience, and the Reaſons for it equivalent, we ſee not in the whole world why any ſhould be deprived of That, which others for no better reaſons are like to enjoy.

Let it not then be unworthy of ſuch to remember, that God affords his refreſhing "Sun to All;" the dunghill is no more excepted than the moſt delightful plain; and his "Rain falls alike both upon the Juſt and Unjuſt:" He ſtrips not mankind of what ſuits their creaturely preſervation: *Chriſtians* themſelves have no more peculiar privilege in the natural benefits of heaven, than *Turks* or *Indians*. Would it not then be ſtrange, that *Infidels* themſelves, much leſs any ſort of *Chriſtians*, ſhould be deprived of natural privileges for mere *Opinion*, by thoſe who pretend to be the *Beſt Servants* of that GOD, who ſhews them quite another example, by the Univerſality of his Goodneſs as Creator; and *Believers* in that CHRIST, who himſelf preached the *Perfection of Love*, both to *Friends and Enemies*, and laid down his life to confirm it when he had done. If men ſhould love their Enemies, doubtleſs they ought at leaſt to forbear their Friends: And though ſome differences

1672. rences in judgment about *Religion* be a ſufficient Reaſon to excommunicate a man the Air Eccleſiaſtical, yet nothing certainly of that ſort ought to diſprivilege men of their Air Natural and Civil to breathe freely in: And let that *Good* our ſuperiors have obſerved to be the *Fruit of our Toleration*, not be weakened or blaſted by an untimely *Comprehenſion* of ſome, to the *Excluſion* of the reſt; ſince the Reaſon holds the ſame for the leſs formidable Separatiſts, that may not be however any whit leſs conſcientious.

We will omit to mention, how much more ſuitable it were to State-matters, that all parties ſhould be kept upon an equal poize; a thing moſt true in itſelf, and moſt ſecure to the Publick Magiſtrate; and will conclude at this time, That though we no ways deſign a Miſ-repreſenting of any, much leſs their Exception, and leaſt of all their Perſecution; yet a Comprehenſion, either reſpecting the Perſons and their Qualifications, or their Separation, and the grounds and reaſons of it, we ſeriouſly believe, can never be conſiſtent with that Conſcience, Honour, Wiſdom, and Safety, that ought to be the mark thoſe who are concerned in it ſhould take their aim by. But if a Comprehenſion ſhould at laſt be compaſſed, it is not doubted by many wiſe men, but it will be found as impracticable as other Acts more ſeemingly ſevere have been, and at laſt will neceſſitate to that well-ordered Univerſal Toleration of all, who both profeſs and practice Peace, Obedience, Induſtry, and Good Life; which will beſt pleaſe Almighty God, and rejoice the hearts of all good men.

From Real Friends,

To KING and COUNTRY.

THE

THE

CHRISTIAN-QUAKER,

AND HIS

DIVINE TESTIMONY

STATED and VINDICATED,

FROM

SCRIPTURE, REASON, and AUTHORITY.

By WILLIAM PENN.

Veritas fatigari poteſt, vinci non poteſt. Ether. & Beat. lib. I.

THE

PREFACE.

To the NOBLE BEREANS of this AGE.

1673. WHEN our Dear Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the bleſſed Author of the Chriſtian Religion, firſt ſent forth his diſciples, to proclaim the happy approach of the heavenly kingdom, among ſeveral other things that he gave them in charge, it pleaſed him to make this one of their inſtructions; “Into whatſoever city or town ye ſhall enter, enquire who in it is worthy;” fore-ſeeing the ill uſe unworthy perſons would make of that meſſage, and with what unwearineſs the implacable Phariſee and ſubtil Scribe would endeavour to pervert the right way of the Lord, and thereby prejudice the ſimple againſt the reception of that excellent teſtimony.

This being the caſe of the people called Quakers, who above every tribe men are moſt maliciouſly repreſented, bitterly envied, and furiouſly oppugned by many of the Scribes and Phariſees of our time, for as impious wretches as thoſe of that reputed our bleſſed Saviour and his conſtant followers; it becometh us, in a condition ſo deſperate, to provide ourſelves with ſome worthy readers, men that dare truſt their Reaſon above Reports, and be impartial in an age as biaſſed as this we live in; whoſe determinations ſhall not wait upon the ſentence of ignorance nor intereſt, but a ſincere and punctual examination of the matter.

And ſince there are none recorded in Sacred Writ, on whom the Holy Ghoſt conferred ſo honourable a character, but the Bereans of that age (for that they both ſearched after Truth impartially, and when they found it, embraced it readily, for which they were entituled Noble); therefore it is that to you, the off-ſpring of that worthy ſtock, and Noble Bereans of our age, I, in behalf of the ſo much calumniated abettors of the cauſe of Truth, choſe to dedicate this defence of our holy profeſſion from the injurious practices of a ſort of men, who, not unlike to the Jews of Theſſalonica, that, envying the proſperity of the goſpel among your anceſtors, made it their buſineſs to ſtir up the multitude againſt the zealous promoters of it. And no matter what it be, provided they can but obtain their end of fixing an odium upon the Quakers: They do not only boldly condemn what they eſteem Worſt in us (how deſervedly we will not now ſay) but ſlily inſinuate what is Beſt to be criminal.

The Sobriety of our Lives, they call a Cheat for Cuſtom; and our Inceſſant Preachings and Holy Living, a Decoy to advance our Party: If we ſay Nothing to them when they interrogate us, it is Sullenneſs or Inability; if we ſay Something to them, it is Impertinency, or Equivocation. We muſt not believe as we do believe, but as they would *have us* believe, which they are ſure to make obnoxious enough, that they may the more ſecurely inveigh againſt us. Nor muſt our writings mean what *we ſay* we mean by them, but what they *will have* them to mean, leſt they ſhould want proofs for their charges. It was our very caſe that put David upon that complaint, “Every day they wreſt my words: All their thoughts are againſt me for evil.” But to David's God we commit our ſlandered cauſe, and to you the Bereans of our age.

Degenerate not from the example of your Progenitors; if you do, you are no longer True Bereans, and to ſuch we inſcribe this work: If you do not, we may aſſure ourſelves of the juſtice of a fair enquiry and an equal judgment.

The God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt augment your Deſire after Truth, give you clearer Diſcerning of the Truth, and enable you both more readily to receive, and with greater reſolution to maintain the Truth. I am

A Chriſtian Quaker, and

Your Chriſtian Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN-QUAKER, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction. Three queſtions propoſed, ſtating the matter to be treated upon. Firſt, What is Salvation? Anſ. To be ſaved from Sin, as well as from Wrath; and not from Wrath without Sin.

1673.
Chap. I.

BEING to write of the Light of Chriſt within, the great principle of God in man, the Root and Spring of Divine Life and knowledge in the Soul; that by which Salvation is effected for man, and which is the characteriſtic of the people called Quakers, their faith and teſtimony to the world; I chuſe to conſider it under theſe three following queſtions, as ſtated by none of the meaneſt of our adverſaries, being comprehenſive of the principle, its force, and friends; wherein I endeavour to ſolve thoſe objections, as they naturally ariſe, which either have been, or may be, advanced againſt what is aſſerted by us, in favour of this Divine Principle, and its effects upon mankind: Which I recommend to my readers ſerious conſideration; deſiring that patience and impartiality may keep them company in the peruſal thereof; it being writ for their advantage, as well as our vindication, that they may have a nearer and clearer proſpect of that way the bleſſed ever trod to glory.

1. What is that Salvation, which the Light leads to?
2. What is this Light, and how does this Light lead to it? And,
3. Who this He or They are, that obey this Light; and, in obeying attain Salvation?

I. By Salvation, we underſtand, as by Scripture is delivered to us, ‘Man's being ſaved from ſin here, and the wages of it,’ which is wrath to come. Whereby we are taught, utterly to renounce and reject the common acceptation of it, as the full and complete force of the word, viz. barely to be ſaved from puniſhment hereafter: In which ſecurity, through a vain expectation of Salvation, whilſt not really and actually ſaved from the power of ſin, through the inviſible power of Chriſt, thouſands die. In ſhort, We call Salvation, ‘Chriſt's making an end of ſin; deſtroying the works of the Devil; finiſhing of tranſgreſſion; binding the ſtrong man, and ſpoiling of his goods in the hearts and conſciences of men and women; and bringing in his everlaſting righteouſneſs into the Soul, whereby to cleanſe, waſh, regenerate, renew and refreſh the Soul;’ in one ſcripture-phraſe, ‘to ſave his people from their ſins.’

Theſe are the times of refreſhment, and this is the day of reſtitution; and thus is He King, to reign; Prophet, to give viſion; and High Prieſt, to anoint with the holy unction, that leadeth his people into all truth, whoſe lips alone preſerve knowledge; and therefore is it the unchangeable Goſpel-rule to believers: And thoſe who are thus freed, or ſaved here, from the power, nature, and defilement of ſin, are the alone perſons that are or ſhall be hereafter ſaved from eternal wrath and vengeance; the heavy recompence of ſin. All this we underſtand by that word Salvation; and in this center the Great and Glorious Prophecies and Performances of Chriſt.

CHAP. II.

The ſecond queſtion ſtated: Particularly what is meant by Light. It is a principle that diſcovers the ſtate of man, and leads to bleſſedneſs.

Chap. II.

THE ſecond queſtion runs thus: What is that Light which leadeth to Salvation, and, how doth it lead to Salvation?

By Light, I underſtand not the metaphorical uſe of the word; as when Chriſt ſaid to his

1673. Chap. II. diſciples' 'Ye are the Lights of the world;' or, as the apoſtle ſpeaks, 'Now are ye Light in the Lord;' nor yet the mere Spirit or Reaſon of man; but Chriſt, that glorious Sun of righteouſneſs, and heavenly Luminary of the intellectual or inviſible world; repreſented, of all outward reſemblances, moſt exactly by the great Sun of this ſenſible and viſible world: That as this natural Light ariſeth upon all, and gives light to all, about the affairs of this life; ſo that Divine Light ariſeth upon all, and gives light to all that will receive the manifeſtations of it, about the concerns of the other life. Such a Light I mean by 'that Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' and that leadeth thoſe that obey it to eternal Salvation.

The ſcripture ſays no leſs, John i. 4, 9. 'In the Word of God, was Life, and that (very) Life was the Light of men, that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.'

But to demonſtrate it the moſt obviouſly that I can, to the loweſt capacities, I ſhall evidence the nature and virtue of this principle, Light, by the holy effects of it, which is the how, or the which way, it leadeth to Salvation. This is ſo neceſſary in order to explicate the other, that as the tree is known by its fruits, ſo is the true Saviour by his Salvation. If then I can make it appear, that the Light, as obeyed in all its diſcoveries and requirings, is ſufficient to Salvation; all muſt yield to the efficacy of the Light within.

I ſhall then, by the properties of this Light, prove it ſaving: In order to which, I ſhall begin with the firſt ſtep towards Salvation, viz. a ſight of the cauſe of damnation; and that this is given us by the Light within, the ſcripture is very plain, which is the great record of ſaving truth, and of that bleſſed teſtimony Chriſt has left to his flock.

CHAP. III.

That the Light within manifeſts Sin; yea, all Sin. That apoſtacy, or ſin in any, is no argument againſt the Light. That the ſervices of the Jews ſhew no imperfection in the Light, but in the people, whoſe minds were abroad. If inſufficiency againſt the Light ſhould be admitted, becauſe of the wickedneſs of men; the ſame may be objected againſt the ſcriptures; which overthrows our adverſary's aſſertion concerning their ſufficiency.

Chap. III. THE Light, with which Chriſt lighteth all men, manifeſts ſin, as theſe words import; 'For every one that doth evil, hateth the Light, neither cometh to the John iii. 20. Light, leſt his deeds ſhould be reproved:' Implying, that if they would have brought their deeds to the Light, the Light would have detected them, and tried them; which makes the Light the touchſtone, rule and judge of converſation and practice. To which Eph. v. 13. the apoſtle Paul bears expreſs teſtimony, in his epiſtle to the Epheſians, 'that whatſoever is reproved, is made manifeſt by the Light; for whatſoever makes manifeſt, is Light:' Where the univerſality of the apoſtle's aſſertion ſhews, that nothing that is reproved, as all ſin is, is or can be excluded from the ſearch or knowledge of this Light: Which takes in as well thoughts, as words and deeds. So that nothing being reproved, which the Light doth not firſt manifeſt, how obvious is it to every underſtanding, that the Light muſt needs have been, and be in all men, in order to ſuch manifeſtation and conviction, or man could not have known ſin.

It is as much as if the apoſtle had ſaid, '* Sin is that which damns all men; now it could not damn, if it were not reproveable; and it could never be reproveable, if the Light did not manifeſt and condemn it as ſuch.' So that our adverſaries affirming the Light not to be ſufficient to diſcern all ſin, is a flat repugnancy, and a downright giving of the lie to the apoſtle. For, ſays the apoſtle, 'all things that are reproved, are made manifeſt by the Light.' But, ſay they, all things that are reproved, are not made manifeſt by the Light. Sober reader, dwell here a while, and after a little pauſe tell me, who deals moſt unworthily with the apoſtle, and the holy ſcriptures of truth, they or the Quakers?

* That is the cauſe.

Obj. But it is objected, If there be that Light in all men, how comes it, that all men are not convicted of their diſobedience and duty, as the Heathens of old, and many Infidels at this day? Did the Light in Saul reprove him for perſecuting the church?

I anſwer, That this objection does no way impugn or leſſen the efficacy of the Light, although it greatly aggravates their evil that ſo rebelled againſt it. But that there were Heathens, who became a law unto themſelves, through the degree of Light they had, by which they did the things contained in the law, and were preferred far before the circumciſion that kept not the law; the apoſtle Paul himſelf is very expreſs in that known paſſage to the Romans, ch. ii. Nor are other hiſtories ſilent, but loud in their acknowledgment of very divine attainments, which, by this Light, ſeveral famous Gentiles arrived at; who, for their belief of One Eternal Being, his communication of Divine

Light to men, the neceſſity of holy living, and of an immortality, with their ſtrict manners, are left with honour upon record by credible writers, and their praiſes not a little augmented by after-ages, even of thoſe called Chriſtians too. Such were, Pythagoras, Timæus, Solon, Bias, Chilon, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plotin, Antiſthenes, Xenocrates, Zeno, Antipater, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and others.

But what if Jews and Gentiles at any time did apoſtatize; and, particularly, what if Saul perſecuted the Church of God, putting diſobedience for duty, murder for ſervice, will it follow, that the Light was inſufficient? By no means, but rather that Saul was rebellious, ſtiff-necked, reſiſting the Holy Ghoſt; as did his fathers, ſo did he: And thus much the words themſelves ſhew; for it is ſaid by the text, 'he kickt againſt 'the pricks.' Then it ſeems there were pricks: And where were they, if not in his conſcience? And what were they, if not the convictions of the Light of Chriſt within him, which manifeſts evil, and reproves the deeds thereof? Otherwiſe called the Son of God, which to the Galatians, he ſaid, 'it had pleaſed God to reveal to him:' Gal. i. 16. Though Paul knew him not, nor his voice of a long time, his eye being darkened, and ear ſtopped by the god of this world, who had crept into the outward forms of religion, then, as now, and therein employed many emiſſaries to decry that pure, heavenly and inviſible life of truth and righteouſneſs, which was then, and is now begotten in the hearts of many, not only to confound the idolatries of the Gentiles, but to end the formality and outward ſervices of both Jews and carnal Chriſtians.

And I affirm on God's behalf, and with the reaſon of a man, that it is moſt abſurd for any to charge the rebellion of men to the inſufficiency of the Light: For if men are wicked, is it not againſt knowledge? And if it be, where is the fault? Elſe, if men are ſo, not becauſe they would not be better, but becauſe they neither ſee nor know, nor are able to do better, how heavy, how black, and how blaſphemous a character doth the conſequence of ſuch an opinion faſten upon the good and righteous God of heaven and earth; ſince it ſuppoſes him not to have given means ſufficient to do that which he requires of them, and for not doing of which they are to be ſentenced to eternal miſery? But I confeſs, how deep ſoever they may ſtick with impartial ſpirits, I almoſt deſpair of entering ſome of our adverſaries, whoſe ſouls are pinched up within the narrow compaſs of a moſt unmerciful kind of predeſtination; making the eternal God as partial as themſelves; like ſome ancients, that becauſe they could not reſemble God, they would make ſuch gods as might reſemble them.

I ſay, what elſe can be the tendency of this kind of doctrine, againſt the ſufficiency of the Light within, than that the gift of God is not perfect, or able, becauſe men do not obey it: and that the talent God has given to all, is therefore inſufficient for the end for which it was given, becauſe man hides it in a napkin?

Again, Let them tell me, would it be a good argument, that if the ſame corn ſhould be ſown in a fertile, and a barren ſoil, that growing in one, and not in the other, the fault ſhould be in the ſeed, and not rather in the ground?

Who knows not, how tradition and cuſtom have overlaid much of conviction, and benumbed the world, and that it is, through luſts and pleaſures, become blind and ſtupid as to the inviſible things of God. Alas! there had never been ſo much need of many exterior diſpenſations and appearances of God, in reference to religion, ſo much preferred by the profeſſors of this day, had not mens minds been departed from the inward Light and life of righteouſneſs: So that they being outward and abroad, God was pleaſed to meet them there in ſome external manifeſtations; yet ſo, as to turn them home again to their firſt love; to that Light and Life which was given of God, as the way and guide to eternal ſalvation.

Nor could any of thoſe things cleanſe, as concerning the conſcience; wherefore God ſtill, by his ſervants and prophets, admoniſhed and warned the people of old, 'to put 'away the evil of their doings, and ceaſe to do evil and learn to do well, and to waſh 'themſelves, and to cleanſe themſelves;' Iſa. i. for that all their exactneſs in outward ſervices was otherwiſe but as the 'cutting off a dog's neck:' A ſacrifice equally pleaſing. ch. lxvi. Wherefore the abrogation of all outward diſpenſations, and the reducing man to his firſt ſtate of inward Light and righteouſneſs, is called in ſcripture, 'the times of refreſhment, and 'the reſtitution of all things.'

In ſhort, though there have been external obſervations and ordinances in the world, by God's appointment, as figures and ſhadows of the good things to come, either to prevent the Jews from the outward ſplendid worſhip of the idolatrous Gentiles, that he might retain a peculiar ſovereignty over them, or to ſhew forth unto them a more hidden and inviſible glory; this remains ſure for ever, that Light within there was, and that the ancients ſaw their ſins by it, and that there could be no acceptance with God, but as they walked up to it, and were taught to put away the evil of their doings by it: Suitable to that notable paſſage, 'the path of the juſt is a ſhining light, that ſhines clearer and 'clearer unto the perfect day.' I would fain know what this day was, if not that of Salvation? Can there be any night or darkneſs in the day? Surely no. What if their Light was not ſo large, was it therefore not ſaving? Yes ſurely. But as, where much is given, much is required, ſo where little is given, but little is required. If the Light was not ſo glorioully manifeſted before the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the fleſh, leſs was then required than ſince; yet it follows not that there were Two Lights, or that the Light was not ſaving, before the viſible appearance of Chriſt, to as many as lived in an holy conformity to it.

And if it be agreed, that blindneſs in men can be no argument againſt the light of the Sun, neither is this Light inſufficient, becauſe the people of any nation remain blind through their vain cuſtoms and evil practices. Nay, ſhould any ſuch doctrine be admitted, what would become of our adverſaries opinion, ‘that the Light of mere Scripture ‘is ſufficient of itſelf to give men the knowledge of God?’ For if thoſe that have the Scriptures, do not know, believe and obey God, as they ought to do, will it not follow upon ſuch a principle, that the defect is not in Them, but in the Scriptures? Certainly, the conſequence will hold as well againſt the Scriptures, as againſt the Light within. If then ſuch muſt wrong the Scripture, who ſo diſpute, let them that think ſo endeavour to right the Light, and no longer maintain a poſition, that, being admitted, would overturn the authority of the Scripture, as well as that of the Light within.

CHAP. IV.

Another objection againſt the Light's Sufficiency to manifeſt what ought to be done, though it were able to diſcover what ſhould be avoided. It is anſwered, The Light not telling man all it knows, or man may know in time to come, is no argument to prove it knows not all things. Men know more than they do; let them firſt obey what they know, and then what is convenient will be farther revealed. It is proved from the reaſon of contraries; becauſe it ſhews what ought not to be done, from ſcripture at large, it does inſtruct what to do; and that there is virtue in it, to the ſalvation of all that believe and obey it. That there is no eſſential difference between the Seed, Light, Word, Spirit, Life, Truth, Power, Unction, Bread, Water, Fleſh and Blood: Only ſo denominated from the various manifeſtations, operations, and effects of one and the ſame divine principle in man.

Chap. IV. BUT there is a ſecond objection, viz. ‘that there ſeems to be a manifeſt inſufficiency in the Light, becauſe, though ſeveral things are revealed by it, yet ſeveral ‘neceſſary matters are not, nor cannot; ſo that, though it ſhould manifeſt all that is ‘reproveable, yet cannot it diſcover all that is neceſſary to be either believed or done.’

I anſwer, This is but a piece of the former objection already conſidered. I perceive the pinch lies here, That becauſe men do not what they ſhould, or do not know all that may be fit for them to know, therefore the Light is inſufficient. The firſt will be anſwered by what I have already ſaid, the reaſon being the ſame for the ſufficiency of the Light, againſt ſuch as charge it with defect, becauſe they do not what they ſhould, as againſt thoſe who ſo impeach it, becauſe they do thoſe things which they ſhould not.

As for not knowing by this Light all that is fit to be known, I deny it utterly: For things are neceſſary in reference to their proper times: That may be requiſite to-morrow which is not to-day. It is fit for children to learn to read, yet it is moſt neceſſary that they ſhould begin firſt to ſpell. If a ſchool-maſter ſhould be charged with inſufficiency, becauſe he tells not little children as ſoon as they come all that he knows, or all at once when he initiates them in the firſt principles of learning, he would think himſelf unreaſonably dealt with. What then muſt we conclude, but that the maſter may be very capable to teach, were his ſcholar ſo, and willing to learn? That if the ſcholar obſerves and obeys his maſter, he will increaſe in his learning: That the defect of the ſcholar ſhould not be laid upon his maſter: That to tell or amuſe him about things unſuitable to his preſent capacity, were the ready way to overcharge and wholly ſpoil him: And conſequently that the tutor not telling his pupil all that is fit to be known at once, implies no defect or ignorance of thoſe things in the tutor: Which, to apply ſcripturally, is in brief thus: ‘If you do my will, you ſhall know (more) of my doctrine: I ‘have yet many things to ſay, but you are not able to bear them now.’ John vii. 17. If to ſay, that the Light of the Goſpel is to be charged with inſufficiency, becauſe it diſcovered not to every believer all thoſe ineffable things revealed to the Apoſtle, be both falſe and antichriſtian, to what an extremity of zeal are they led againſt the bleſſed Light of the Son of God, as he is the Enlightner of mankind, who charge it with inſufficiency, becauſe it reveals not at once to every individual, in every age, all that he ſhall ever know, or that ſhall be known to others in future times.

The Light then is not inſufficient, though it does not tell me all at one time, which may be a duty to the end of the world, eſpecially in extraordinary caſes, whilſt it informs me, or any man, of daily duty. Yea, the Light is ſufficient in point of diſcovery, whilſt it ſhews people much more than they do, and yet what they ought to perform.

If ſuch will ſay, and can prove, that they are come to the upſhot of the Light's teachings, and that they have learnt whatever it is poſſible for the Light of Chriſt to teach them, and yet are able to make appear, that there is ſomething farther wanting, they will prove themſelves not only above men, but God alſo, who is the 'Fountain of all Light, that ſearcheth the heart, and trieth the reins of men by the inſhinings of his manifeſting Light, and which, as obeyed, lead to God, who is the Fulneſs of all Light and Life.' But indeed, this Light is the ſavour of death, the wages of ſin, to all that rebel againſt it; and the ſavour of life to thoſe only who are obedient to it: For ſuch ſhall not walk in darkneſs, but have the Light of life.

To conclude, If the Light be allowed to manifeſt all things that are reproveable, then, by the juſt reaſon of contraries, ſhould it be ſufficient to diſcover all things that are approveable, with reſpect to man's faith, ſalvation and duty. If the Light tells us, it is evil not to believe in God, it follows, that to believe in God is according to the convictions of the Light within. And if it reproves a man for not being, it conſequently teacheth him what he ought to be. If the Light condemns theft, does it not neceſſarily inſtruct to honeſty? If it reproves me for doing my own will, it implies, I ought to do his will to whom I owe all: And if it checks a man for ſin, it inſtructeth him thereby to holineſs, 'without which none ſhall ſee God.' In ſhort, if it manifeſt reproveable things to be ſuch, at the ſame time it condemns them, and teacheth things quite contrary: The unfruitful works of darkneſs are judged by the Light, that the holy fruits of the Light may appear: 'Ye were darkneſs, but now are ye light in the Lord;' and Eph. v. 8. 'The reproofs of inſtruction are the way of life.' Prov. vi. 23. He that comes out of the reproved darkneſs, walks in the approved Light; and who ſo anſwers the holy reproof, unto ſuch is 'ſealed up the inſtruction of the way of life.' And this brings me to the third property of the Light, with reſpect to men; and that is, It doth not only manifeſt and condemn ſin, and diſcover and incline to purity, but, as adhered to (or rather that principle which is this Light) it is able, in point of power and efficacy, to redeem from ſin, and lead to a ſtate of higheſt felicity. 'I am the Light of the world, (ſaid John viii. 12. Jeſus himſelf); he that follows me, ſhall not walk in darkneſs, but ſhall have the Light of life.' In which it is very evident, that the ſame Light, which manifeſts darkneſs, redeems from it, and brings to a ſtate of life: That is to ſay, Thoſe who confidently believe in Chriſt, as he manifeſts himſelf a Light in their conſciences, to condemn ſin in every man's fleſh (whom he hath therefore illuminated) and that obediently follow the holy requirings of it (relinquiſhing the pleaſures of ſin, which laſt but for a ſeaſon, and taking up the daily croſs to their own luſts and wills) ſhall moſt aſſuredly find this Divine Principle, (which, in reference to the dark ſtate of men, and the diſcerning and conviction it brings with it, is rightly denominated Light) to have alſo power and efficacy to ſave from that which it manifeſts and condemns men for, and to bring them unto that glory, of which it gives a true revelation and hope. For the ſame Word of God, who is called the 'True Light that enlighteneth all mankind, is alſo the Life, Power, Wiſdom and Righteouſneſs of the Father, in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom, and unto whom all power, both in heaven and earth, is committed, who is heir of all things:' Who alſo ſaid, when in the world, 'While ye have the Light, walk in the Light,' (for their day of viſitation was almoſt over) or, as ſome tranſlations more truly have it, 'While you have a little Light in you, believe in the Light, that ye may be the children of the Light.' Again, 'I am come a Light into the world, that who- John xii. 36, 46. ſoever believes in me ſhould not abide in darkneſs.' So that a ſincere faith in and obedience to the Light of Chriſt, as it ſhines in the heart, whereby to give the living and experimental knowledge of the glory of God unto the creature, is the way to be redeemed from darkneſs, and to be made a child of Light; or that there is power and virtue ſufficient in the Light of Chriſt to ranſom the ſouls of ſuch as diligently adhere to it, from under the power of darkneſs. For as the true knowledge of God is life eternal, ſo what- John xvii. 3. ever may be known of God, is manifeſted within; which manifeſtation cannot well be with- Rom. i. 19. out this Light, whoſe peculiar property it is to diſcover, reveal, or manifeſt the mind and will of God to mankind, as ſaith the apoſtle; 'For whatſoever doth make mani- Epheſ. v. 13. feſt is Light. In him was Life, and that Life was the LIGHT of men:' But not there- John i. 4. fore the LIFE of men *ſpiritually*, and unitedly conſidered; that was the peculiar privilege of thoſe only who BELIEVED in it, and walked according to it.

There is a great difference, tho' not in the principle, yet in its appearance to man, between Life and Light. Such as truly believe in it, the Word-God, as he appears to illuminate the heart and conſcience, and obey it, do really come to know and enjoy a new nature, ſpirit and life: And in that ſenſe it may be ſaid, As the Life in the Word became the Light in man, ſo the Light by obedience became the Life in man. 'He John viii. 12. that follows me ſhall not walk in darkneſs, but have the light of life,' ſaid Jeſus. Not that they differ in kind, only in operation, with reſpect to man: For as it is the very Life of the Word (*in* the Word) it is the Light of men; and ſo much it is, let them reject the virtue of it, if they will: But it is no more than ſo in man, unleſs received and believed by him; and then it begets life, motion, heat, and every divine qualification in

1673. Chap. IV. the ſoul, ſuitable to the ſtate of the New Birth. And thus the Life of the Word, which is Light common, becomes the Life of every ſuch particular, by communicating to, or ingenerating Life in the ſoul; ſo that it is no more he that lives, but Chriſt (the Word-God, whom he hath now put on, and who is become his very Life, as well as Light) that liveth and dwelleth in him.

Let not men then in their dark imaginations, with their borrowed knowledge from the mere Letter of the Scriptures, contend againſt the ſufficiency of what they obey not, neither have tried, and ſo cannot judge of its power, virtue, and efficacy; which works out ſalvation for as many as are turned to it, and abide therein.

And indeed, ſo very expreſs are the Scriptures in defence of the ſufficiency and neceſſity of the Light to ſalvation, that it ſeems to have been the great deſign of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in delegating his diſciples to preach his everlaſting Goſpel, viz. ‘That they might open the eyes of people, and turn them from darkneſs to the Light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might receive remiſſion of ſins, and an inheritance among them that are ſanctified through faith that is in Me.’ Who is this ME? He that is both the Light of the world, and the Power of God unto ſalvation. Now certainly the eyes that were then blind were not the natural, but ſpiritual eyes of men, (and ſuch muſt alſo be the darkneſs and light alſo) blinded by the god of this world, who rules in the hearts of the children of diſobedience: No wonder then if the Light was not comprehended of the darkneſs, and that blind people did not ſee the Light; But it plainly proves, that Light there was, though not ſeen. Now the work of the powerful miniſtry of the apoſtles was, to open this blind or dark eye of man's mind, which the god of the world hath blinded, and then to turn them from that Darkneſs to the Light: The Darkneſs or Evil was within, ſo was the Light alſo; ſince the illumination was neceſſary, where the darkneſs was predominant: Conſequently, the way to be tranſlated from Satan's power unto God, and to have remiſſion of ſins, and an inheritance with them that are ſanctified, is, to be turned from the Darkneſs, or ſin in the heart, unto the marvellous Light, that had long ſhined there uncomprehended, to wit, the Goſpel, which is called both the Light and Power of God. Acts xxvi. 18.

The ſame apoſtle, in his epiſtle to the Romans, is more expreſs concerning the holy nature and efficacy of the Light to ſalvation, when he thus exhorts them: ‘The night is far ſpent, the day is at hand; let us therefore caſt off the works of darkneſs, and put on the armour of Light; let us walk honeſtly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenneſs; not in chambering and wantonneſs, not in ſtrife and envy; but put ye on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and make no proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof.’ From whence I ſhall briefly remark three things, greatly to our purpoſe, and the Truth's defence in this matter. Rom. xiii. 12, 13, 14.

1. That there is an abſolute oppoſition betwixt Light and Darkneſs: As Darkneſs can only vail the Light from the underſtandings of men, ſo Light only can diſcover and diſpel that Darkneſs. Or thus: That the Light manifeſts and condemns the works of Darkneſs: ‘For, what communion hath Light with Darkneſs?’ Their difference ſhows the divine efficacy of the Light. 2 Cor. vi. 14.

2. That in this Light there is Armour, which being put on, is able to defend againſt and conquer Darkneſs, and ſecure the ſoul from the evil of it: Otherwiſe, it would be very ſtrange, that the apoſtle ſhould exhort the people to put it on, to defend them againſt the worker and works of Darkneſs.

3. That putting on the Armour of the Light, and putting on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt (the Light of the world) are ſynonimous, or one and the ſame thing, and for one and the ſame end; as may be obſerved from the apoſtle's words, ‘Let us put on the Armour of Light, and walk honeſtly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenneſs, not in chambering and wantonneſs, not in ſtrife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and make no proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof.’ Rom xiii. 12, 13, 14.

I hope then, neither will it be diſallowed that Chriſt is that Light, with which men are enlightened, (but more of that anon) nor is that Light men are exhorted by us to obey, a naked and inſufficient, but a ſearching, expelling, powerful, and arming Light, againſt Darkneſs and all its unfruitful works, and conſequently ſaving.

Thus the beloved diſciple teſtifies very emphatically, in his firſt epiſtle, where he gives us a relation of the apoſtolical miſſion: ‘This then is the meſſage which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, That God is Light, and in him is no Darkneſs at all. If we ſay, we have fellowſhip with him, and walk in Darkneſs, we lie, and do not the truth. But if we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, we have fellowſhip one with another, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſeth us from all ſin.’ 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.

Here is a brief ſtating of the whole great caſe of ſalvation.. (1.) What God is; LIGHT. (2.) Who they are that can have no fellowſhip with him; ‘ſuch as walk in Darkneſs, that is Sin.’ (3.) Who they are that have fellowſhip with him; ‘ſuch as walk in the Light, as he is in the Light.’ (4.) The reaſon, Why, is given; becauſe ſuch as walk in the Light, are therein ſure to feel the virtue of Chriſt's blood to cleanſe them from all unrighteouſneſs. Where obſerve, that the Light's leading us out of Darkneſs (that is, Unrighteouſneſs) is the ſame thing with the 'Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, cleanſing 'from all ſin.' Sin and Darkneſs, and to be cleanſed from the one, and to be tranſlated 'from the other, are in the text equivalent: Otherwiſe a man might be delivered from 'Darkneſs, and walk in the Light, and not be cleanſed from Sin, which *is* that darkneſs: A thing abſurd and impoſſible. In ſhort, they go together.

By this it is evident, that the Light being walked in, doth directly lead to God, and fellowſhip with him, who is the ſaving Light and Health of all nations; and conſequently, that the Light leads to ſalvation; for that is ſalvation.

Many are the denominations that are given in ſcripture to one and the ſame thing: Chriſt is called, the Word, the Light, the Way, the Truth, the Life, the quickening Spirit, the ſaving Health, the Saviour; Emmanuel, a Rock, a Door, a Vine, a Shepherd, &c. A ſtate of Sin is ſometimes called, Darkneſs, Death, Diſobedience, Barrenneſs, Rebellion, Stiff-neckedneſs, Eating of ſour grapes; and wicked men, Briars, Thorns, Thiſtles, Tares, dead Trees, Wolves, Goats, &c. On the contrary, a ſtate of Converſion is ſometimes expreſſed by ſuch words, as Purged, Refined, Waſhed, Cleanſed, Sanctified, Juſtified, Led by the Spirit, Baptized by One Spirit into One Body, made Circumciſion without Hands; Regenerated, Redeemed, Saved, Bought with a Price, &c. And perſons ſo qualified, the Children of God, Children of Light, Children of the Kingdom, Heirs of Glory, Lambs, Sheep, Wheat, &c. And that by which they became or continued thus, Light, Spirit, Grace, Word, Fire, Sword, Hammer, Power, Seed, Truth, Way, Life, Blood, Water, Bread, Unction that leadeth into all Truth. All which, reſpectively, is but one and the ſame in nature, notwithſtanding the great variety of epithets, or names given in ſcripture. So ſin, or a ſinful ſtate, is variouſly denominated, from the divers operations and diſcoveries of the nature of it in wicked men. The like may be ſaid of the ſeveral virtues in good and holy men, as of that One Divine Principle, which ſo qualifies and preſerves them. For as the primitive ſaints felt the operation of the one holy Principle, ſo they denominated it: To men in darkneſs they called it Light; to ſuch as believed and obeyed, it became a Leader: And thoſe who had witneſſed their ſins conquered, their luſts cut down, their hearts broken, and their ſouls waſhed, redeemed, and daily nouriſhed up in the Truth, they called this divine principle a Sword, a Fire, an Hammer, Water, Fleſh, Blood, and Bread, and Seed of Life. In ſhort, the ſame heavenly principle became Light, Wiſdom, Power, Counſel, Redemption, Sanctification, and Eternal Salvation unto thoſe who believed in it. So that the variety of expreſſions in the ſcriptures, muſt not be taken for ſo many diſtinct things in kind, no nor ſometimes in operation.

And indeed, notwithſtanding the light ſome would lodge in the bare Scriptures, *excluſive* of the Spirit, all the wiſe men of the world, met together, would be confounded to give a right account of the matter therein contained, if they were not living, experimental witneſſes of the work of the Holy Spirit therein expreſſed. For as he is not an evidence ſufficient by laws human, that was not an eye or ear-witneſs, neither are they the right evidences for God and Chriſt, who have not been eye and ear-witneſſes of the Light, Spirit, Grace, and Word of God in their hearts; and I can with boldneſs affirm, they have no more title to the glorious promiſes declared in ſcripture, than a man has to a large deed of gift, where he is not at all named or intended. It is time then for ſuch to look about them, leſt the midnight-cry overtake them, and their lamp be found without oil: For I muſt needs tell them, in the beloved diſciple's language, "He "that ſaith he is in the Light, and hateth his brother, is in the Darkneſs, even until "now." And in my own language, that I take it to be their ſtate, who ſhew ſo much envious diſpleaſure againſt an harmleſs ſuffering people, that never yet offended, much leſs juſtly provoked them. But would they bring their thoughts, words and deeds to this Light of JESUS, in their own conſciences, and let true judgment paſs upon evil thoughts, words and deeds, and patiently undergo the heavenly chaſtiſements thereof, for their diſobedience to it, and vilifying of it, they would come to witneſs a converſion from Darkneſs to Light, and continuing to walk therein, as that holy way in which the ranſomed of the Lord always did, do, and ſhall walk through all generations, and which leads to the enjoyment of eternal peace. And ſuch is the excellency of Chriſt, the True Light of the Soul, that as he was the Firſt, ſo ſhall he be the Laſt; yea, when all outward performances, writings, and worſhips, and the whole world ſhall be at an end, the uſe and excellency of this Light will remain for ever, as ſaith John the divine; "And they ſhall ſee his face; and his name ſhall be written in their foreheads; and there "ſhall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the ſun, for the "Lord God giveth them Light, and they ſhall reign for ever and ever. Amen." Rev. xxii. 4, 5.

CHAP. V.

An Objection againſt the Light's Antecedency to Chriſt's Coming. The Light Saving from Adam's Day, through the Holy Patriarchs and Prophets Time, down to Chriſt's, proved from Scripture.

Tit. ii.
John xiv. 6.
John i. 1, 2,
iii. 4. 9.
1 Cor. xv. 45, 47. & i. 24.
1 John ii. 27. and v. 6, 7, 8.
John vi. 51. 52, 53.

HAVING then plainly ſhown from the Scripture, (1.) That the Light is ſaving ſince the time of Chriſt; beginning with its firſt appearance in man, as manifeſting of ſin; (2.) Condemning of it; (3.) Redeeming thoſe from ſin, that obey it; and that the ſame principle which is called Light, is the Seed, Grace, Truth, Word, Spirit, Power, Unction, Water, Way, Life, Fleſh and Blood myſtical; and therefore not another Being than that which all that own plain ſcripture muſt confeſs doth ſave; I call it the "Light of Salvation, or that leads to Salvation."

But there remain yet ſeveral objections to be anſwered; which done, we ſhall immediately proceed to give judgment upon the queſtion, *Who*, or *What*, this Light is, with reſpect to all our adverſaries cavils.

Object. 'Though the Univerſality of a Saving Light, from the Scriptures, ſince 'Chriſt's life, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion, be proved and allowed; yet the pinch 'of the controverſy will be this, Where was this Light *before*? Had any this ſaving 'Light, (they *had* a Light) *before* the Coming of Chriſt in the Fleſh? as they muſt, if 'your doctrine of the Light be true.'

To which I ſhall give my anſwer, both from ſcripture, hiſtory and reaſon.

Gen. i. 27.

I. The firſt ſcripture I ſhall quote, is in the firſt of Geneſis: "So God created man "in his own image; in the image of God created he him."

From whence I draw this argument, That if man was made in God's image; then, becauſe God is Light, Adam muſt neceſſarily have had of the divine Light *in him*, and have been the Image of this Light, ſo long as he walked in it; becauſe no man walks in the Light, but he becomes the Child of Light. And as the apoſtle Paul expreſſeth it of ſuch as were converted to that Light they had once erred from, "Ye were darkneſs; but now are ye Light in the Lord." That is, through obedience to the Light of the Lord Jeſus, with which he hath lighted you, you are become 'Light in the Lord, and lights in your generation.' For any man then to ſay, Adam had not Light, were to ſuppoſe his innocent ſtate to be that of Darkneſs; and inſtead of being God's Image, who is, and ever was, and always will be, Light, he would have been wholly ignorant of him, in whoſe image he is ſaid to have been created.

Deut. xxx. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

II. This Moſes directed the children of Iſrael to, when he, in God's ſtead, recommended, and earneſtly preſſed the keeping of the Commandment and Word in the heart, as we read in Deuteronomy. "For this Commandment which I command thee "this day, is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou "ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may "hear it, and do it? But the Word is very nigh unto thee, in thy Mouth, and in thy "Heart, that thou mayeſt do it. See, I have ſet before thee this day, Life and Good, "and Death and Evil."

From whence I cannot but obſerve theſe three things:

1. That the *Commandment*, and the *Word*, are ſo called by way of excellency and pre-eminence to all *written* commandments or words.

2. That this Commandment or Word is nigh, even in the *heart* of man itſelf: None need or ought to plead diſtance or ignorance, to excuſe their diſobedience.

3. That the ſetting of Life and Good, Death and Evil before them, was, and could only be, in and through the *Shinings* of the *Light* within; elſe how could they have ſeen good and evil ſet before them? And that it was in their Hearts the Lord ſet thoſe ſtates before them, the verſe immediately follows that wherein the Word is by Moſes argumentatively proved, as well as affirmed, to be in the Heart of man. Now, I hope, it ſhall not be charged upon me as a fault, and I know who will bear me out, if I ſay,

Pſal. xix. 8.
cxix. 105.
cxix. 11.
cxix. 9.
Rom. x. 8.

This *Commandment* is that which David ſpoke of, when he ſaid, "The Commandment "of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes;" and this holy Word the ſame with that which he ſaid was a "Lamp unto his feet, and a Light unto his path, which he hid "in his Heart; and by hearkening to which the young man cleanſeth his way:" And not another Word than what Paul called the "Word of Faith," which he preached, by which the juſt live; conſequently a Saving Commandment, Word, and Light, it was and is, to ſuch as believe and obey it.

Sam. ix. 22, 29.

III. The next ſcripture I will urge ſhall be this: "For thou art my Lamp, O Lord; "for the Lord will lighten my darkneſs." Now if God was the Light and Lamp of that day, as certainly, then, they had a Light, and ſuch an one as was Saving too; unleſs we ſhould blaſphemouſly deny God to be Light, or Saving, who is moſt certainly both. And if it ſhould be ſaid, This was a metaphorical way of ſpeaking in the royal prophet; I anſwer be it ſo; it was to ſhew that they had ſomething to manifeſt to them the way God would have them to walk in, or a diſcovering power that attended them, by which to walk uprightly, and ſafely, to glory; and this is what we ſay.

IV. Wicked men were not without light to condemn them, as good men ever had light to preſerve them. "They are of thoſe that rebel againſt the Light; they know not Job. xxiv. 13. "the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof," ſaid Job. In which paſſage it is very obvious, that wicked men have Light, otherwiſe it would have been utterly impoſſible for them to have rebelled againſt it: Nay, "againſt the Light," implies that "it is the ſame Light in nature with that which Righteous men are guided by; anſwerable to another emphatical paſſage in the ſame book of Job, "Is there any number of Job. xxv. 3. "his armies, and upon whom doth not his Light ariſe?" Certainly, this univerſality ſtrongly pleads on the behalf of our belief of the Light: And if people would but venture to let it come cloſe to their conſciences, I cannot be ſo uncharitable as to think they would not make ſome acknowledgment to its univerſality antecedent to the coming of Chriſt. I ſhall omit to ſay much of its efficaciouſneſs at that time (though one would think that light always ſhews us a good way from a bad one) referring it to another place: Only I ſhall obſerve how Job expreſſed himſelf, when he was in his deep troubles of ſpirit: "O that I were as in months paſt, in the days when God pre- Job. xxix. 3. "ſerved me, when his *Candle ſhined* upon my head, and when by his Light I walked "through darkneſs:" Where it is moſt apparent, that Job attributes his ſalvation from the darkneſs (which ſtands both for Sin and Affliction) unto the Light wherewith God had enlightened him. And certainly, it had been utterly impoſſible for divers weighty things, that are delivered in that book of Job, to have been known, and ſaid ſo lively, had they not been ſeen by the Light and Candle of the Lord: For in the whole book I find not one verſe cited out of any other ſcripture. It ſeems an original, and doubtleſs very early.

V. To this doctrine David was no ſtranger, who ſo very often commemorates the Light, and the divine excellencies of it: Some few places I ſhall mention of thoſe many that I might offer.

"The Lord is my Light and my Salvation, whom ſhall I fear? The Lord is the Pſal. xxvii. 1. "Strength of my life, of whom ſhall I be afraid?"

This weighty paſſage of the prophet is a lively teſtimony to the *True Light*; wherein David confeſſeth to what the beloved diſciple called his evangelical meſſage, viz. That God is Light. Next, that not only God is Light, but (which doubtleſs was moſt of all to his comfort) *his* Light; the Lord is *my* Light, and *my* ſalvation: As much as if he had ſaid, 'Becauſe the Lord is become my Light, I have known him to be my Salvation, 'or him by whom my ſalvation hath been wrought.'

In ſhort thus, That God is My Salvation, as he is My Light; or, becauſe I have obeyed Him, and made Him my Light, I have witneſſed his Salvation. O! that ſuch profeſſors of religion, in whom there is any moderation, would but be pleaſed to weigh *what* was David's Light, and *what* was his Salvation; who made it his *Rule* at that time of the world: Of which he farther ſpeaks:

"God is the Lord, who hath ſhewed us *Light*. Thy WORD is a Lamp unto my Pſal. cxviii. 27. cxix. 105, 102. "Feet, and a *Light* unto my paths. I have not departed from thy judgments, for thou "haſt taught me." This made him far wiſer than his teachers in the hidden life and myſtery of things, whereby David had long ſeen beyond all types and ſhadows of the good things to come, even to the very Subſtance itſelf, from whence came his excellent prophecies: Agreeing with that famous paſſage, "The path of the juſt is as the ſhining Prov. iv. 18. "Light, that ſhines more and more unto the perfect Day." This ſtrongly implies, that David, and not he alone, but the juſt of all ages, were attended with the Diſcoveries and Leadings of a Divine Light; which, through the obedience of faith, made juſt men, and always led them the way of ſalvation; unleſs the juſt way was not the Saving way: But if it was, certainly it is ſo ſtill; for it is the LORD HIMSELF that David calls a Lamp, as he here doth the Word, which Moſes ſaid was "nigh in the "heart, that men ſhould obey it and do it." This was the Word of Reconciliation in every generation, whoſe holy water waſhed their conſciences from ſin, that heard and obeyed it.

Again, that this Light was not confined to David, or ſuch good men, take theſe two paſſages:

"Thou giveſt thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit: Thou ſitteſt and Pſal. l. 19, 20, 21. "ſpeakeſt againſt thy brother, thou ſlandereſt thine own mother's ſon: Theſe things "haſt thou done, and I kept ſilence; thou thoughteſt that I was altogether ſuch an one "as thyſelf; but I will reprove thee, and ſet them in order before thine eyes," ſaid the Lord. Again, "His lightnings enlightened the world; the earth ſaw, and Pſal. lcix. 4. "trembled." In which two places it will appear, upon impartial conſideration, that God hath *enlightened* the world; and that by his Light, which diſcovers the works and workers of darkneſs, he doth *reprove* the inhabitants of the world, ſet their ſins in order *before* them, and cauſe ſuch guilty ones to *tremble* at his ſo appearing; which is expreſly confirmed in that notable paſſage of the prophet; "For lo! He that formeth "the mountains, and createth the wind, that makes the morning darkneſs, and treadeth Amos iv. 13. "upon the high places of the earth, and declares unto man what is his thought; the "Lord, the God of hoſts, is his name."

This the Pſalmiſt was well acquainted with himſelf, when he uttered theſe words, Pſal. cxxxix. 7. "Whither ſhall I go from thy Spirit, or whither ſhall I flee from thy Preſence?" Which plainly ſhews to us, that the Spirit of the Lord and his Preſence were every-where; and that the Light thereof diſcovered darkneſs to mankind: For the queſtion was not, Whether God by his Spirit was not every-where? For that all muſt grant, or he could not be God: But whether it was poſſible for David to withdraw himſelf into any place, where the Eternal Spirit and Preſence of God (who is Light itſelf) were not *preſent* with him, in ſome ſort or other, to his inſtruction; as the foregoing words in- Ib, ver. 1, 2, 3. timate? Again, "O Lord, thou haſt ſearched me, and known me:----Thou under-"ſtandeſt my thought afar off:----Thou art acquainted with all my ways." Which, tho' God knew them, it ſtands firm that David could not have known God or them, or that God had known them, but by the Light of the Spirit; of which he ſays in the ſeventh verſe following, which I have already cited, "Whither ſhall I go from thy "Spirit?"

In ſhort, It muſt needs be evident to all unprejudiced readers, David meant that he had the Light of God's Holy Spirit *preſent* with him, as a Reprover, Informer, or Comforter; ſince he makes it impoſſible for him to be any-where without it. Which may prove to us, that however he lived above a thouſand years before the apoſtle Paul, he very well knew the meaning of that doctrine he preached to the Athenians, "God is Acts xvii. 27. "not far away," or at a diſtance, "from every one of us." Which, truly known and experimentally witneſſed in the ſoul, and that not only as a Reprover, but, by an humble and holy reception of him into the heart, as a Comforter, Shepherd, Biſhop, King, and Lord, is the glory of the Evangelical Diſpenſation, where "God dwells in his holy 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20. "temple, and tabernacles with men." This is the bleſſed Emmanuel-ſtate, God *with*, and God *in* Men.

I might here ſubjoin the account we have of the great illumination of Daniel, and the Gentiles clear acknowledgment of the ſame, as it is given us in the ſcripture; which they could never have done with that ſeriouſneſs and conviction, but from ſome glimpſe of the ſame Divine Light; for it muſt be the ſame Light, that ſhews the ſame Truths; but that I ſhall paſs over, with ſeveral other paſſages of the leſſer prophets; and conclude my ſcripture-proof of the gift of the Light of God's Spirit antecedent to Chriſt's Acts vii. 48, 49, 50, 51. coming in the fleſh, with Stephen's teſtimony, "Howbeit, the Moſt High dwelleth not "in temples made with hands; as ſaith the prophet: Heaven is my throne, and earth is "my footſtool; what houſe will you build me, ſaith the Lord? Or what is the place of "my reſt? Hath not my Hand made all theſe things? Ye ſtiff-necked and uncircum-"ciſed in heart and ears, ye do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt; as your fathers did, "ſo do ye." By which it is plain that the rebellious Jews had the Spirit of God; it ſtrove with them, but they reſiſted it: And if the Rebellious had it, the *obedient* were not without it.

And leſt it ſhould be objected, that it was only the Spirit in Stephen then, and the holy prophets of old, that both they and their fore-fathers reſiſted, and not in *themſelves*; Neh. 9. 20. remember, reader, that weighty paſſage in Nehemiah, "Thou gaveſt alſo thy Good "Spirit to inſtruct them, and withheldeſt not thy Manna from their Mouth;" by which it is moſt evident, That they that had the *manna* to *feed* them, had the *Spirit* to *inſtruct* them: But *All* had their portion of the manna to feed them, therefore *all* had alſo their portion of the Spirit to *inſtruct* them. So that the Light of God's Spirit, or the Spirit of God, was given as well to the Rebellious as Obedient, that it might "condemn "for ſin, as well as lead into all righteouſneſs." And ſince we are to ſuppoſe God's Spirit, and the Light thereof, to be *ſufficient* to ſalvation, (for God's gifts are *perfect* in themſelves, and are given to accompliſh their ends perfectly) we may, without any offence, I hope, conclude, that during thoſe many ages before the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, he did illuminate mankind with a *ſufficient* meaſure of his Divine Light and Spirit.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Another objection, That though the Jews had it, it will not follow that the Gentiles were ſo illuminated. It is anſwered by ſeveral ſcriptures, that they were not exempted; but had a meaſure of Light, ſome divine ſeed ſown in their hearts, ſome talents given, and that it was ſufficient. A challenge to give an inſtance of one that by the Light within was reproved for not believing that Jeſus was the Chriſt, is anſwered. Such as belived in the Light, and walked up to it, did receive Chriſt when he came. The high pretenders were they who oppoſed the ſcripture, and crucified him. The Light from ſcripture concluded univerſal and ſaving.

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BUT here I expect this objection, having run our adverſaries unavoidably to it:

Object. 'Very well: Taking for granted what you have ſaid in reference to a Saving 'Light or Spirit univerſally beſtowed upon the *Jews*, that were a DISTINCT PEOPLE 'from the reſt of the world, under very many peculiar rights; yet cannot we think it 'good arguing to infer the gifts of God's Light and Spirit to the Gentiles, that make 'far the greateſt part thereof, from theſe Scriptures, that only ſeem to prove it the pri'vilege of the Jews.'

To which I anſwer, that I conceive I have urged thoſe ſcriptures already, which give a plain conviction of the truth of that general inference: But becauſe I am deſirous from my ſoul, in perfect love to theirs that ſhall read this diſcourſe, of removing what objections I am able to foreſee it may meet with, after it ſhall have paſſed my hand, I will yet endeavour to make appear, firſt from *ſcripture*; and next from the beſt account we have of the Doctrines and Lives of *Heathens*; and laſtly from *reaſon*, the thing; That God's love, in the illumination of his Spirit, was *univerſal*; or that mankind was, before Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, *enlightened* with ſuch a meaſure of the Light of his Spirit as was ſaving in itſelf, and ſo experienced of all ſuch as received and obeyed it, in the *love* of it. In order to this, I ſhall briefly inſiſt on a few ſcriptures, ſome of which have been already quoted, though not ſo directly to this matter.

I. "My Spirit ſhall not always ſtrive with man." Here obſerve, that no one nation Gen. vi. 3. was intereſted more than another, but *man* ſtands for the whole *Adam*, or *mankind:* From whence I conclude, that mankind was not deſtitute of the Spirit, or Light of the Almighty, though it might be known in no higher degree than that of a *convincer* or *reprover* of ſin: Yet it follows not, but that if man had *yielded* to the ſtrivings of it, he had been thereby redeemed from the ſpirit of iniquity, that was the ground of his grievous revolt and reſiſtance; which redemption I call *ſalvation* from ſin.

II. "They are of thoſe that rebel againſt the Light; they know not the ways thereof, Job xxiv. 13. "nor abide in the paths thereof." Here is no mention made of *Jews* more than *Gentiles* in this chapter, if at all in the whole book. For Job is here giving the character of wicked men in general, without reſpect to any particular nation. So that we may well infer, he did not underſtand that the Light whereof he ſpoke ſhould be limited in its illumination to any particular people. In ſhort, I argue thus; If ſuch as pluck the fatherleſs from the breaſt, and take a pledge of the poor, (as the context relates) are thoſe that Ver. 9. *rebel* againſt the Light, and walk not in its way; then, becauſe that vice was never limited to the Jews, but other nations wrought that wickedneſs as well as they, it will plainly follow, that the Light, againſt which ſuch offenders rebelled, was not limited to the *Jews*, but extended to the *Gentiles* alſo: Unleſs we ſhould ſay, that what was rebellion and wickedneſs in the *Jews*, was not ſo in the *Gentiles*. But becauſe Sin was, and is Sin, in its own nature, all the world over; Light was, and is Light, all the world over, whether men bring their deeds unto it, or not.

III. But again, let us hear the ſame book ſpeak: "Is there any number of his ar- Job xxv. 3. "mies? And upon whom doth not his Light ariſe?"

This queſtion carries in it a ſtrong affirmative of the *univerſality* of God's Light; as much as to ſay, 'Who is there among all the ſons and daughters of men, that can juſtly ſay, 'I am not enlightened by him?' If then none can, it muſt needs follow, that All are enlightened, as well *Gentiles* as *Jews*.

Neither is it our conſtruction only, but the judgment of men famed in the world for their exactneſs in the original text, or letter of the ſcripture. They interpret it to be the *Light of the divine wiſdom*; the *fountain of light*; yea, God himſelf: that rebelling againſt the Light, is againſt God Τὸ φῶς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, *the Light of* Iſrael: Alluding to the Pſalmiſt, "The Lord is my Light and my ſalvation." Nay, to the Light mentioned by the apoſtle Paul, "Ye, who were ſometimes darkneſs, are now light in the Lord." And that *very* Light, which is ſaid to have ſprung up to them that ſat in darkneſs, which is the Light of *Truth*; and by all allowed to be the evangelical, and ſpoke of Chriſt's manifeſtation: Alſo that the *ways* of Light, *are* Light, *leading* to the Light itſelf, which wicked men

Munſter. Vatabl. Clar. Caſtel. Druſ. and Codurc. Crit. in 24, 25, ch. ver. 13. and 3 Job. p. 3284. to 3308. chap. xxv. 3.

turn from, and ſpurn at: That this is the Light, which there is none but it riſes upon, whereby to give them true ſight of themſelves. See the criticks, Munſterius, Vatablus, Clarius, Caſtellio on the 17th verſe; but eſpecially Druſius and Codurcus, who ſay, '*All men partake* of that Light; and that it is ſufficient to maniſeſt and drive away the darkneſs of error; and that it is the Light of Life; nay Codurcus calls it, an *evangelical principle*; and ſeems to explain his mind by a quotation of the evangeliſt's words, John i. 9. "That was the true Light, that enlighteneth all mankind, coming into the world."

IV. Thus much thoſe two notable parables teach us of the Sower, and the Lord that gave his ſervants Talents. They who believe ſcripture, muſt acknowledge them to repreſent God's dealings with mankind, in reference to Gift, Duty, and Reward. Obſerve the firſt parable.

Mat. xiii. 1—10.

"The ſame day went Jeſus out of the houſe, and ſat by the ſea ſide: And great multitudes were gathered together unto him, ſo that he went into a ſhip, and ſat, and the whole multitude ſtood on the ſhore. And he ſpoke many things unto them in parables, ſaying, Behold, a ſower went forth to ſow; and when he ſowed, ſome ſeeds fell by the way-ſide, and the fowls came, and devoured them up; ſome fell upon ſtony places, where they had not much earth, and forthwith they ſprung up, becauſe they had no deepneſs of earth, and when the ſun was up, they were ſcorched, and becauſe they had not root, they withered away: And ſome fell among thorns, and the thorns ſprung up and choaked them; but other fell in good ground, and brought forth fruit; ſome an hundred-fold, ſome ſixty-fold, ſome thirty-fold. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear."

ver. 19. It is granted by all that I know of, that the ſeeds-man is Chriſt: The ſcripture ſaith, the Seed is the Word of the Kingdom, which muſt needs be the Spiritual Word nigh in the heart, ſuitable to the heavenly Kingdom, which Chriſt ſaid was *within*, otherwiſe called *Light*, that is ſaid to be "ſown for the righteous;" or the *grace* which "comes by Chriſt, that appears unto all men, and brings ſalvation to them that are taught by it;" or the *Spirit*, that quickens us: And laſtly, common ſenſe tells us, that the ſeveral grounds comprehend mankind; for they muſt either include the bad with the good, or the good only muſt be ſown: But the very ſcripture expreſly diſtinguiſheth betwixt the good and bad ground, yet affirms the one to have been ſown with the Seed as well as the other: Therefore God's gift is Univerſal, however men, by wicked works, may have rendered their hearts ſtony, thorny, or otherwiſe defective and uncapable of bringing forth fruit.

Mat. xxv. 14. to 34. The other parable is alſo weighty, and much to the purpoſe: "For the kingdom of Heaven is as a man travelling into a far country, who called his own ſervants, and delivered to them *his goods*; and unto one he gave *five talents*, to another *two*, and to another *one*; to *every* man according to his ability, and ſtraight-way took his journey. Then he that had received five talents, went and traded with the ſame, and made them other five talents; and likewiſe he that had received two, he alſo gained other two; but he that had received one, went and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money. After a long time, the lord of thoſe ſervants cometh and reckoneth with them: And ſo he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, ſaying, Lord, thou deliveredſt unto me five talents, behold, I have gained, beſides them, five talents more. His lord ſaid unto him, well done, thou good and faithful ſervant; thou haſt been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy lord. He alſo that had received two talents, came and ſaid, Lord, thou deliveredſt unto me two talents, behold, I have gained two other talents beſides them; his lord ſaid unto him, well done, good and faithful ſervant; thou haſt been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy lord. Then he who had received one talent, came and ſaid, Lord, I know thee, that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou haſt not ſown, and gathering where thou haſt not ſtrawed; and I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, there thou haſt that which is thine. His lord anſwered, and ſaid unto him, Thou wicked and ſlothful ſervant, thou kneweſt that I reap where I ſowed not, and gather where I have not ſtrawed, thou oughteſt therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I ſhould have received my own with uſury: Take therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him who has ten talents: For unto every one that hath ſhall be given, and he ſhall have abundance; but from him that has not, ſhall be taken away, even that which he hath: And caſt ye the unprofitable ſervant into utter darkneſs, there ſhall be weeping, and gnaſhing of teeth; when the ſon of man ſhall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then ſhall he ſit upon the throne of his glory, and before him ſhall be gathered all nations, and he ſhall ſeparate them one from another, as a ſhepherd divideth his ſheep from the goats, and he ſhall ſet the ſheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left."

Serious reader, I have the rather repeated the ſcripture at large, becauſe of that great ſtrength it carries with it, methinks to the conviction, at leaſt confuſion, of that narrow ſpirit, which confines the Infinite Goodneſs of God, and renders him, whilſt he is the Univerſal Creator, but a narrow benefactor; ſhutting up his gifts within the ſtrait compaſs of a Few; repreſenting him thereby as partial as ſome parents, who, they know not why, beſides their own unequal wills, do frequently beſtow their favours (indeed their whole affection) upon an elected darling, to the manifeſt, though cauſeleſs neglect of the reſt. But to ſpeak the truth of the matter, the over-fondneſs ſome carry to their opinion, joined with the envy raiſed towards thoſe who conform not to it, has ſo emptied them of all natural affection, that looking upon God in that condition, they dare think him as unnatural as themſelves. For my part, I have not a great while believed but that it rather riſes from an unwillingneſs in ſome that diſſenters from them ſhould be ſaved, (thereby endeavouring a compliance upon neceſſity) than that God had not been propitious unto all his creatures. For who ſees not, that can or will ſee, that God is this ſovereign Lord; that he made mankind to be his ſervants; that theſe three ſervants repreſent mankind; and to the end they might not be unprofitable, he gave them talents to improve againſt his return, that is, againſt the "day of recompence, for which they are "accountable;" that thoſe who improve their talents may be rewarded, and they who make no improvement of their talents, may be puniſhed with eternal ſeparation from the preſence of God, and all his holy angels.

I will conclude with theſe five obſervations:

1. That God, though it be his ſovereign prerogative to give what he will, has given a talent out of his celeſtial treaſury unto *every* man and woman.

2. That this talent is in itſelf ſufficient: But as the beſt corn, ſo this talent, put up into a napkin, muſt needs be unprofitable: Yet, that the fault is in the party neglecting or hiding of it, not in itſelf.

3. That thoſe who improve not their talent, are moſt apt to charge God with reaping where he ſows not; as do many profeſſors we have to do with, that make God to require an account of all, and yet deny, in order to rendering up this account with joy, that he has given to all a talent ſufficient thereunto.

4. That the eternal eſtate of men and women, as ſheep and goats, depends upon their improving, or not improving, of that heavenly talent wherewith God has indued them.

Laſtly, Neither is there any ſhelter for theſe men, under the inequality of the number of talents; for it is not *how many* talents are given, but *what improvement* is made of what is given: Wherefore greater is his reward, who makes one talent three, than his, who of ten advances but to fifteen; ſince the one makes but half, whilſt the other makes treble improvement.

Bleſſed therefore are you all, and will you aſſuredly be in the day of the Lord's recompence, who, diſregarding the vanities, pleaſures, cares, honours, and carnal religions of the world, diligently mind your own talent, and are, in the pure fear and holy counſel of the Lord, making your daily improvement of the ſame, "laying up treaſure" in the high and heavenly place, that is durable and everlaſting.

V. This reaſonable truth is yet farther manifeſt, from the weighty words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; "For every one that doth evil hateth the Light, neither comes to the Light, lest his deeds ſhould be reproved." John iii. 20. To which I would add, as before, that of the apoſtle, "Whatſoever is reproved is made manifeſt by the Light." Eph. v. 13. Certainly then, unleſs men will be ſo unjuſt to God, as to think (contrary to ſcripture and reaſon) he ſhould let millions of men, and ſcores of generations live in ſin, *without* a light to ſhew it them, or a Law to limit them, it muſt be yielded, that they had Light and Law in their hearts and conſciences, by which they were convicted of ſin, and that ſuch as obeyed it, were helped and led to work righteouſneſs; ſince their refuſing to bring their deeds to the Light, was not an act of ignorance, but deſign; becauſe they knew their deeds would be condemned, and they for them; which loudly aſſerts, that they both had a Light, and knew they had it, though they rebelled againſt it. And if I ſhould grant, that whatever was reproveable was not made manifeſt unto them, yet this will no ways impeach the Capacity of the Light to do it. It is evident, that ſome things which the Gentiles did *were* reproved; therefore they *had* the Light: And if they had it not in all the Extent of its revelation, the Light was no more to be blamed, than that guide was, whoſe paſſengers never came to their journey's end, becauſe they never would begin, at leaſt proceed, by his direction. Had the Heathens been faithful to the Light that God had given them, and not been blinded by the vain idolatries and ſuperſtitious traditions of their fathers, they had more fully known and learned the mind and will of their Creator; which ſome of thoſe Gentiles notwithſtanding did, as will anon appear.

VI. Thus the apoſtle Paul teaches us to believe, in that remarkable paſſage of his in the firſt chapter to the Romans: "For I am not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt: For it is the Power of God unto ſalvation, to every one that believeth, to the *Jew* firſt, and alſo to the *Greek*. For therein is the righteouſneſs of God revealed, from faith to faith: As it is written, The juſt ſhall live by faith. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven

Rom. i. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 2

"heaven againſt all ungodlineſs and unrighteouſneſs of men, who hold the Truth in "unrighteouſneſs. Becauſe that which may be known of God is manifeſt *in them*, for "God hath *ſhewed* it unto them. For the inviſible things of him from the creation of the "world are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made, even his eternal "power and god head, ſo that they are without excuſe; becauſe that when they knew "God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their "imaginations, and their fooliſh hearts were *darkened*. And even as they did not like to "retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do thoſe "things which are not convenient."

Theſe notable lines of that great apoſtle, give an apparent overthrow to all objections, againſt either the Univerſality or Sufficiency of the Light within: Which will farther appear, if the reader be but pleaſed to obſerve theſe few particulars. (1.) That in the Goſpel of Chriſt is the righteouſneſs of God revealed, and that from Faith to Faith. (2.) That this Faith the juſt have ever lived by; for he quotes a time paſt, "As it is written:" Which writing was above ſeven hundred years before he wrote that epiſtle. (3.) That many had degenerated from the righteouſneſs of God, to wit, the Gentiles, into ungodlineſs, againſt which the wrath of God was revealed from heaven. (4.) That they, however, *once knew* the Truth. (5.) That they came to the knowledge of this Truth from the "Manifeſtation of God (who is Light) within," ſince the apoſtle ſays, what "might be known of God was manifeſted in them, becauſe God had "ſhewed it unto them." (6.) That the cauſe of their after darkneſs, was their rebelling againſt that Manifeſtation or Light, not glorifying the God that ſhewed it to them, when they both ſaw it, and knew it was HE that ſhewed them: conſequently that God had given them light ſufficient, both to know and obey him. And ſince they liked not to retain God in their knowledge, the deficiency was theirs, and not the Light's. (7.) If therefore their fooliſh hearts were darkened, (that is, by diſobedience) it follows, that darkneſs came by Sin into their hearts; and that they had Light in their hearts, or a light within, to know their duty and ſquare their lives by. (8.) Laſtly, If the wrath was therefore revealed, becauſe they held the Truth in unrighteouſneſs; and when they knew God, by the manifeſtation of *Light within*, they glorified him not *as* God, but became vain in their imaginations, and their fooliſh hearts were darkened; then certainly, had they kept to that enlightening principle we call TRUTH, and the Manifeſtation of God *within*, and ſo preſerved their faith in God, as he had revealed himſelf to them, glorifying him as God, and delighting to retain him in their knowledge; not wrath, but mercy and peace, had been revealed from Heaven; as ſaith the Rom. xxvii. ſame apoſtle in his following chapter, "To them, who by patient continuanee in well-"doing, ſeek for glory, and honour, and immortality, Eternal Life."

In ſhort, This we may ſafely conclude, that the righteouſneſs revealed in the Goſpel of Chriſt (of which Paul was not aſhamed) from faith to faith, (by which faith, he teſtifies, the juſt ancients lived, or were accepted) is one in Nature, though not in Degree, with that Truth the Gentiles apoſtatized from, and therefore are ſaid to have lived without Faith, Righteouſneſs, or God in the world; for which the wrath was revealed. Whereas, had they lived up unto it, glorifying God *as* God, according to the Manifeſtation of himſelf in their hearts and conſciences, they would have had, not the revelation of wrath, but of the "Righteouſneſs of faith," by which the juſt in all ages have lived acceptably with God: For without faith no man can pleaſe God, in any age; as without holineſs (that flows from true faith) no man ſhall ever ſee the Lord.

VII. And laſtly, I do earneſtly intreat the unprejudiced reader to obſerve theſe two notable paſſages, which, with my conſideration of them, ſhall conclude the ſcripture-proofs I have urged for the univerſality of the Light, and Spirit of God, antecedent to Chriſt's appearance in the fleſh.

Acts x. 34, 35. Rom. ii. 13, 14, 15, 16, "Then Peter opened his mouth, and ſaid, Of a truth, I preceive that God is no reſpecter of perſons; but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteouſ"neſs, is accepted with him. For not the hearers of the law are juſt before God, but "the doers of the law ſhall be juſtified: For when the Gentiles which have not the "law, do by nature the things contained in the law, theſe having not the law, are a law "unto themſelves, which ſhew the work of the law written in their hearts; their con"ſciences alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts the mean while accuſing or elſe ex"cuſing one another, in the day when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men by Jeſus Chriſt, "according to my goſpel."

Theſe ſcriptures are a ſevere check to all undervaluing apprehenſions of the bleſſed Light of God in man; and this appears in ſeveral particulars:

1. That God is no reſpecter of perſons in any nation: From whence I conclude, that 'All perſons and nations were and are lighted, as well Gentiles as Jews.'

2. That here are men (not of the circumciſion made with hands) who fear God, work righteouſneſs, and are doers of the law, not from the obligation of an outward law, for they had none, but the 'inward work of the law writ upon their hearts;

which is a demonſtration that they had not only the Light as a reprover, but as a teacher and leader, whereby they came to fear God, and work righteouſneſs: Which is elſewhere ſaid to be the "concluſion of the matter, and whole duty of man." Since, then, no man that fears God, and works righteouſneſs, and keeps the pure law of God in the heart, (which the ſcriptures teſtify ſome Gentiles did) can be ſaid to do ſo, and yet be void of the True Light, that objection of the Heathen's ignorance of the True God, and that none by the Light within was ever reproved for not believing Jeſus to be Chriſt, vaniſheth of courſe. For ſuch as lived up moſt ſincerely to the Lord in their own conſciences, acknowledged, moſt readily, the glorious appearance of Light when in the fleſh.

Eccleſ. xii. 13, 14.

They were the great pretenders to ſcriptures that would not come to Chriſt; the traditional, literal, and ordinance-men, who alſo rejected and crucified him. On the other hand, had not Cornelius and the Centurion, with many others, been upright livers to the Light within, neither had Peter been ſo received by the one, nor Chriſt ſo followed by the other: But that meaſure of the Divine Light, which they had hitherto obeyed, as the "more ſure Word of Prophecy," led them naturally to the riſing of the "Day-" ſtar;" which, tho' a more glorious Manifeſtation, yet not of another Light, Life or Spirit; for there are not *two* Lights, Lifes, Natures or Spirits in God: He is *one* for ever in Himſelf, and his Light *one* in Kind, however variouſly he may have declared himſelf, or manifeſted it at ſundry times of the world: His Truth is one, his Way is one, and his Reſt one for ever.

But laſt of all, that which greatly rejoices good men is this, that the narrowneſs of ſome mens ſpirits in this world, will not be found able to exclude virtuous Gentiles from their reward in the other: But, maugre all the heat, petulancy, conceitedneſs, and fleſhly boaſting of carnal Chriſtians, "ſuch as fear God, and work righteouſneſs, and "are doers of the law written in the heart," we are aſſured ſhall be accepted and juſtified of God, in the day that he will judge the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt, according to Paul's goſpel: And if any man bring another, let it be accurſed. Amen.

I have here, on purpoſe, overlooked many very pregnant inſtances, both in the Old and New Teſtament-writings, for brevity's ſake, in which the righteouſneſs of the Gentiles hath, in ſeveral caſes, more evidently appeared, than that of ſome of the Jews, and which undeniably teſtifies to the ſufficiency of the Light within, both to manifeſt that which was good from that which was evil, and alſo to give ability to ſuch as truly minded its illumination, whereby they were enabled to do the one, and to reject the other: Such were Abimelech, Cyrus, Darius, the Ruler that came to Chriſt, and many others, which I ſhall omit to mention more particularly; the chief bent of my mind being to demonſtrate the trruh of my aſſertion from their own writings.

Gen. xx. 4. and xxi. 22. 2Chron. xxxvi. 23. Ezra i, 2, 3, 4, 5. and vi. 3, 12. Dan. vi. 26, 27. Matt. ix. 18.

CHAP. VII.

That the Gentiles believed in One God. That he enlightened all men with a Saving Light. That men ought to live piouſly. That the ſoul is immortal. That there is an eternal recompence. The whole called Gentile-divinity. The firſt point proved by ſixteen teſtimonies.

Chap. VII.

HAVING proved briefly, tho' I hope fully and truly, from the ſcriptures, that the Gentiles in general were lighted with a Divine Light, I ſhall now make it my buſineſs to evidence the truth thereof, by moſt undeniable inſtances out of their own writings. And becauſe I am willing my defence both of the Light within, and thoſe of them who obeyed it, ſhould turn to the cleareſt and beſt account, I will endeavour to reſolve the whole into as plain a method, as the matter, and their way of delivering it, will allow me.

Firſt, then, from their own authorities I am taught to affirm, That the Gentiles believed in One Holy, Infinite and Eternal God.

Secondly, That they did therefore ſo believe, becauſe God had imprinted the knowledge of himſelf on their hearts; or, in our language, that he had lighted all mankind with a Divine Light, which, if obeyed, would lead to eternal happineſs.

Thirdly, That they held and practiſed high ſanctity of life.

Fourthly, That they affirmed the Immortality of the Soul, and Eternal Rewards of Felicity, or Miſery, according to man's obedience to, or rebellion againſt, the eternal God his Creator: Which excellent principles, true and clear, being the reſult of their diſcourſe on thoſe ſubjects, do worthily deſerve, in my eſteem, the ſtile of divinity; which is the denomination, I hope, I may, without offence, beſtow upon them in this diſcourſe.

That the Gentiles did acknowledge and believe there was but One Supreme Being, that made all things, who is Infinite, Almighty, Omnipreſent, Holy and Good for ever, I ſhall produce ſome of thoſe many authorities that aſſert the ſame, and by divers ſcriptures underneath, of the like tendency, tho' of higher authority, ſhow their agreeableneſs to divine revelation, in which I have the practice of very antient fathers of the church to juſtify me.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. I. Orpheus, one thouſand two hundred years before Chriſt, thus expreſſeth his belief of God: ‘His hand reaches to the end of the ſea, his right hand is every where, and the earth is under his feet. He is Only ONE, begot of himſelf, and of him alone are all things begot; and God is the FIRST and the LAST.’ (a)

Hereby not only telling us, there was a God, but attributing to him Almighty Power and Omnipreſence; which ſhows he meant no Statuary-Deity, but God that made the heavens and the earth.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. II. Heſiod, ‘Of all, which do not die, thou art King and Lord: None can contend with thee concerning thy Power. (b)

This emphatically proves God to have been but One, and Omnipotent, in their belief.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. III. Thales, a very ancient Greek philoſopher tells us, ‘That there is but One God; that he is glorious for ever and ever.’ And he openly confeſſeth, ‘That he is called Καρδιογνώστης, HE WHO KNOWS HEARTS.’ (c)

Thales being demanded what God was, ‘That,’ ſaith he, ‘which has NEITHER BEGINNING NOR END.’

Another aſking, If a man might DO ill, and conceal it from God? ‘How,’ ſaith he, ‘when a man that THINKS it cannot?’

‘Men ought to believe,’ ſaith Cicero, in his name, ‘that God ſees all things.’

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. IV. Sibylla, ‘There is One God, who alone is Infinite, and without Beginning.’ (d)

Again, ‘Who can ſee with fleſhly eyes the Heavenly, True, and Immortal God, whoſe ſeat is in the higheſt heavens?’ (e)

This Sibyl is aged above two thouſand years. The Queſtion implies her faith that God was a Spirit, as Chriſt himſelf alſo teſtifies.

Jamblich. V. Pythagoras, a modeſt, but diligent and retired man, in his ſearch after heavenly things, ſaith, ‘That it is man's duty to believe of the Divinity that it *is*; and that it is in ſuch a manner, as to mankind, that it *overlooks* them, and neglects them not: For we have need of ſuch a government, as we ought not in any thing to contradict; ſuch is that which proceeds from the Divinity: For the Divinity is ſuch, that to it doth of right belong the dominion of all.’ Again, ‘God reſembleth Light and Truth.’ In another place, ‘God himſelf inhabits the Loweſt, and Higheſt, and the Middlemoſt; There is no being nor place without God.’ (f)

Juſt. Mart. ‘God is One: He is not, as ſome conceive, out of the world; but entire within himſelf, as in a complete circle, ſurveying all generations. He is the Salt of all Ages, the Agent of his own Powers and Works; the Principle of all things: One Heavenly Luminary or Light, and Father of all Things; Only Wiſe, Inviſible, yet Intelligible.’ (g)

Which very pathetical account of the Divine Being, ſo correſpondent with Scripture, yet he a ſtranger to it, (I mean the Words only, for the Matter, in this point, he weightily hits) deſerves very ſerious conſideration and acknowledgment from all, eſpecially thoſe who would not narrow God's mercies to their own time or party.

VI. To the ſame purpoſe ſpeaks Heraclitus, that ſenſibly-afflicted philoſopher for the world's impieties and idolatries; whoſe very ſorrowful, yet ſound and ſmart expreſſions, ſhow they came from a mind deeply touched. In one of his epiſtles to Hermodorus, his friend, he thus ſeemeth, after a while, to addreſs himſelf to Euticles, and the reſt of his enemies, that impeached him for being an enemy to their Stony Gods: ‘ Thus I ‘ ſhall be condemned of impiety by the impious. What thinkeſt thou? Shall I ſeem ‘ impious to them for diſſenting from their Gods? If blind men were to judge of ſight, ‘ they would ſay Blindneſs were Sight: But O ye ignorant men, teach, us firſt, what ‘ God is; that when ye declare us to be impious, you may be believed. Where is God? ‘ Shut up in temples? O pious men! who place God in the dark! You ignorant people! ‘ Know you not that God is not made with hands?’ *(h)*

(a) ‘He ſtretcheth out his hand over the ſea.’ Iſa. xxiii. 11.---‘For the Lord your God, he is God in heaven above and in the earth beneath,’ Joſh. ii. 11. ‘I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end, the firſt and the laſt.’ Rev. xxii. 13.

(b) ‘God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.’ Mat. xxii. 32.---‘The Lord is king for ever,’ Pſal. x. 16. ‘A Great King above all gods.’ xcv. 3. ‘King of kings, and Lord of lords,’ 1 Tim vi. 15. ‘Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.’ Pſal. xlv. 6.

(c) ‘Glorious in holineſs.’ Exod. xv. 4.---‘God had glory before the world began.’ See John xvii. 5.---‘I the Lord ſearch the heart, I try the reins.’ Jer. xvii. 10.---‘He declareth unto man his thoughts.’ Amos iv. 13.---‘God is from everlaſting to everlaſting God.’ Pſal. xc. 2.

(d) ‘Thou art God alone.’ Pſal. lxxxvi. 10. ‘Beſides me there is no God.’ Iſa. xliv. 6. ‘There is but One God.’ 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

(e) ‘No man has ſeen God at any time.’ 1 John iv. 12. ‘Heaven is my throne.’ Acts vii. 49. ‘The Lord's throne is in heaven.’ Pſal. xi. 4. ‘And hear thou in heaven thy dwelling-place.’ 1 Kings viii. 30.

(f.) ‘He that cometh to God, muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him.’ Heb. xi. 6. ‘The eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth.’ 2 Chron. xvi. 9. ‘God is Lord of heaven and earth.’ Acts xvii. 24.---‘And the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder.’ Iſa. ix. 6.---Again, ‘God is Light, and in him is no darkneſs at all.’ 1 John i. 5.---‘I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.’ John xiv. 6.

(g.) ‘A God nigh at hand.’ See Acts xvii. 27. Jer. xxiii. 23.---‘One God, who is above all, through all, and in you all.’ Epheſ. iv. 6.---‘God is Light; and upon whom doth not his Light ariſe?’ 1 John i. 5. Job xxv. 3.---‘One God and Father of all.’ Eph. iv. 6. ‘Now to the King, Eternal, Immortal, Inviſible, the Only Wiſe God, be Glory, &c.’ 1 Tim. i. 17.

This is a moſt clear and ample teſtimony againſt their idols; mixed with a religious deriſion; yet qualified by a kind of lamentation. Surely Heraclitus believed in God, yea, and that he was LIGHT too, and ſuch an one as ſhould never ſet; by whom he elſewhere ſays, ‘ He had overcome the enemies of his ſoul.’ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 2.

VII. Anaxagoras, eſteemed noble by birth, but more noble for his knowledge and virtue, who was maſter to Socrates, taught thus concerning God; ‘ That God is an Infi‑ ‘ nite Self-moving Mind: That this Divine Infinite Mind is the Efficient Cauſe of all ‘ things; every thing being made according to its ſpecies by the Divine Mind; who, when ‘ all things were confuſedly mingled together, came and redueed them to ORDER.’ *(i)* Lact. Falſ. Ref. 1. 5. Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 8.

Which doubtleſs is ſo true, that Anaxagoras had no ſmall ſhare of True Light, to give this account of both God and the Creation. And indeed, his memory was celebrated by the Greeks, for having very much improved their underſtanding concerning God and Immortality.

VIII. Socrates, That good Heathen, if, without offence to the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, I may ſay ſo, not only confeſſeth to ONE GOD, but, I am of opinion, they will think he gives good reaſon why he doth ſo. He lays down, ‘ That the Mind,’ a name which they frequently called God by, ‘ is the Diſpoſer and Cauſe of all things.’ Or, in other words of his, thus, ‘ God is ONE, Τὸ ὂν αὐτῷ ἕκαστον, ἕκαστον αὐτῷ, τὸ καλὸν αὐτῷ, τί ζώης εἶδος, ‘ Perfect in Himſelf, giving the being and well-being of every creature.’ *(k)* Plat. phæd.

And this he giveth his reaſons for: ‘ * That GOD, not *chance*, made the world, and ‘ all creatures, is demonſtrable from the reaſonable diſpoſition of their parts, as well for ‘ uſe as defence; from their care to preſerve themſelves, and continue their ſpecies: ‘ That he particularly regards man: In his Body, from the excellent upright form ‘ thereof, from the gift of ſpeech, from Τας τῶν ἀφροδισιῶν ἡδονὰς συνεχῶς παρέχειν. In his Soul, ‘ from the excellency thereof above others, both for divinations, and predicting dangers: ‘ That he regards particulars, from his care of the whole ſpecies: That he will reward ‘ ſuch as pleaſe him, and puniſh ſuch as diſpleaſe him, from his power to do it, and ‘ from the belief he hath imprinted in man that he will do it; profeſſed by the moſt ‘ wiſe and civilized cities and ages: That he at once ſeeth all things, from the inſtances ‘ of his Eye, which at once over-runs many miles; and of the Mind, which at once ‘ conſidereth things done in the moſt diſtant places. * That God knoweth all things, ‘ whether they be ſaid, done, or ſecretly deſired. That God takes care of all creatures, ‘ is demonſtrable from the benefits he gives them, of light, water and fire, ſeaſonable ‘ production of fruits of the earth: That he hath particular care of man, from the nou‑ ‘ riſhment of all plants and creatures for man's ſervice; from their ſubjection to man, ‘ though they exceed him never ſo much in ſtrength; from the variety of man's Senſe, ‘ accommodated to the variety of objects, for neceſſity, uſe and pleaſure; from Reaſon, ‘ whereby he diſcourſes, through reminiſcence, from ſenſible objects; from Speech, ‘ whereby he communicates all that he knows, gives laws and governs ſtates. * That ‘ God, notwithſtanding he is inviſible, hath a Being; from the inſtances of his miniſters, ‘ inviſible alſo, as thunder and wind; and from the ſoul of man, which hath ſomething ‘ with,

* Xen. memor. 1.
* Id. eod.
* Id. 4.

(h) ‘ The heaven of heavens cannot contain thee.’ 1 Kings viii. 27. 2 Chron. vi. 18.---‘ What houſe will ‘ ye build me?’ Acts vii. 49---‘ God dwells in the Light.’ 1 Tim. vi. 16.—‘ To whom will ye liken God?’ ‘ What likeneſs will ye compare unto him?’ Iſa. xl. 18.---‘ God is a Spirit,’ John iv. 24.

(i) ‘ But to us there is but One God, the Father, of whom are all things.’ 1 Cor. viii. 6.---‘ Where waſt ‘ thou when I laid the foundation of the earth?’ Job xxxviii. 4.---‘ And the earth was without form.’ Read the chapter, in which is declared, ‘ God's making and beautifying heavens and earth, and all living creatures ‘ therein.’ Gen. i. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and ſo to the end.---‘ Thou, Lord, madeſt the heavens, and the earth, and all that in them is.’ Acts iv. 24.

(k) Theſe notable arguments, urged for the proof of a Divine Super-intelligent Being, and his Creation and Providence, may well agree with thoſe pathetical expreſſions of Job, the Pſalmiſt, and ſeveral Prophets, Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, concerning God's creating the world, and upholding it to this day; his laying the foundations thereof; his providence over the lillies and the ſparrows; his bringing forth fruits in due ſeaſon; his lights by day, and by night; that the diſciples ſhould take no thought what they ſhould eat and drink, or put on; that there is a ſpirit in man, and the inſpiration of the Almighty gives underſtanding: And laſtly, ‘ Can any hide himſelf in ſecret places that I ſhall not ſee him, ſaith the Lord?’ Jer. xxiii. 24.---No; ‘ If I ‘ take the wings of the morning, and flee to the uttermoſt part of the earth, thou art there,’ Pſal. cxxxix. 9. ‘ And by me kings reign, and princes decree juſtice,’ ſaith God. Prov. viii. 15.---‘ And is every where.’ Joſh. ii. 11.---And orders all.’ Wiſd. xi. 20.---‘ There is but One God, and none elſe beſides him.’ Eph. iv. 6.--- ‘ In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.’ Gen. i. 1, 2, 3.---‘ In him we live, move, and ‘ have our being.’ Acts xvii. 21.---Thus he ſees and hears all, and is every where. Pſal. xxxiv. 9, 10, 11.

‘ with, or partakes of the Divine Nature, in governing thoſe that cannot ſee it. Finally, ‘ that he is ſuch, and ſo great, as that he at once ſees all, hears all, is every where, and ‘ orders all.’

So that here we have Socrates's faith in God, and his reaſons for it; drawn from the outward creation, and the inward divine ſenſe, which he had from Divine Inſtinct, or Nature, in him; in which he lived, and for which he willingly died, as afterwards will be related.

IX. Timæus Locrus, in his “ Work of Nature,” thus argumentatively expreſſeth himſelf of God: ‘ One Principle of all is unbegotten. For if it was Begotten, then ‘ were it no more that Principle; but That of which it were begotten would be the ‘ Principle *(l)*.’

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. 2 Kings xix. 19. Mark xii. 32. 1 Mim. ii. 5.

Suitable to this ſaith Clemens Alexandrinus; * namely, “ Hear, O Iſrael: The Lord, “ thy God, is One; and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.”

Thus did he endeavour to refute the Gentiles, and prove the ſcriptures out of their own writings. But again,

De Anim. Mund.

Timæus affirms, ‘ That God IS; and that he is a Spirit; and that he is the Au‘ thor of all Light.’ Which how ſober and true it is, let the ſcriptures here inſerted teſtify *(m)*.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

X. Antiſthenes, one of Socrates's ſchool, as it were by way of paraphraſe upon that ſaying, “ Whom have ye likened me unto? ſaith the Lord;” thus ſpeaks? ‘ He is ‘ like none; becauſe no man can know him from a LIKENESS, or IMAGE *(n)*.”

By which we may perceive he did not believe Him to be an Image, ‘ who could not ‘ be known by an image,’ nor any thing that could be ſeen with carnal eyes: A ſtep beyond the Romaniſts, that teach, as they darkly fancy, by Images.

XI. Plato, the famous doctor of Gentile-Divinity, ſcholar to Socrates, whom the Greeks, for his heavenly contemplation and pious life, ſurnamed Divine, gives us his faith of God in theſe words; ‘ God is Firſt, Eternal, Ineffable, Perfect in himſelf; ‘ that is, Needing none; and ever Perfect, that is, abſolute in all times; and every way ‘ perfect, that is, Abſolute in every part, Divinity, Eſſence, Truth, Harmony, Good. ‘ Neither do we ſo name theſe to diſtinguiſh one from the other, but rather by them all ‘ to underſtand One. He is ſaid to be GOOD, becauſe he beſtows his benefits upon all, ‘ according to their ſeveral capacities, and ſo is the Cauſe of all Good: Fair, or BEAU‘ TIFUL, becauſe he is, in Eſſence, both More, Better and Equal: Truth, becauſe ‘ he is the Principle of all truth, as the Sun is of all Light *(o)*.’

‘ Moreover; God, not having any Parts, can neither be locally moved, nor altered by ‘ qualities: For if he be altered, it muſt be done by Himſelf, or ſome other: If by ſome ‘ other, that other muſt be of greater Power than he: If by Himſelf, it muſt be either ‘ to better, or to worſe: Both which are abſurd.

From all theſe it follows, That God is incorporeal; and by all which it is as evident, how true, how reaſonable, and how firm a belief Plato had of One Eternal Being and Father of all.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. Exod. xv. 11. Pſal. cxxxvi. 4, 5, 6.

XII And Lyricus Menalppides, praying, ſaith, ‘ Hear me, O Father, thou Wonder ‘ of men, who always governeſt the Living Soul.’

This plainly preaches to us their belief of One Eternal God, and his excellent attributes.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

XIII. Parmenides Magnus, as ſaith Plato in Sophiſta, writes concerning God on this wiſe; ‘ He is not begotten; neither is he liable to any death: Like a chain, whoſe links are whole and round, and always firm, and void of a beginning *(p)*.’

What was this chain, but the Eternal God, by whom all things were made? “ The “ Firſt and the Laſt.”

XIV. Zeno, a grave and wiſe philoſopher, who inſtituted the way of the Stoicks, but not of Virtue: For both the Cynicks and Stoicks, moſtly teaching ſuch doctrine as tend to good life, may well be ſaid to have been the followers of Socrates, the excellent man of his time; only they a little differenced themſelves by ſome particular ſeverities,

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(l) ‘ In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: All things ‘ were made by him,’ &c. John i. 1, 2, 3, 4.

(m) ‘ God is a ſpirit.’ John iv. 24.---‘ God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light.’ Gen. i. 3.---- ‘ He is the father of lights.’ James i. 17.

(n) ‘ That thou mayeſt know, that there is none like me in all the earth,’ ſaith God, Exod. ix. 14. and viii. 10.----‘ Who in heaven can be compared unto the Lord? Who among the ſons of the mighty can be likened ‘ unto the Lord?’ Pſal. lxxxix. 6.

(o) ‘ I am Alpha and Omega, the firſt and the laſt.’ Rev. xxii. 13. ‘ The everlaſting God.’ Iſa. xl.--- ‘ The way of the Lord is perfect.’ Pſal. xviii, 30. ‘ He is a rock; his work is perfect; for all his ways are ‘ Judgment; a God of truth, and without iniquity, juſt and right is he.’ Deut. xxiii. 4.---‘ For I am the ‘ Lord.’ Iſa. xlv. 5.----‘ I change not.’ Mal. iii. 6.

(p) ‘ Thy throne is eſtabliſhed of old, thou art from everlaſting.’ Pſal. xciii. 2. ‘ In the Lord Jehovah ‘ is everlaſting ſtrength.’ Iſa. xxvi. 4.

rities, too affected, to which the mild, ſerious, and unaffected piety of Socrates gave them no encouragement; though none of them trod in a more ſelf-denying path, than hiſtory tells us he walked in. This Zeno, and his diſciples, were vigorous aſſertors of One Infinite and Eternal God, as by their doctrines may appear.

Laert.

Zeno tells us, ‘ That God is an Immortal Being; Rational, Perfect, or Intellectual in beatitude; void of all evil; provident over the world, and things in the world; not of human form, MAKER of ALL, as it were FATHER of ALL.’ Again; God, and the Power of God, is ſuch, as that it governs, but is not governed. It governeth all things; ſo that if there were any thing More Excellent, he could not poſſibly be God.’ (b)

This was Zeno's faith of God: And I cannot believe that the worſt of our antagoniſts has ſo far abandoned all reaſon, as to call it falſe, or idolatrous. That he taught it, as well as thought it, let us hear ſome of his followers.

Laert. de Irâ Dei, 6. 10.

XV. Chryſippus alſo avers, as his belief of a God, ‘ That the world was made by him;’ Conſequently he believed there was one: ‘ For if,’ ſaith he ‘ there be any thing which can procreate ſuch beings, as man endued with reaſon is unable to produce, that, doubtleſs, muſt needs be ſtronger, and greater, and wiſer than man: But man cannot make the celeſtial things; therefore that which made them, tranſcended man in art, counſel, prudence and power: And what can that be but God?’ (r)

Thus far Chryſippus, the Stoick, in reference to God. But again,

Plut. Antip. de Mund. l. 7.

XVI. Antipater, a famous, ſerious, and acute Stoick, in his Diſcourſe of God and the World, declares himſelf to us after this manner; ‘ We underſtand that which we call GOD, a Spirit full of Intelligence or Wiſdom; a Living Nature, or Divine Subſtance; Bleſſed and Incorruptible; doing good to mankind; PRESENT through the whole world; receiving ſeveral denominations from the diverſity of his appearances, and the various operations and effects of his divine power ſhewn therein.’ (ſ)

Which kind of evangelical definition may very well induce us to believe him to have been, at leaſt, of thoſe who knew God; but, we hope, not of thoſe, who, when they knew him, “ glorified him not as God.”

Indeed, what we have hitherto produced of them all, may worthily be accounted Divinity; and not the worſe for being Gentile, ſince GOD is alſo therein to be admired. So forcible, ſo true, and ſo conſpicuous are their aſſertions, and their reaſons for them, that they who will yet believe ‘ there was not a Meaſure of the Eternal Fulneſs of all Divine Light ſhining in the hearts of theſe Heathens, to give them ſome knowledge of the glory of the Only True and Inviſible God,’ muſt not think it ſtrange, if, upon their example of incredulity, after all their proteſtations for, and profeſſions of, the Chriſtian religion, any ſhould believe them to be arrant Phariſees, and that they are overcaſt with the darkeſt clouds of envy and uncharitableneſs. For my part, I am of the mind that many thouſands of Chriſtians, at leaſt ſo reputed, (I mean not of the Rabble neither) believe not God ſo clearly, nor are able to give better reaſons for what they do believe of him, than theſe exhibited in this firſt part of the Gentile-Divinity.

Thus much concerning God, with reſpect to Himſelf, his Creation, and Providence.

CHAP. VIII.

The ſecond Fundamental of Gentile-Divinity, viz. ‘ That God hath imprinted the knowledge of himſelf on the Minds of all Mankind;’ proved from twelve pregnant teſtimonies, as well of whole Societies, as particular perſons; and compared with Scripture.

Chap. VIII.

IT will be now requiſite that I give an account of their belief in God, with reſpect to that diſcovery he is pleaſed to give of himſelf unto mankind, how, and where; which amounts to what is laid down in my ſecond aſſertion, viz. ‘ That God imprint- ‘ eth

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(q) ‘ Now to the King Eternal, Immortal, Inviſible, the Only Wiſe God, be honour and glory for ever.’ 1 Tim, i. 17.---‘ The rich and poor meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all.’ Prov. xxii. 2.---‘ Come now, let us reaſon together, ſaith the Lord.’ Iſa. i. 18. Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.’ Levit. xi. 44.---‘ One God and Father of all, of whom are all things.’ Eph. iv. 6. 1 Cor. vi. 8, 6.----‘ Who is a God like unto thee?’ Exod. xv. 11.----‘ The Almighty is Excellent in Power.’ Job xxxvii. 23.---‘ And his Kingdom rules over all.’ Pſal. 103, 19.

(r) ‘ Lord, thou art God, which haſt made heaven and earth, and all that in them is.’ Acts iv. 24. ‘ God that made the world.’ Pſal. xc. 2. ‘ All nations are unto God but as a drop of the bucket, and the duſt of the ballance.’ Iſa. xl. 15.

(ſ) ‘ God is a ſpirit.’ John iv. 24.----‘ In whom are hid all the treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge.’ Col. ii. 3. ‘ Of the incorruptible God.’ Rom. i. 23.----‘ The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.’ Pſal. cxlv. 9.----‘ God is not far away from every one of us.’ Acts xvii, 27.

'eth the knowledge of himſelf in the Minds of mankind;' or, 'That God's way of 'manifeſting himſelf to mankind is, by enlightning the ſoul with his own Divine 'Light, which, being obeyed, leads to bleſſedneſs.'

That this was their doctrine, and the ground of their knowledge they had of God, be pleaſed to weigh theſe their following very plain, yet very weighty expreſſions.

Tim. de Anim. Mund. Jamblich. I. 'The Mind only,' ſaith Pythagoras, and his diſciples, 'ſeeth the eternal God, 'the Ruler and Father of all things.---What greater pleaſure than to behold the Serene 'Aſpect of God?---What things are agreeable to God, cannot be known, unleſs a 'man HEAR GOD HIMSELF. (a) They mutually exhorted one another, not to divide 'aſunder the * GOD THAT WAS IN THEM; for that it ought to be their care to pre'ſerve their union with God, and one with another.'---Again ſaith ‡ Timæus, one of the exacteſt of that ſchool, 'The moſt excellent thing the ſoul is awakened to is, her 'GUIDE OR GOOD GENIUS (that is, a Meaſure of the Divine Light and Spirit) but if 'ſhe be rebellious to it, it will prove her dæmon or tormentor. But having overcome 'theſe things,' ſaith Pythagoras, (to wit, evils) 'thou ſhalt know Σύστασιν, the Co-ha'bitation or Dwelling-together of the IMMORTAL GOD and Mortal Men, whoſe work 'is Life; the work of God is Immortality, Eternal Life.'

* Jambl.

‡ De Anim. Mund.

Thus far the Pythagoreans, and certainly far enough to prove the aſſertion; for next to hearing and ſeeing God himſelf, his dwelling and tabernacling with men, what is there of greater ſpiritual intimacy or union? O the folly and great uncharitableneſs of thoſe profeſſors of chriſtianity, that exclude both ſuch men, and ſuch knowledge, the kingdom of God, becauſe it is not delivered in abſolute ſcripture phraſe, whilſt it imports much of the very ſubject of them, as to Divine Viſion, Union with God, and Eternal Life! I wiſh they do not take Imagination for Knowledge, and Preſumption for Enjoyment. But to go on,

II. Hieron, that ancient philoſopher, intituled the Univerſal Light ſhining in the conſcience, which ever witneſſed, by its reproof, againſt evil; and, if obeyed, led man to immortality, 'A DOMESTICK GOD, or GOD WITHIN the hearts and ſouls of men.' (b) 'The eternal Mind is God, MANIFESTING HIMSELF in every PARTICULAR of 'us.' God is that which in mortal men gives them to know aright concerning God.

Certainly theſe Gentiles had a high veneration for that Light which manifeſted darkneſs, who made it their *rule*, their *guide*, their *domeſtick* God: They ſet him not at a diſtance without them; but believed in him as God the WORD, ſpeaking to them in their own CONSCIENCES. In which reſpect, the Minor Poets notably expreſſed themſelves.

III. Byas, Prince of his country Priene, being invaded by enemies, and ſeveral of the inhabitants put to flight, with their greateſt wealth; being aſked, why he alſo carried not his choiceſt goods with him? anſwered, 'I do carry my GOODS with me.' (c) 'He bore them,' ſaith Valerius Maximus, 'in his breaſt, not to be ſeen by the eye, but 'prized by the ſoul, incloſed in the narrow dwelling of the mind, not to be demoliſhed 'by mortal hands; which is always preſent with thoſe who ſtay, and never deſerteth or 'forſaketh thoſe that flee.'

Valer. Max. 7. 2.

Certainly then, they thought this Divine Principle the Greateſt Treaſure, the Sureſt Companion, the Beſt Comforter, and only Sanctuary of the Soul in the greateſt extremities, enduing it with piety and patience, and giving that contentment, which was able to wade through the deepeſt calamities.

IV. Sophocles is alſo of that number that bears teſtimony to Divine Illumination. 'God grant,' ſaith he, 'that I may always be ſo happy as to obſerve that venerable 'ſanctity in my words and deeds, which is commanded by theſe Noble Laws (ſpeaking 'of the laws written in men's *conſciences*) which were made in heaven: GOD is their 'Father, not mortal Nature; neither ſhall they ever be forgotten or abrogated; for 'there is in them a Great God, that never waxeth old.' (d)

Œdip. Tyr.

(a) 'The pure in heart ſhall ſee God.' Mat. v. 8.——'He dwelleth in immortality; no mortal eye can 'approach or behold him.' 1 Tim. vi. 16.——'One thing have I deſired of thee, O Lord, to behold the 'beauty of the Lord.' Pſal. xxvii. 4.——'The things of God knows no man, but the Spirit of God, 'but God hath revealed them to us, by his Spirit.' 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. 'I will dwell in them.' 2 Cor. vi. 16. —'Is Chriſt divided?' 1 Cor. i. 13. 'And I heard a great voice, ſaying, The tabernacle of God is with men. 'He that overcometh, ſhall inherit all things: I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſon.' Rev. xxi. iii. 7.

(b) 'In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' John i. 1. ——'The Word is nigh thee, in thy heart and in thy mouth.' Rom. x. 8.——'I dwell in the high and holy 'place; with him alſo that is of a contrite and humble ſpirit.' Iſa. lvii. 15. 'Ye are the temples of God; 'and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?' 2 Cor. vi. 16. 'Whatever may be known of God is manifeſt'ed within; for God hath ſhewed it unto them.' Rom. i. 19.

(c) 'Lay up treaſure in heaven, where neither moth nor ruſt can corrupt, nor thief break through and ſteal.' Matt. vi. 20.——'This treaſure have we in earthern veſſels.' 2 Cor. iv. 7.——'Fear not, for the Lord thy 'God it is that doth go with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forſake thee.' Deut. xxxi. 6. 'In all their 'afflictions he was afflicted.' Iſa. lxiii. 9. 'The Lord is a preſent help in the time of trouble.' Pſalm xlvi. 1.

(d) 'Shall not the uncircumciſion that is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and 'circumciſion doſt tranſgreſs the law? For he is not a Jew that is one outward;' (implying ſuch as keep

' This is,' ſaith he again, ' with reſpect to mans conſcience, a Divine, a Sacred Good, ' God the *Overſeer*.'

Certainly in themſelves very ſeraphick ſayings, ſhewing a clear faith of God, and that way of *inward* diſcovery he is pleaſed to make of himſelf to mankind. For it was he that ſaid, ' Truly there is but One only God, who made the heavens and the earth.' Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

V. It is frequently ſaid of Socrates, ' He had the Guide of his Life within him; ' which, it was told his father Sophroniſcus, ſhould be of more worth to him than five ' hundred maſters. He called it his *good angel* or *ſpirit*: That it ſuggeſted to his mind ' what was good and virtuous, and inclined and diſpoſed him to a ſtrict and pious life: ' That it furniſhed him with divine knowledge, and very often impulſed or *moved* ' *him to preach* (though in the Streets) *to the people*, ſometimes in a way of ſevere re' proof, at other times to information; and otherwiſe gently to diſſuade them from in' temperance, and vanity of life, particularly from ſeeing of Plays; and to exhort them ' to repentance, reformation, and ſelf-denial, in hopes of immortality.' (e) Plutarch. de Gent. Socr.

VI. Plato is not wanting to bring in his vote, for farther confirmation of our aſſertion on the behalf of the Gentiles: ' The LIGHT and SPIRIT of God,' ſaith he, ' are as Wings to the Soul, or as that which raiſeth up the ſoul into a ſenſible commu' nion with God above the world, which the mind of man is prone to ſlug or bemire it' ſelf withal.' (f) And adds Plotin, a famous Platoniſt, ' God is the very ROOT or ' LIFE of the Soul.' (g) Again, ' Man hath a Divine Principle in him, which maketh ' the true and good man.' And the Platoniſts in general held Three Principles to be in man; the firſt they called Νȣ̃ς, MIND, INTELLECT, SPIRIT, or Divine LIGHT. The ſecond, Ψυχὴ, the *ſoul* of man. The third they called Εἴδωλον ψυχῆς, the ſoul's *image*, which, ſay they, is her *vital energy* upon the body, and the *feminine* faculty of the ſoul. In Phæd. Ænead. 1. cap. 1.

By all which it is evident, though I could produce many more teſtimonies from their writings, that they believed and held Divine Illumination and Inſpiration; and that ſuch a principle reſided in man, even the Eternal Νȣ̃ς, or MIND; which is to ſay, in plain Engliſh, GOD HIMSELF; by which, alone the ſoul could become what God would have it be.

VII. Cleanthes, the Stoick, ' alloweth not mankind to be governed of right by the ' dictates of their own Nature, which barely renders them Men; but by that Di' vine, Infinite, and Eternal Nature, which is GOD *univerſally diffuſed or ſown through* ' *the whole race of man*, as the moſt ſure and infallible Guide and Rule. ' To live,' ſaith he ' according to this knowledge and direction, is truly to live according to ' Virtue; not doing any thing that is forbidden. The virtue and happineſs of a man ' depends upon the cloſe correſpondence of his mind with the Divine Will of HIM who ' governeth the univerſe.'

Again, ſaith the ſame Cleanthes, ' The knowledge of GOD is imprinted upon the ' Minds of men.' (h)

VIII. Menander, ſignifying God to be good, ſaith, ' Every man hath a Good Dæ' mon as ſoon as he is born, an Holy Inſtructor in governing of the life; as that I ' may confeſs him to be an Evil Dæmon, who hurts the life of a good man.' Then he ſubjoins, ' That a good God is in all; that God is perfectly good, and that he is ' Good in All.' Again, on another occaſion, he ſaith, ' God, who is always *near*, ſees ' this; for God is not a God afar off.' (i) Clem. Alex. Strom. L. 5.

IX. Philo, though a Jew born, yet a very ſerious and refined philoſopher, gives us his judgment in this particular, very poſitively and to purpoſe; ' How ſhould the ſoul ' of man,' ſaith he, ' know God, if he did not inſpire her, and take hold of her by his ' Divine Power?' (k) Leg. Alleg. L. 1.

Again, ' That the Divine Reaſon we have from God is an Infallible Law; not a ' mortal rule given by this or that mortal; no lifeleſs precepts written in papers, or ' upon

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the law is an inward Jew). Rom. ii. 27, 28. ' But the Word of God (nigh in the heart) ſhall abide for ' ever.' Iſa. xl. 8.

(e) ' There is a ſpirit in man; but the inſpiration of the Almighty giveth uuderſtanding.' Job xxxii. 8. ' For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the ſons of God.' Rom. viii. 14.

(f) ' God is light ' 1 John i. 5.——' In thy light ſhall we ſee light.' Pſal. xxxvi. 9.—' God is not far ' from every one of us; for in him we live, move, and have our being; for we are alſo his offspring, as cer' tain of your own poets have ſaid.' Acts xvii. 27, 28.——One of whom was Aratus, whom the apoſtle quotes as ſpeaking truth, and employs it againſt them, to prove a True God, and to introduce his goſpel; which if it ſhewed their apoſtacy, it alſo implies, that there had been Heathens rightly apprehending of God; elſe ſurely the apoſtle would never have cited the poet's ſaying for a confirmation of his own doctrine.

(g) ' Without me ye can do nothing. The Spirit of truth ſhall lead you into all truth.' John xvi. 13 ' For the Grace of God that bringeth ſalvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying un' godlineſs and worldly luſts, we live ſoberly and righteouſly and godly in this preſent world.' Tit. ii. 11, 12. ' God hath ſhewn unto thee, O man, what is good.' Mich. vi. 8.

(h) ' Which ſhew the works of the law writ in their hearts. Rom. ii. 15.'

(i) ' A manifeſtation of the Spirit is given unto every one to profit withal.' 1 Cor. xii. 7.—One God, and ' Father of all, who is above all, and through all.——The Lord is Good unto all.' Pſal. cxlv. 9.

(k) ' The things of God knoweth no man, ſave the Spirit of God.' 1 Cor. ii. 11.——I will put my law ' in their minds, and write them in their inward parts; I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people,' Heb. viii. 10, 11.

'upon pillars, but immortal, being engraven by the Eternal Nature in the minds of 'men.'

This is an undeniable teſtimony to the law written in the heart, as a more excellent diſpenſation than that which is written in paper, or engraven on pillars. But farther,

X. Nor is Plutarch wanting to the proof of this aſſertion on behalf of the Gentile-Divinity; who thus delivers himſelf, ſpeaking of the Principle of God in the conſcience: 'It is a law,' ſaith he, 'not written in tables or books, but dwelling in the Mind 'always, as a living Rule, which never permits the ſoul to be deſtitute of an interior 'guide.' Again, 'To debaſe this ancient faith of mankind, and natural belief, which 'is planted in all reaſonable ſouls, is to overthrow the ſtrong and everlaſting foundation 'of virtue.' (l)

Plut. Dion. Pruſ.

He is doubtleſs very zealous and ſenſible, on the behalf of an Inward Divine Principle.

XI. But be pleaſed to hear what Epictetus ſays in this matter, who was admired for his great virtue and living, and whoſe memory is preſerved in great reſpect among many who would think themſelves much wronged if they ſhould not be accounted Chriſtians, 'When you have ſhut your gates,' ſaith he, 'and made it all dark within; that is to 'ſay, are retired to your own dwelling, as alone; do not ſay that you are alone, for you 'are not alone, but God is within: What need have you of outward light to diſcover 'what is done, or to light to good actions, who have God, or that Genius, or Divine 'Principle for your Light?' (m) as the following words do farther import.

Diſ. lib. 1. cap. 14.

But above all the Gentiles that have been mentioned, I mean in point of plain and poſitive expreſſions, (for I will prefer the life of none before that ſelf-denying martyr Socrates) let us hear with great attention what kind of lecture Seneca will read us upon the ſubject handled; truly ſomething very weighty.

Senec. Ep. 41.

XII. 'The multitude,' ſaith Seneca, 'is the worſt argument. Let us inquire what 'is *beſt* to be done, not what moſt *uſually* is done, and that may ſettle us in the poſſeſ'ſion of everlaſting happineſs; not what is allotted by the Vulgar, the worſt interpre'ter of Truth. I have,' ſaith he, 'a clearer and more certain Light, by which I may 'judge the truth from falſhood: That which appertains to the felicity of the ſoul; the 'Eternal MIND will direct to.' (n) That was the Light Within, doubtleſs, Seneca meant. Again, 'It is a fooliſh thing for thee to wiſh what by thee cannot be obtained. 'God is *near* thee, and he is *in* thee. The Holy Spirit ſits or reſides *within* us, the 'Obſerver of our good and evil actions: As he is dealt with *by* us, he deals *with* us.' But yet farther, 'We have this great gift,' ſaith Seneca, 'That VIRTUE (meaning the 'Principle, or GOD) hath ſent her LIGHT before into the MINDS of ALL; for even 'they that *follow* her not, *ſee* her.' Where obſerve, reader, how he confeſſeth to the Univerſality of the Light, yet lays the fault of rebellion againſt it, not upon the Light (as do our enemies) but upon ſuch as refuſe to follow it; implying their voluntary rejection of its heavenly diſcoveries. Again, 'Wondereſt thou that men go to *God*? 'God comes unto *men*: Nay, which is more near, he cometh INTO man; and he 'makes the heart of every good man his habitation.' Yet again hear him; 'Nothing 'is cloſed from God; he is *within* our ſouls, and he cometh into the midſt of our 'thoughts.' And laſtly, 'Every man,' ſaith he, 'has GOD, indued with that, which if 'he forſake it not, he ſhall ariſe LIKE God.' (o)

De Benef. c. 17.

Epiſt. 73.
Epiſt. 83.
Epiſt. 31.

How much more weighty, O ſober and impartial reader, are theſe inward doctrines of the virtuous Gentiles, than the vehement clamours, and uncharitable exclamations of empty Chriſtians againſt them? who ſeem as if they were afraid of nothing more than inherent holineſs, though of Chriſt's working: Reputing it a kind of undervaluing of his blood, to feel the inward benefit of it; accounting us the greateſt hereticks for aſſenting to the greateſt truth, to wit, The ſufficiency of his Univerſal Light in the hearts of men to Salvation; challenging us to prove it by ſcripture, or any credible hiſtory, and objecting the heathens ignorance and idolatry againſt the truth of its diſcoveries and efficacy of its power; which the very Gentiles defend us againſt, and confirm the univerſality and power of it.

CHAP.

(l) 'Becauſe whatever may be known of God is manifeſt within; for God hath ſhewed it unto them; 'But becauſe they liked not to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them up to vile affections.' Rom. i. 19, 26, 28.

(m) 'O Lord, thou haſt ſearched me, thou underſtandeſt my thoughts afar off; whither ſhall I go from 'thy Spirit.' Pſal. cxxxix. 1, 2, 7.

(n) 'We have a more ſure Word of Prophecy. 2 Pet. i. 19.—'The Lord hath ſhewed unto thee, O man, 'what is good, and what he doth require of thee.' Micah vi. 8.—In him we live, move, and have our be'ing.' Acts xvii. 28.—'Such as men ſow, ſuch ſhall they reap. Gal. vi. 7.—'That was the true Light, 'which enlighteneth all mankind.' John i. 9.

(o) 'Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men.' Rev. xxi. 3.—'He that declareth unto man his 'thoughts, the Lord, the God of Hoſts, is his name.' Amos iv. 13.—'While ye have the Light, walk in 'the Light, that ye may be the children of the Light. God is Light.' John xii. 36.— 1 John i. 5.

CHAP. IX.

That this was not only the Doctrine and Faith of the Gentiles, but the very Primitive Doctors or Fathers both ſo held, and ſo expreſſed themſelves. Eight Teſtimonies produced for Proof thereof.

BUT as I have hitherto ſhewn, both that the Gentiles believed in One God, and had a very clear apprehenſion of the Light or Divine Principle placed in man, from which all heavenly knowledge is derived; and that this Divine Light, or Spirit, or Principle, was by them aſſerted to be the moſt certain Guide, and infallible Rule of Faith and Practice; and farther, that the ſcriptures produced do abundantly verify their doctrines; ſo to the end the angry men I have mentioned ſhould not count it a prophaning of holy writ, or think I am the only man that ever had that favourable apprehenſion of theſe Gentile-doctrines, I am willing to inſtance ſome of the moſt primitive and approved Fathers of the Chriſtian Church; and by a ſhort view of what they believed in reference to the preſent ſubject, with their way of phraſing ſuch belief, we may the more clearly perceive how far thoſe Gentiles are by them reprehenſible, either with reſpect to their ſoundneſs in judgment, or expreſſion; that if it be poſſible, we may ſolve their objection againſt the univerſality and ſufficiency of this bleſſed Light.

Lived after Chriſt, Anno 123.

I. Juſtinus Martyr, whom I therefore chuſe to begin with, becauſe from a learned Philoſopher becoming an honeſt Chriſtian, and conſtant Martyr (from whence he was ſurnamed Martyr) he could the better tell us the difference of the change: But ſo far was he from reputing the Principle of God within men, heterodox, or inconſiſtent with the purity of the Chriſtian Religion, that with no ſmall earneſtneſs he therefore pleads againſt all coercive power upon conſcience, and the pompous worſhip of the heathens, in their temples (as his Apologies will inform us) 'Becauſe,' ſaith he, 'God hath built to himſelf a Natural Temple in the Conſciences of men, as the place wherein he would be worſhipped; and that it is there men ought to look for his appearance, and reverence and worſhip him;' or to that purpoſe *(a)*.

Apolog.

Lived after Chriſt, 190.

II. To this doth Clemens Alexandrinus, that earneſt contender againſt the apoſtate Gentiles, plainly aſſent; who often, but more particularly in theſe few places following, recommends to us the Light, or Word Within. 'It is the voice of Truth,' ſaith he, 'that Light will ſhine out of darkneſs. Therefore doth it ſhine in the HIDDEN part of mankind, that is, in the HEART; and the rays of knowledge break forth, making manifeſt, and ſhining upon the inward man, which is hidden.---Chriſt's Intimates and Coheirs, are the diſciples of the Light.'

Admon. ad Gent.

He farther expreſſeth himſelf in another place; 'Man cannot be void of divine knowledge, who *naturally*, or as he cometh into the world, partaketh of Divine Inſpiration; as being of a more pure eſſence, or nature, than any other animal.'

Strom. L. 5.

And, as aſſenting to the doctrine of ſome ancient philoſophers and other Gentile authors (for againſt the Gentiles of his time, I ſuppoſe, he may make uſe of no leſs than two hundred and fifty) he doth frequently atteſt the truth of the doctrine of the 'Divine Light in Man,' as man's concomitant to all good works; as one paſſage eminently proves. 'I earneſtly,' ſays he, 'exhort thee, becauſe I would have thee ſaved, and that would Chriſt alſo, who offers thee Life in One Word. But thou mayeſt ſay, What is it? It is the WORD of TRUTH, the incorruptible Word, which regenerates mankind, and leads him again to TRUTH; the ſpur that pricketh on to ſalvation, who expelleth deſtruction, chaſeth away death, and hath built a temple in mankind, that it may place GOD in man.'

Clem. Alex. in Admon. ad Gent.

I know not any of the ancients that was more profoundly read in the doctrines of the Gentiles, than this Clemens Alexandrinus: And who, to prove the verity of the Chriſtian religion againſt them, doth frequently cite and inſert the writings of the more venerable of them; and with the very books of their admired anceſtors, accurately argue the unreaſonableneſs of their oppoſition to Chriſtianity, the very top of virtue, and perfection of goodneſs: As did Chriſt, to prove himſelf the True Meſſiah, urge the Scriptures to thoſe (pretended great) believers in them, as an aggravation of their incredulity.

Lived Anno 195.

III. Tertullian, than whom there was not any more ſharp againſt the diſſolute Gentiles of his Time (as his moſt quaint Apology for the Chriſtians, and in it his ſevere charge againſt their enemies, doth particularly ſhew) thinks it to be neither hereſy, nor heatheniſm, as it is commonly underſtood, to believe and aſſert, 'That a life according to the holy guidings of the Univerſal Light in the Conſcience, is a kind of Natural Chriſtianity, or, to be Naturally a Chriſtian.

(a) If the reader will pleaſe to inform himſelf of the reaſons that induced Juſtin to turn Chriſtian, he will find the *Light Within* acknowledged to be the efficient cauſe thereof; for it was the Principle of God in his conſcience that continually pleaded the Chriſtians cauſe within him, and who at laſt overcoming, Juſtin believes in Chriſt, and dies for him too. Now what diſgrace is this to the Light Within?

And though in his Apology he ſtabs with the ſharpeſt points of wit, reaſon and truth, the cauſe of Degenerate Philoſophy, or thoſe that were *undeſervedly* called Philoſophers; yet he lays it ſtill on the ſide of their great apoſtacy from that Noble Principle, which worthily renowned their predeceſſors; the being of whoſe ſtock, and aſſuming whoſe titles without their virtue, they vainly eſteemed warrant enough for their pretenſions to real ſcience; not unlike the Phariſees among the Jews, as hath already been obſerved.

Lived about Anno 203.

IV. Origen (who I may ſay was twice a Chriſtian; firſt, by education; and next, by choice; a ſtrong defender of Chriſtianity, as his notable books againſt Celſus and others, do abundantly witneſs) treating of that Divine Light with which God has illuminated mankind, as his univerſal endowment, calls it, 'An immutable Law; which, 'with the knowledge of good and evil, is engraven upon the heart, and grafted into 'the ſoul of man.'

Lived about Anno 315. De Cult. Ver.

Lactantius, ſcholar to Arnobius, who writ ſmartly againſt the apoſtate Gentiles, eſteemed a good and acute man, thus delivers himſelf about the matter in hand: 'The Law of 'God,' ſaith he, 'is made known unto us; whoſe Light, like the ſtars to the mariner 'in the night-ſeaſon, clearly diſcovers to us the path of wiſdom. That Law is Pure 'and Unſpotted REASON (not inconſonant with, nor unintelligible by, NATURE) diffuſed 'through all the world; in itſelf Unchangeable and Eternal: Which, that it may deter 'man from vice, doth faithfully, by its injunctions and prohibitions declare unto man 'his duty.'---Again, 'The way to aſcend up to the houſe of Truth, is to behold *within* us, that there is One moſt High God, who made and governs all things: That 'Chriſt is God's Ambaſſador and Builder, ſent unto men; and as they receive him into their Hearts, he buildeth a divine and immortal temple IN them.'

Lib. de Irâ; cap. 2.

Lived about Anno 325.

VI But let us deliberately read what the ſo much admired Athanaſius ſays to the Gentiles, who did frequently caſt out that (vulgar) objection to the Chriſtians, which is now made againſt us: 'How know you that yours is the right way?'

Athanaſ. cont. Gent.

'The way whereby to attain the knowledge of God, is *within* us. Which is 'proved from Moſes; who ſaith, The Word of God is within thy Heart; and from this 'ſaying of Chriſt, The Faith and Kingdom of God is within you. If then,' ſays Athanaſius, 'the Kingdom of God be within us, juſt ſo are we able to underſtand the Word, 'or Voice of the Father.'

Which ſolid, ancient and great truth, could not but highly aggravate the blame of ſuch as were infidels to it, becauſe it was but the doctrine of their famed philoſophers, more clearly and ſcripturally expreſſed, as it doth abundantly teſtify to us upon what ground it was the Chriſtians believed, and practiſed their religion; not Tradition, however holy; but 'ſound internal conviction and revelation;' from no words without, but the Eternal Word of God in the heart, the great diſcoverer of the will and way of God to men. He that knows this Word, or Divine Principle, to reign in his heart, knoweth the kingdom of God come there, and his will done, even the ſanctification of the ſoul.

Lived about Anno 380.

VII. Chryſoſtom alſo is not wanting to aſcribe ſome honour to this holy Light we contend for; who not only confeſſeth the Light mentioned in the firſt of John, to be CHRIST, the WORD-GOD, who lighteneth all mankind coming into the world; but alſo avers it to be of a *ſaving* nature, unto all who believe in it, and follow it. 'Wherefore,' ſaith he, 'Let none blame the Light they are not ſaved, but their own rebellion, 'who refuſe to be ſaved by it.' This he very ſolemnly calls, 'A Teacher or Inſtructor, 'dwelling in man's Nature;' or that no man is without a teacher to inſtruct, inſpire, help and aſſiſt him in the way that leads to eternal life.

I will conclude theſe Chriſtian teſtimonies with a paſſage of Auguſtin, not unſuitable to the buſineſs in hand.

Lived about Anno 393.

VII. Auguſtin, in his diſcourſe on John, has this very notable paſſage, viz. 'That 'God is properly King of Minds, or Souls; becauſe when he is received in, he governeth by his Divine Power and Spirit in the heart: Therefore is not his kingdom 'after the manner of this world, but *within*:' And much to this purpoſe.

Again he diſtinguiſheth upon the word REASON: 'There is a *ſuperior* and *inferior* 'Reaſon, ſaith he. The inferior is a mere rational Creature, or that Underſtanding 'which diſtinguiſheth a Man from a Beaſt. But the *ſuperior* Reaſon is a LIGHT, or, 'as it were, a Power in mankind, dictating, revealing, and enjoining divine, eternal 'and intirely good things: As for example, when it ſhall ſay, *This is ſin,* thou 'oughteſt not to commit, but avoid it. Why? Becauſe it offends God.'

Thus far of Primitive Chriſtian-Divinity, from about 132 years after Chriſt, to about 400 years after Chriſt, by way of confirmation of that part of the Gentile-Divinity, which might, with leaſt credit, be embraced. For to cite never ſo many primitive Chriſtian authors to prove a God, Holy Life, and the Immortality of the Soul, the other points of Gentile-Divinity, would look like labour in vain; ſince none that believes them to have been Chriſtian, ought to doubt of their holding ſuch general truths: But the wonder is, to quote them in the language of the ſo much, yet ſo undeſervedly, decried and abuſed Quakers; *viz.* That not only the Beſt Gentiles, but moſt Approved Chriſtians of the primitive times, confeſs to a Divine Light, Principle, Word, or Spirit in man, whoſe inſpiration gives infallible underſtanding; and as man is guided by it, he ſhall be recovered out of that dirt and mire ſin hath plunged him in; and it will free him from the ſnares of pleaſures, enlighten his eyes, inſpire his ſoul, and lead him gently by the hand in the way of eternal righteouſneſs; whoſe reward from God will be immortal and eternal life.

CHAP. X.

The Third Part of Gentile-Divinity, viz. That they were Men of Virtuous Lives, and taught the Indiſpenſibleneſs thereof to Life Eternal. Proved by Numerous Inſtances.

1673. Chap. X.

IT may now be time that I diſpatch the other two parts of the Gentile-Divinity, which I ſhall endeavour with all convenient brevity.

There are many inſtances of their pious doctrine, and ſingular examples of their virtue: I will inſtance in a few, to convince, if I can, ſuch as ſcarcely believe any good of them, (and the rather, I fear, that they may charge the bad upon the Light) that their doctrines and practice with reſpect to good living, were and are very commendable, and approved of all good Chriſtians.

I. Pittacus Mitilenæus, one of the Seven Wiſe Men of Greece, as they were called; his Apophthegms were theſe:

Lived about the year of the world 3313. Before Chriſt about 630 years; which is 2330 years ſince. Stob. 28.

'What thou takeſt ill in thy neighbour, do not thy ſelf. Reproach not the unhappy; for the Hand of God is on them. Reſtore what is committed to thy truſt. Bear with thy neighbour. Love thy neighbour. Reproach not thy friend, though he recede from thee a little. Acquire Honeſty. Seek Obſequiouſneſs. Love Diſcipline, Temperance, Prudence, Truth, Faith, Experience, Dexterity, Society, Diligence, Oeconomy, and Piety.'

II. Chilon, another of them; he was ſo juſt in all his actions, that in his old age he profeſſed, 'He never had done any thing contrary to the conſcience of an upright man; only that of one thing he was doubtful: Having given ſentence againſt his friend, according to law, he adviſed his friend to appeal from him (his judge); ſo to preſerve both his friend and the law.' Agellius relates it thus: 'When his life drew towards an end, ready to be ſeized by death, he ſpoke thus to his friends about him:' "My words and actions, in this long term of years, have been almoſt all ſuch as I need not repent of; which, perhaps, you alſo know. Truly, even at this time, I am certain I never committed any thing, the remembrance whereof begets any trouble in me, unleſs this one thing only; which whether it were done amiſs or not, I am uncertain: I ſat with two others, as judge upon the life of my friend; the law was ſuch, as the perſon muſt of neceſſity be condemned, ſo that either my friend muſt loſe his life, or ſome deceit be uſed towards the law: Revolving many things in my mind, for relief of a condition ſo deſperate, I conceived that which I put in practice to be of all other the moſt eaſy to be borne: Silently I condemned him, and perſuaded thoſe others who judged to abſolve him. Thus I preſerved in ſo great a buſineſs the duty both of a Judge and Friend: But from the act I receive this (x) trouble, that I fear it is not free from perfidiouſneſs and guilt, in the *ſame* buſineſs, at the *ſame* time, and in a *publick* affair, to perſuade others contrary to what was in my own judgment *beſt*." Doubtleſs a man of Light, Sight and Conſcience.

Lived at the ſame Time. Laert.

Of his Apophthegms, or ſayings, theſe few are delivered to us by Laertius. He ſaid, 'Providence of future things, collected by Reaſon, is the Virtue of a Man (y).' Being demanded, Wherein the Learned differ from the Unlearned? He anſwered, 'In a Good Hope.' When aſked, What is hard? He ſaid, 'To conceal Secrets, to diſpoſe of Leiſure well, and be able to hear an Injury.' Therefore ſaid Chilon to his brother, 'I can bear injuries; thou canſt not.'

III. The precepts of the Seven Sophiſts of Greece, in general; Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilon, Bias, and Pittacus (called the Seven Wiſe Men) collected by Soſiades, who flouriſhed above two thouſand years ago.

'Follow

(u) 'Thou therefore, which teacheſt another, teacheſt thou not thyſelf?' Rom. ii. 21. 'Love thy neighbour as thyſelf; for I am the Lord.' Levit. xix. 18. 'Finally, Brethren, whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are honeſt, juſt, pure, lovely, and of good report, think on theſe things.' Phil. iv. 8.

(x) 'The Gentiles who had not the law, became a law unto themſelves, doing the things contained in the law; their conſciences bearing witneſs, and their thoughts the mean while accuſing or excuſing.' Rom. ii. 14, 15.

(y) 'To depart from evil is a good underſtanding.' Job xxviii. 28. 'And the Hypocrite's hope ſhall periſh.' Job. viii. 13. 'Why do you not rather take wrong?' 1 Cor. vi. 7.

Stob. 28. ‘ Follow God: Obey the Law: Worſhip God: Reverence thy Parents: Suffer for ‘ Juſtice: Know thyſelf: Conſider mortal things: Reſpect Hoſpitality: Command thyſelf: Honour Providence: Uſe not Swearing: Speak well of that which is good: ‘ Diſparage none: Praiſe Virtue: Do what is Juſt: Abſtain from Evil: Inſtruct thy ‘ Children: Fear Deceit: Be a Lover of Wiſdom: Judge according to Equity: Curb ‘ thy Tongue: Examine without Corruption: Do that whereof thou ſhalt not repent: ‘ When thou haſt ſinned, be penitent: Confine thine Eye: Perfect quickly: Purſue ‘ what is profitable: Be in Childhood modeſt, in Youth temperate, in Manhood juſt, ‘ and in Old Age prudent, that thou mayeſt die untroubled (z).’

Thus far the Wiſe Men, who were therefore ſo called, becauſe of their extraordinary virtue; and truly deſerved the name of chriſtian and virtuous, more abundantly than they who bear it now.

Stob. 22. IV. Pythagoras very truly tells us, ‘ The diſcourſe of that philoſopher is vain, by ‘ which no paſſion of a man is healed.’ And indeed, to what ſerves their preaching, and hearing, and ſacraments, that are neither cured nor curing?

Jamblich. ‘ All which is determined to be done, ſhould aim at, and tend to, the acknowledgment of the Deity.’

‘ Endeavour not to conceal thy faults with words, but to amend them by reproof.’

‘ This is the principle,’ ſaith Pythagoras, ‘ and the whole life of men conſiſts in this, ‘ That they follow GOD; and this is the ground of right philoſophy. (a)

‘ Purity is acquired by expiations, and by refraining from murder and adultery and all ‘ pollution. (b)

‘ We ought either to be ſilent, or to ſpeak things that are better than ſilence.’

‘ Temper is the ſtrength of the ſoul: For it is the Light of the ſoul, clear from paſſion. (c)

‘ It is better to die, than to cloud the ſoul by Intemperance or Paſſion.’

Pythagoras returns not reproaches for reproaches (d). Though ſome profeſſors of Chriſtianity reproach when they are not reproached. Behold the difference betwixt a ſober Heathen, and ſuch ſcolding Chriſtians, but therefore no True Chriſtians.

Laert. V. Anaxagoras held, ‘ That Contemplation of God was the end of life; and that liberty of mind, which proceeds from ſuch heavenly meditation.’

To one who blamed him for neglecting his country; ‘ Wrong me not,’ ſaid he, ‘ my ‘ greateſt care is my country;’ pointing to Heaven.

Suidas ſaith, ‘ That he was caſt into priſon by the Athenians, for introducing a new ‘ opinion concerning God; and baniſhed the city, though Pericles undertook to plead ‘ his cauſe.’

Joſephus ſaith, ‘ That the Athenians believing the Sun to be God, which *he* affirmed ‘ to be without Senſe and Knowledge, he was by the votes of a few of them condemned ‘ to death.’

However, thus they writ upon his grave, as engliſhed by T. Stanley.

Here lies, who through the trueſt paths did paſs
To th' world celeſtial, ANAXAGORAS.

Which was an high teſtimony to his good life, and their belief of his attaining of immortality.

Plat. Phed. VI. Socrates tells us, ‘ Right Philoſophy is the way to true Happineſs; the offices ‘ whereof are two, To contemplate God, and To abſtract the ſoul from Corporal ‘ Senſe (e).’

Xen. Mem 3. ‘ To do Good, is the beſt courſe of life (f).’

p. 780. ‘ Virtue is the beauty, vice the deformity, of the ſoul.’

Clem. Alex. ‘ Nobility is a good Temper of ſoul and body.’

Strom. L. 5. Stob. 218. ‘ The beſt way of worſhipping God is, To do what he commands.’ An hard ſaying Xen. Mem. 4. to profeſſors of Chriſtianity, but a great truth.

p. 803. Id. Mem. 1. ‘ Our prayers ſhould be for bleſſings in general; for God knows beſt what is good for 722. 4. 804. ‘ us. God conſiders Integrity, not Munificence.’ This judgeth formal Chriſtians, with Id. Mem. 3. their exterior worſhip (g).

(z) Reader, theſe weighty ſayings are very Scripture itſelf, and that as well of the New, as Old Teſtament (ſo called), eſpecially where Chriſt ſaith, “ Swear not at all,” though ſpoke about ſeven hundred years before he came into the world.

(a) ‘ Let us hear the concluſion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man.’ Eccleſ. xii. 13.

(b) ‘ Pure religion and undefiled is, to keep himſelf unſpotted from the world.’ Jam. i. 27.

(c) In this ſenſe, I fear we may ſay, that ſome have no light in them.

(d) ‘ Who when he was reviled, reviled not again.’ 1 Pet. ii. 23.

(e) ‘ The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom.’ Pſal. cxi. 10.

(f) ‘ If any man will come after me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his croſs, and follow me.’ Luke ix. 23.

(g) Reader, Theſe ſententious expreſſions to have every one of them a ſcripture, would be tedious and ſuperfluous; for they are almoſt word for word ſcripture itſelf, as who knoweth ſcripture may plainly ſee.

'The office of a wiſe man is, to diſcern what is good and honeſt, and to ſhun that which is diſhoneſt.'

'They who know what they ought to do, and do it not, are not wiſe and temperate, but Fools and ſtupid (h).' Ibid.

Libanius ſaith, 'Of all things which man can call his, Socrates conſidered the Soul to be chief; and that, He only is truly happy, who purifieth that from vice (i).' Apolog.

He taught every-where, 'That a Juſt man, and an Happy man, were all one.' Clem. Alex, Strom. 2. 417.

He ſaid, 'He wondered at thoſe who carve images of ſtone, that they take ſuch care to make ſtones reſemble Men, whilſt they neglect and ſuffer themſelves to reſemble Stones.' He meant, they had ſtony hearts, as the prophet expreſſeth it. Laert.

Being demanded, Who live without perturbation? He anſwered, 'They who are conſcious to themſelves of no evil thing (k).'

Being demanded whom he thought richeſt? He anſwered, 'He who is contented with leaſt; for Content is the riches of nature (l).' Stob. 40. Stob. 40.

Being demanded what Continence is? He anſwered, 'Government of corporal pleaſures.' Stob. 84.

'Good men muſt let the world ſee, that their manners are more firm than an Oath.' Stob. 114. This ſaying ſhews a ſtate of integrity above ſwearing, that Socrates had a ſight of, and preferred before ſwearing, as I may again obſerve. But to proceed, let us hear the charge of his enemies, and his Defence.

Melitus, ſon of Melitus, a Pythian, accuſed Socrates, ſon of Sophroniſcus, an Alopecian; 'Socrates violateth the law, not believing the deities which this city believeth, but introducing ANOTHER God. He violates the law likewiſe in corrupting youth: The puniſhment death.'

The charge is the ſame to this day; good men are made offenders for a word, and darkneſs called light, and light darkneſs.

Soon after Anytus, who cauſed that bill to be preferred by Melitus, in that Socrates induſtriouſly aſſayed his overthrow, and the reſt of his comical aſſociates (for they were Comedians) ſent privately to him, deſiring him to forbear the mention of his trade; and aſſuring him, that he would thereupon withdraw his action. But Socrates returned him anſwer, 'That he would never forbear ſpeaking truth ſo long as he lived: That he would always uſe the ſame ſpeeches concerning him: That this accuſation was not of force enough to make him refrain from ſpeaking thoſe things, which he thought himſelf before obliged to ſay (m).' Again, obſerve his reſolution. Liban. Ap. p. 644.

'It is likely, that God, in his love to me, hath ordained that I ſhould die in the moſt convenient age, and by the gentleſt means. For if I die by ſentence, I am allowed the benefit of the moſt eaſy kind of death; I ſhall give my friends the leaſt trouble. Farther, if, when I give an account of my actions towards God and men, the judges think fit to condemn me, I will rather chuſe to die, than to beg of them a life worſe than death.'

'Yet that I die unjuſtly, it will not trouble me; it is not a reproach to me, but to thoſe who condemned me. 1 Pet. iii. 14. I am much ſatisfied with the example of Palamedes, who ſuffered death in the like manner: He is much more commended, than Ulyſſes the procurer of his death. I know both future and paſt times will witneſs, I never hurt, or injured any; but, on the contrary, have advantaged all that converſed with me to my utmoſt ability, communicating what good I could *gratis*, and not for *gain*.'

'I think it moſt unbeſeeming a philoſopher to *ſell* his advice, and extremely contrary to my practice; for ever ſince, by God's command, I firſt entered into Philoſophy (n), I was never known to *take* any thing, but keep my exerciſes in public, for every one to hear that will. I neither lock the door when I teach, nor go abroad to the multitude, and exact money of the hearers.' As ſome heretofore have done, and ſome in our times yet do.

Did not Socrates then excel the prieſts of our day? I mean as well ſome creeping non-conformiſts, as any other, who make a trade of it, and indeed it is their beſt. The righteouſneſs of this Gentile condemns their mercenary practice, who pretend to be Chriſtian miniſters; and giveth proof of an higher ſtate, than that to which they have yet attained.

VII. Antiſthenes, inſtitutor of the Cynicks, as they were called, and ſcholar to Socrates, Laert. & Suid. in vit. Antiſthen.

(h) So ſaith Chriſt, Mat. vii. 26, 27.

(i) 'The pure in heart ſhall ſee God.' Mat. v. 8.

(k) 'The fruit of the ſpirit is peace.' Gal. v. 22.

(l) 'But godlineſs, with content is great gain.' 1 Tim. vi. 6.

(m) 'Nothing they could do was able to draw him out of his endeavours to detect the looſe comedians, that ſought therefore his ruin.

(n) The word *philoſophy* hath been otherwiſe appropriated ſince thoſe days, as many other words have been; for it then ſignified a Love of Wiſdom, given by Pythagoras; which wiſdom was the way of holy living, not vain and untoward conteſts about impracticable things.

crates, taught, ‘ That virtue was the trueſt nobility; that piety was alone needful to laſting happineſs *(o)*.---That true virtue ſtood not in ſaying, but doing that which was good: Not in much learning, or many words, but Upright Actions. In ſhort, that the principle of virtue is ſufficient to what wiſdom is needful, and that all other things ought to have reference thereto. That piety is the beſt armour, and virtuous perſons are always friends *(p)*. That virtue is an armour none can either pierce, or take from good men. He prefers a Juſt man before his neighbour; and gives womens ſouls the ſame privilege to virtue with mens.’ He accounted Pleaſures one of the greateſt miſchiefs in the world; and being aſked, what Learning was beſt? he anſwered, “ That which unlearns men evil: For thoſe,” ſaith he, “ who would live for ever, muſt have a care that their lives be holy and juſt in this world *(q)*.” Stob.

IX. From Diogenes, his conſtant ſcholar and friend, take this one very true and notable ſaying. Of Spiritual Exercitation, Laertius makes him ſpeak to this purpoſe, in his account of his doctrine: ‘ That where mens ſouls are deeply and frequently employed in that ſpiritual retirement, and waiting for divine ſtrength; and are often exerciſed in meditations upon the Eternal Mind; holy Revelations, or Illuminations, will occur, which enlighten the ſoul, and enable it the better to live and act virtuouſly *(r)*.’

Valer. Max. 2. 10. Cic. pro. Bal. Laert.

X. Nay, ſo greatly were the piety and wiſdom of Xenocrates reverenced at Athens, about four hundred years before “ Swear not at all” was ſpoken by our Lord Jeſus, that the judges of that place would not offer to put Xenocrates upon his Oath in an high matter of evidence, in caſe he would have *ſworn*; becauſe they thought it an affront to his integrity, that his *bare word* ſhould not be preferred before all the oaths of other men; ‘ diſpenſing,’ ſays Valerius Maximus, ‘ with that to him, they would not have excuſed in one another.’ Which is no ſmall proof, that the Light, among the Heathens, impeached Oaths in evidence of man’s imperfection, as being but only ſupplemental, or in the place of remedies, againſt want of honeſty; and obviouſly eſteemed it an higher and more noble ſtate to arrive at the integrity which needs not the extraordinary and affrighting obligation of an oath, where mere fear of the curſe intailed upon perjury, and not an innate faithfulneſs, moſt commonly extorts true evidence: Which is a ſufficient anſwer to this queſtion, ‘ How, and by what light, we could have aimed at that perfection, or have known that doctrine, had not the ſcriptures been?

Cic. de Fin. 2.

XI. ‘ The chief good therefore,’ ſaid Zeno, ‘ is to ſquare our lives according to the knowledge given us from the Eternal Being *(s)*, when the ſoul, entering into the path of virtue, walketh by the ſteps and guidance of Right Reaſon, and followeth God.’ Which brings to my remembrance theſe Stoical maxims delivered by Laertius, Cicero, Quintilian, &c. and collected by T. S. for us, charged upon Zeno, and his diſciples: Some of which I had formerly an occaſion to mention in another diſcourſe. They are theſe:

Laert. Ibid. Stob. Laert. Stob. Laert.

‘ A wiſe man is void of paſſion. A wiſe man is ſincere: A wiſe man is divine, for he hath God within himſelf. But a wicked man is an Atheiſt. The wicked are contrary to the good: God, *he* is good; ſo againſt God. A wiſe man is religious; he is humble; he only is a Prieſt; he only is a Prophet; he loves and honours his parents. A wiſe man only is Free. A wiſe man is void of Sin *(t)*.’

Upon which I query, whether this amounts not to as much as what the ſcriptures teach, and theſe here inſerted tell you; “ That the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom, and to depart from iniquity a good underſtanding?”

Idem. Cic. Parad. Stob.

But farther to the ſame purpoſe: ‘ A wiſe man is innocent: A wiſe man is free. Wicked men are ſlaves.’ Again, ‘ A wiſe man is only perfect, for he wanteth no Virtue. A wicked man is imperfect, for he hath no Virtue *(u)*.’

Whereby it is evident, that the Wiſdom they meant was *virtue*, in oppoſition to Vice, which they eſteemed *folly*, as doth the ſcripture frequently. As much as to ſay, thoſe who are thus good, are only wiſe.

(o) ‘ Ye are an holy nation, a royal prieſthood.’ 1 Pet. ii. 9.---‘ And hath made us kings, and prieſts,’ &c. Rev. i. 6.—‘ Bleſſed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it.’ Luke xi. 28.---‘ Where is the wiſe? where is the ſcribe? where is the diſputer of this world?’ 1 Cor. i. 20.

(p) ‘ Put on the breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs.’ Eph. vi. 14.

(q) ‘ The juſt ſhall live by faith.’ Heb. ii. 4.----‘ Without holineſs no man ſhall ſee the Lord.’ Heb. xii. 14.

(r) ‘ They that wait upon the Lord, ſhall renew their ſtrength.’ Iſa. xl. 31.---‘ The ſecret of the Lord is with them that fear him.’ Pſal. xxv. 14.

(ſ) Rom. ii. 14. 15.

(t) ‘ The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom.’ Pſalm cxi. 10. ‘ The rulers take counſel together againſt the Lord.’ Pſal. ii. 2. ‘ The wiſdom which is from above, is firſt pure, then peaceable.’ Jam. iii. 17.

(u) Pſal. cxi. 9, 10.

Again, ‘A wiſe man never lyeth. A wiſe man is peaceable, meek, modeſt, diligent, virtuous, conſtant, and only is incitable to virtue. Fools are not.’

Where it is obvious, that by *fools* they meant wicked and indocible people, who are ſtiff-necked, rebelling againſt God, not delighting to retain God in their knowledge. Chap. X. Idem.

XII. Plato thus: ‘To be like God, is to be *holy*, *juſt*, and *wiſe*; which is the end of man's being born, and ſhould be of his ſtudying philoſophy (w). That Virtue and Honeſty are all one;’ as ſaith Clemens Alexandrinus out of him. Theatr. cap. 3. 10.

This, reader, was the Doctrine; this the Study; and, which is beſt of all, this was the Practice, of many of the virtuous Heathens, who became “a law unto themſelves,” bounding their appetites, whether corporal or mental, within the approved limits of an Inward Holy Guide; like careful mariners, ſteering the courſe of their lives by the direction of that HEAVENLY STAR, which in the gentile *night* aroſe in their conſciences, to guide them unto a bleſſed immortality; which ſhall be the laſt point of their Divinity, and then we cloſe this diſcourſe with reſpect to them.

CHAP. XI.

That the laſt point of Gentile Divinity, to wit, Immortality and Eternal Rewards, is alſo very clearly and poſitively held forth by the ancient Heathens. Six teſtimonies from them, to prove it. Socrates's great Faith in particular; and the lofty ſtrain of the Pythagoreans.

THAT the Gentiles believed there was an *immortality*, and that all men ſhould hereafter be accountable for the deeds done in the body (a point but obſcurely laid down among the Jews themſelves) be pleaſed to take theſe few enſuing authorities, as a proof of what is aſſerted. Chap. XI.

I. Pythagoras, and the Pythagoreans; that they all held the Immortality of the Soul, conſider his and their doctrine in the point.

Firſt, he ſaid, ‘That the ſoul is Immortal.’

‘Next, ‘That the ſoul is incorruptible; it never dieth: For when it goes out of the body, it goes into the other world;’ the pure to God, the impure bound by furies in indiſſoluble chains (a).’ Plut. Plat. 4. 7. Stob. Phyſ. Plat. Phed.

Here Immortality and Rewards are aſſerted.

‘But when a man, who hath lived juſtly, dieth, his ſoul aſcendeth to the pure Æther (or Heaven) and lives in the happy *ævum* (or everlaſting age) with the bleſſed (b).’

II. Heraclitus. ‘If my body be over-preſſed, it muſt deſcend to the deſtined place. Ad Amph. Nevertheleſs, my ſoul ſhall *not* deſcend; but, being a thing immortal, ſhall fly up on high to heaven.’

III. Euripides, a grave Tragedian, whoſe work was to undo what wanton Comedians Clem. Alex. had done to undo the people, ſpeaks thus; ‘Who knoweth, whether to die be not to Strom. l. 3. *live*; and to live, to *die* (c).’

Surely he ſaid ſo not of any diſtruſt of immortality, but in belief of it, and that reward that would attend good men.

IV. Socrates: ‘The Body, being compounded, is diſſolved by death: The Soul, Plat. Phed. being ſimple, paſſeth into another life, incapable of corruption (d).’

‘The ſouls of the good after death are in an happy eſtate, united to God in a bleſſed Idem. inacceſſible place: The bad, in convenient places, ſuffer condign puniſhment (e).’

This puts the caſe of the ſufficiency of the Light to diſcover *immortality* to the very Heathens, out of all doubt; and not only ſo, but *rewards* too; ſince we have them here believing the righteous ſhall be ſaved, and the wicked damned. This made Socrates ſo chearful at his death; ſomething of which I think fit here to inſert.

‘Truly,’ ſays he, ‘did not I believe I ſhould go to the Juſt God, and to men better than any living, I were inexcuſable for contemning death: But I am *ſure* to go to God, a very good maſter, and hope to meet with good men; and am of good courage, hoping that ſomething of a man ſubſiſts after death; and that it is then much better with the good than with the bad (f).’

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, Crito, one of his followers, aſked him what directions he would leave concerning his ſons, and other affairs; and if they could do any thing that might be acceptable to him? ‘I deſire no more,’ ſaith he, ‘than what I have often told you: If you take care of yourſelves, whatſoever you do will be acceptable

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(w) ‘Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.’ Levit. xi. 44, 45.
(a) Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14. Chap. xxi. 7, 8.
(b) 2 Cor. v. 8.
(c) 2 Cor. v. 8. Phillip. i. 21.
(d) Eccleſ. xii. 7.
(e) ‘The ſheep on the right hand, and the goats on the left.’ Mat. xxv. 31, 32, 33.
(f) 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29, 30, 31.

'table to me and mine, though you promiſe nothing: If you neglect yourſelves and 'VIRTUE, you can do nothing acceptable to us, though you promiſe never ſo much.' That, anſwered Crito, we ſhall obſerve: But how wilt thou be buried? 'As you think 'good,' ſaid he; 'if you can *catch me*, and that I give you not the ſlip.' Then, with a ſmile, applying himſelf unto us, 'I cannot perſuade Crito,' ſaith he, 'that I am any 'thing more than the *carcaſe* you will anon behold; and therefore he takes this care for 'my Interrment. It ſeems, that what even now I told him, that as ſoon as I have taken 'the poiſon, *I ſhall go to the joys of the bleſſed*, hath been to little purpoſe. He was my 'bail, bound to the judges for my appearance; you muſt now be *ſureties* to him, that 'I am *departed*. Let him not ſay, That SOCRATES is carried to the *grave*, or 'laid *under-ground*: For know, dear Crito, ſuch a miſtake were a wrong to my *ſoul*. 'Be not dejected; tell the world, my *body* only is *buried*; and that after what manner 'thou pleaſeſt. Yet,' ſaith Socrates, 'I may pray God, and will, that my paſſage hence 'may be happy; which I beſeech him to grant.' And in the ſame inſtant drank it off *eaſily*, without any diſturbance.

Obſerve Socrates his diſtinction betwixt being *dead* and *departed*.

'This,' ſaith Plato, 'was the end of the Beſt, the Wiſeſt, and moſt Juſt of men.' A ſtory, which Cicero profeſſeth he never read without tears.

This ends Socrates upon the preſent ſubject; and happy man was he to make ſo happy an end, as to die for the Only True God. He had great reaſon to believe (maugre the envious uncharitableneſs of ſome) that he would reward him, when it ſhall be ſaid to many bawling pretended Chriſtians, "Depart from me; I know you not. For as "men ſow, ſo ſhall they reap in the day of God."

I need not to tell the world, that Plato and other Heathens have written accurately upon that ſubject, when it is ſo notorious. Wherefore to cloſe up my teſtimonies upon this head, and whole diſcourſe of Gentile-divinity, I will preſent the reader with two ſhort paſſages, the one from Virgil; the other of the Pythagoreans, thus tranſlated to my hand, only a little varied, by an ingenious author.

Virg. Æneid. Lib. 6. v. 745.

V. *Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe*
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Æthereum ſenſum, atque aurai ſimplicis ignem.

In Engliſh thus:

'Till that long day at laſt be come about
That waſted has all filth and foul deſire,
And leaves the ſoul *celeſtial throughout*,
Bathing her ſenſes in pure liquid fire.

To which agrees that Golden Diſtich of the Pythagoreans, as it hath been called;

Pythag. Aur. Carm.

VI. Ἢν δ' ἀπολείψας Σῶμα ἐς αἰθὲρ ἐλεύθερον ἔλθῃς,
Ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος, Θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκ ἔτι θνητός.

To this purpoſe:

Who after death once reach the heavenly plain,
Become like God, and never die again.

The Greek has it, as 'Immortal Gods.' Which Hierocles interprets thus: 'Herein ſhall good men reſemble the Deity, that they ſhall be Immortal, like God him'ſelf.'

Thus, reader, have I given thee a very true account of the Gentile-divinity, what was the Faith, what the Practice, and what the Prophecy and Hope of many Gentiles through this Light within; each of which had numerous followers.

Obſerve; They began where Jews and Chriſtians began; that is, with GOD; and they end with what they confeſs to be theirs, namely, a ſtate of IMMORTALITY, in which every one is rewarded according to their works. Only they are thus far to be commended before either of them, if we conſider many of our times, that they were more Certain, Plain and True in their acknowledgement of a *divine light*, *law* or *principle* in *man*; which, being obeyed, ſupplied them with daily wiſdom and ſtrength, and finally led them to God: And alſo were more Juſt to their Faith, by a life excelling the moſt of them in Virtue and Self-denial. And certainly, in that great and terrible day, "when God will judge the ſecrets of men by Jeſus Chriſt," according to Paul's Goſpel, ſuch pious Gentiles, who knowing God, glorified him *as* God, and conſcientiouſly did the things contained in his law, will be finally acquitted and rewarded.

CHAP. XII.

That the Heathens *had a Sight of the* Coming *of Chriſt. That, and their* refuſing to ſwear, *prove the* Sufficiency *of the Light.*

OVER and above what I promiſed; being rather willing to err on that hand, if yet it be erring; I ſhall briefly obſerve two things greatly importing our defence of the Light, and the ſatisfaction of our adverſaries, if it be true that they ſeek to be ſatisfied.

1. That the teſtimony of Socrates and Xenocrates about *ſwearing* ſufficiently prove to us, that by the Light they had they ſaw a ſtate above ſwearing, or a righteouſneſs excelling that of the legal Jews; which manifeſtly correſponds with what Chriſt ſaid; who, above four hundred years after them, taught, as what properly became the evangelical righteouſneſs, "Swear not at all."

2. That though their Light did not tell them the expreſs Names Chriſt ſhould be called by, yet they foreſaw and propheſied of his Coming, and how he ſhould come of a Virgin, and both What he was, and the Work he came to do, which the names given of the Holy Ghoſt did plainly import. Neither is it the mere knowing of ſo many Letters, Syllables, or Words that gives the true knowledge, or ſalvation, but the experiencing him to be That which he is, and wherefore he is ſo denominated. For to that end came he into the world. CHRIST ſignifies *anointed*, eminently with reſpect to that peculiar manifeſtation. JESUS, a *Saviour*, for he ſhould "ſave his people from their "ſins." EMMANUEL, which is to ſay, *God with us*, &c. That in this ſenſe he was *prophetically* held forth by the Gentiles, through that meaſure of Light they had, hear Plato and Virgil.

Marcil. Ficinus, who wrote the Life of Plato, that great Gentile, tells us among many other things, 'That being very ſeriouſly aſked by ſome that viſited him, as the laſt 'thing they had a mind to be informed about, *How long men ſhould attend to his wri-'tings?* (of which he ſeemed ſo chary, living and dying in the belief of what he re-'commended to the world) he ſolemnly anſwered, "TILL THAT MORE HOLY AND "DIVINE PERSON SHALL APPEAR TO VISIT THE WORLD, WHOM ALL MEN "OUGHT TO FOLLOW." At once both believing ſuch an one to appear, and then forbidding all to prefer that leſſer diſcovery he had given the world, through the improvement of his talent of Light, before that greater manifeſtation, which that DIVINE PERSON would bring with him into the world: As if he had ſaid, 'Mine may help you 'with reſpect to that knowledge which is your duty in this generation, and ſo point 'at Him that afterwards ſhall come; but I am not He, neither do I believe this the 'moſt excellent diſcovery that can be made. But as the *leſſer* Light may lead to the '*greater*, and is at laſt ſwallowed up of it; ſo can I only point at Him; and when He 'is come, all I have done muſt *yield* to him: For I declare, that ALL ought to FOLLOW him; becauſe in following of him, they will obtain eternal bleſſedneſs.'

Let us now ſee what Virgil will add to this matter, as tranſlated in Euſebius. See Conſt. Orat. in Euſ. Virg. Bucol. Eclog. 4.

Sicelides Muſæ paulo majora canamus.

Ye Muſes, with a lofty wing,
Let us of higher matters ſing.

And what be they?

Ultima Cumæi venit jam Carminis ætas.

Who lives this age, will clearly ſee
Cumæa's Verſe accompliſh'd be.

This *Cumæa* (ſo called of her City) was a *Sybil*, who lived about 600 years before Chriſt, and *propheſied* of him.

Virgil wrote theſe verſes about forty years before Chriſt was born. I query if the Jews themſelves had ſo poſitive a ſenſe of the Meſſiah's Coming. But to proceed

Magnus ab integro ſeclorum naſcitur Ordo: Iſa. vii. 14, 15, 16, 17,
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia Regna. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23,
Jam nova Progenies Cœlo demittitur alto. 24, 25.

Th' Integrity of Times ſhall now renew again, Iſa. ii. 2, 3, 4, 5.
A *Virgin* alſo ſhall bring back old Saturn's Reign.
Now is from Heaven high
Deſcended a new Progeny.

This is a *direct Prophecy* of the marvellous conception, that he ſhould be born of a *Virgin*, and the *Good* that would redound to the world thereby, as he farther addeth;

Tu modo naſcenti Puero, quo ferrea primum
Deſinet, ac toto ſurget Gens Aurea Mundo,
Caſta fave Lucina-----
Hoc Duce, ſi qua manent ſceleris veſtigia noſtri,
Irrita perpetuâ ſolvent formidine terras.

Chap. ix. & x. 1 John iii. 5, 6.

The Birth of that moſt happy *Child*, by whom
The Iron Age ſhall end, and Golden come,
Chaſte Lucina favour-----
He ſhall the Power of Wickedneſs deſtroy,
And free the World from Fear and all Annoy.

Yet again:

Ipſæ lacte domum referent diſtenta Capellæ
Ubera: nec magnos metuent armenta Leones.

Iſai. xi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

The *Goats* ſhall bring their Udders *Milk-fill'd* home,
And th' gentle Flocks great *Lyons* ſhall not ſhun.

Yet farther:

Ipſa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores,
Occidet & Serpens, & fallax herba veneni
Occidet: Aſſyrium *vulgo naſcetur* Amomum.

Jer. ii. 3.

Thy *Cradle faireſt Flow'rs* ſhall ſend forth ſtill,
Which ſhall have Pow'r *the pois'nous Herbs to kill.*
The Serpent he ſhall to Deſtruction bring,
Aſſyrian Amomum ſhall each-where ſpring.

Hinc ubi jam firmata virum te fecerit ætas.

When thou ſhalt attain at length
To Years of Manhood and firm Strength.

Pſal. ii. Pſal. xlv. Iſa. ix. 6, 7. Chap. xi. 1, 2, 3, to 9.

Now let any tell me, if this be not a moſt pathetical account of the Virtue and Power of Chriſt, and the very End of his coming into the world; as, by a compariſon of it with the Scriptures in the margin, will plainly appear.

Et duræ quercus ſudabunt roſcida mella.

Iſa. lx. 1, 2, 3, to the end. Chap. lxi. 1, 2, 3. Matt. i. 21, to the end. Luke ii. 10, to 33. 1 John iii. 5, 8.

From the hard Oak there ſhall
Sweet Honey ſweat forth and fall.

To conclude;

Cedet & ipſe mari vector; nec nautica pinus
Mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.
Non raſtros patietur humus, non vinea falcem,
Nec varios diſcet mentiri lana colores.
Sponte ſuâ ſandyx paſcentes veſtiet agnos:
O mihi tam longè maneat pars ultima vitæ,
Spiritus & quantum ſat erit, tua dicere facta!

The Sea ſhall then be quiet, no Ship ſhall range
Abroad, her Wares with others to exchange:
Then ev'ry Land ſhall ev'ry thing produce,
And then to plow the Earth they ſhall not uſe:
Vines by the Hook ſhall not be rectify'd,
Nor Wool with divers Colours ſhall be dy'd:
Fair Fleeces, voluntary, ſhall proceed,
And clothe the Lambs, while they do gently feed.
O might my Days be lengthen'd, ſo that I
Might ſing of thy great Deeds before I die.

Thus, to ſay no more, though much more might be ſaid of this kind, have *Heathens*, by the *Light* we have been hitherto defending, not only *foretold* Chriſt's appearance, but the very *Work* for which he did come, and for which he received thoſe peculiar names of *Chriſt*, *Jeſus*, *Emmanuel*, the *Reſtorer of Breaches*, *Redeemer*, *Saviour*, &c. So that I hope our adverſaries will either diſprove theſe writings, or confeſs that the Light God gave to the Gentiles, they obeying it, was *ſufficient*, and that by it they had ſome of them a Sight of Chriſt, with reſpect to the great *Performance* for which he was ſo named.

I have omitted any mention of thoſe *Sybils* ſo much regarded by Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and abundance of the ancients, for David Blondell's ſake, an accurate Frenchman, who endeavours to prove the books that go under their name to be ſpurious; written ſince Chriſt, by ſome affected to Chriſtianity, to promote it with the Gentiles, and therefore not genuine prophecies of his coming: Though he grants, '*Sybils* there were of old, and excellent things they wrote, but that they were burnt in the Capitol of Rome, ſeveral hundred years before Chriſt came in the fleſh, and ſcattered remnants only extant;' yet among them enough will be afforded, as Virgil from the Cumæan already mentioned, by which to prove the great *foreſight* ſome of the Gentiles had of Chriſt's being conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of a *Virgin*, and finally, coming in the *fleſh* for the ſalvation of the world; and (which is more than any before Virgil had done) *the time when*, namely, *within that age*; which was the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar; in the beginning of which Virgil wrote, and about the end of which *Chriſt was born*.

CHAP. XIII.

It is granted that the Jew, *and much more the* Chriſtian, *hath the Advantage of the* Gentile. *Yet that the* Gentile *had enough for Salvation.*

Chap.XIII.

BUT that I may provide againſt both ignorance and malice, let none unworthily infer from hence, that I prefer the ſtate of Gentiliſm before the ſtate of Chriſtianity: No, nor yet that I ſo much as intend to equal it to that of the *Jews*, to whom pertained "the Adoption, Glory, Covenant, and the giving of the Law, whoſe were the Fathers, and of whom Chriſt himſelf came after the fleſh; who is God (the ONLY God) over all, bleſſed for ever. Amen."

For this let all know, that far greater were the privileges that both *Jew* and *Chriſtian* were bleſſed with, than thoſe of the ancient *Gentiles*. God gave the *Jews* what the *Gentiles* had; but he was not pleaſed to endow the *Gentiles* with all that he freely beſtowed upon the *Jews*: Yet that he gave them what was ſufficient to godlineſs, is altogether as certain: For the difference lay not in the Root of the Matter, but only in ſome extraordinary Helps, and ſeveral viſible ſervices, figurative of, and that pointed at, a farther glory.

The Word "Nigh in the heart," of which Moſes teſtified, was not the only privilege of the Jew, but of the Gentile alſo. The Spirit of God ſtrove as well with the Gentile as the Jewiſh man; and God himſelf declared their "new moons, ſolemn aſſemblies, ſabbaths, &c." to be "an abomination;" and bid them "cleanſe themſelves, and put away the evil of their doings," and that they would "make them a new heart, and a new ſpirit:" Intimating, that though he did attend their childhood with many helps, that were wanting to other nations, yet he required Fear, Purity and Righteouſneſs, and that which was the moſt Eſſential thing: Which becauſe it was required of the Gentiles as well as the Jews, and that many Gentiles believed ſo, and accordingly lived; unto which declaring they were inclined by the *ſame* Good Spirit which Job ſays is "in man," and that "Inſpiration of the Almighty which gives underſtanding," I cannot in juſtice but conclude, they wanted not the Ground-work any more than the Jews. So that the Sum of what I have been urging is but this, and thus much it is, 'That though God was more beneficent to the *Jew*, eſpecially to the *Chriſtian*, than the *Gentile*, and conſequently that as the *Jew* had thoſe aſſiſtances the *Gentile* had not; ſo the Chriſtian Diſpenſation is the PERFECTION of the Divine Light, Life and Immortality, *more weakly ſeen* both by *Jew* and *Gentile*. Yet alſo, That God did communicate to the *Gentiles* ſuch a meaſure of his Divine Light and Spirit, as, diligently adhered to, and faithfully followed, was ſufficient to their ſalvation from ſin here, and conſequently from wrath to come; and that they themſelves did ſo believe, teach, live and die, in perfect hope and full aſſurance of eternal recompence, in a ſtate of immortality.'

Iſa. i. 12, 13, 14, 15
Ezek. xviii. 31, 32.

And though I will not be ſo ſtrict in my opinion of the *beſt* Gentiles, as to deny there might be ſome *ſelf-mixtures* from Temper, Education, or otherwiſe; yet I will alſo boldly affirm, that as the Light they had was ſufficient in itſelf to their ſalvation; of which their life and doctrine are a notable demonſtration; ſo they had, ſome of them, a glimmering proſpect and bold belief of as high a ſtate of purity, glory and immortality, as man's nature is capable of attaining to. Let thus much ſuffice, whether ſome be pleaſed, or not pleaſed, in defence of the Univerſality and Sufficiency of the Light of CHRIST within; at leaſt with reſpect to the Gentiles-divinity, and a full anſwer to the clamours of our many adverſaries, againſt the 'Light's ſufficiency to diſ'cover ſin, and convert from it.'

CHAP. XIV.

A great Objection ſtated and anſwered. The Light *both* LAW *and* GOSPEL, *not in the ſame Diſcovery, but in itſelf. A Way to reconcile the ſeeming Difference about it. The Light ſtill defended as aſſerted.*

Chap. XIV.

BUT becauſe I am yet to expect doubters about this Bleſſed Light, who rather ſtrive to oppoſe it by their notions, than believe it and obey it to their ſalvation; I will ſuppoſe that ſome may yet object:

Objection.

'Certainly this Light within can be, at moſt, but the Law in the conſcience, anſwering 'to the firſt covenant: For here is ſcarce any mention made of Chriſt in this long 'diſcourſe. And if this Light were Chriſt, as is affirmed by you Quakers, then how 'comes it that he was not ſo called of old by the Jews and Greeks? and why typified 'to come, when he was come before, and whilſt typified? And farther, in what ſenſe 'can he be underſtood to bear our iniquities, and men and women to be ſaved by his 'Blood, if this Light be the Saviour, Meſſiah, Chriſt, &c. as you believe, and en'deavour to maintain now in the world?'

This objection, I ſuppoſe, the reader will allow to be the moſt weighty made againſt our principle; and that I have therein dealt more fairly by our oppoſers than they uſually deal with us; ſince I have here laid down the very ſtrength of their objection againſt the Light we aſſert. To all which I ſhall anſwer in the fear of God, and ſpirit of moderation.

The objection conſiſts mainly of theſe four parts: The Firſt, relating to the Light's being but the Law, not the Goſpel. The Second, to the Light's never being called Chriſt, by Jews or Greeks. The Third, to Chriſt's being typified, and yet in being at the ſame time. The Fourth, to Chriſt's Blood, the bearing our Sins, and which way this could be appropriated to the Light, and not do injury to the Holy Manhood.

Firſt then, I ſhall anſwer to that part of the objection which concerns the Light's being but, or no more than, the Law.

I do thus far agree, to wit, That the Light is the Law; but that it is not therefore in *any* ſenſe the Goſpel, I alſo deny; yet not in That reſpect wherein it is the Law: For as in that ſtate it cannot juſtify, ſo it would be to ſay, it is the Law, and it is not the Law, *ad idem.* I ſay then, That the Light may be both Law and Goſpel, in reference to a twofold Manifeſtation.

"Where there is no Law, there is no Tranſgreſſion." It might as well have been ſaid (ſince they themſelves confeſs it to be the Law) That where there is no *Light*, there is no tranſgreſſion; and the rather, becauſe the Apoſtle ſays expreſly, "Whatever "is reproved," or *ſinful*, "is made manifeſt by the *Light*." Eph. v. 13. Therefore, ſince all have *tranſgreſſed*, all have *Light*, and ever had.

In This ſtate, then, it is a Law, which *juſtifies* none; all being concluded under Guilt, and children of Wrath: For whoever is in that which is reprovable, is under *condemnation* from the Law, or the Reproving Act of this holy Light. But again; ſuch as, by unfeigned Repentance, come to *obey* the Light, they are herein juſtified in a twofold ſenſe, (and I ſo ſpeak for the ſake of the ſimple, beguiled by a wrong apprehenſion of the word) Firſt, In that God *acquits* for his Name's ſake; who is merciful, pardoning iniquity, tranſgreſſion and ſin, in all that repent with unfeigned repentance. Secondly, In that he *accepts* upon the renewal and continuance of the creature's humble and ſincere Obedience. Neither are ſuch properly come to the compleat *Sonſhip.* They are but on their journey; they muſt give good proof of their fidelity, diligence and loyalty to God, as Servants, before they are received into that excellent ſtate of Sonſhip, which never goes out of the Father's houſe for ever.

This is clearly diſtinguiſhed, and weightily expreſſed, by the apoſtle Paul to the Galatians, "The Heir," ſays he, "whilſt under age, differs not from a Servant, but is "under Tutors until the time appointed of the Father: Even ſo we, when we were "Children, were in bondage, under the elements of the world: Therefore the Seed "came, that by Faith in it, the adoption of Sons might be known." This is the Perfection of the Brightneſs of the Light, which is all along ſtill the ſame in Itſelf, though not the ſame to the Creature. The outward Sun is the cauſe of the early Dawnings; and is, at that very ſame time, in itſelf, the ſame glorious Body of Light as when in the Meridian: But if men, either through Natural Weakneſs, or the many fogs and miſts of Tradition, Education, Ignorance or Prejudice, ſuffer an Eclipſe, they muſt not blame the Light, but themſelves. He that follows the Light in its holy diſcoveries, and walks in it, which was ever the juſt man's path, ſhall meet with bleſſedneſs at the end of his travels. But ſuch as let the World of Wickedneſs get between it and them, are overtaken with Night.

“ Abraham ſaw,” it is ſaid, “ Chriſt's Day.” What Day? The diſpenſation of *ſonſhip*, as Heir of all things; the Day of perfect Reſtitution: Which he could never have done, had he not had Light, by which to have ſeen it. So ſeveral of thoſe holy ancients obtained a degree above many, and arrived at a growth, yea, the benefit and enjoyment of a diſpenſation, that was not then general, through the weakneſs of the age. Such really ſaw beyond the offerings, types, figures and ſhadows, to a ſtate more inward, ſpiritual and ſubſtantial, by taking good heed to the Heavenly Light in their conſciences. And this, indeed, was the end of all external adminiſtrations, to drive the creature inward, and point out unto it ſome more hidden myſtery, that man's wandering from God had cauſed him to neglect: Yet ſtill was Chriſt, the WORD-GOD, a Saving Light in that ſtate. And the Light of the Law was as a School-maſter, that led ſuch as diligently obeyed it, to that more excellent diſcovery of the ſame Light, which is now called the Goſpel, or Glad Tidings; as certainly it was, after ſo black and cold a ſeaſon as had long overcaſt the heavens, to have the ‘ Glorious SUN of Righteouſneſs appear in ‘ that Bleſſed Body, prepared and anointed for that purpoſe, in a manner tranſcendent ‘ to all former manifeſtations of himſelf.’

Thus it was, that ſuch as had lived up moſt faithfully to the Law of God, or Light of *that diſpenſation*, gladly received Chriſt, believed in him, became his followers, and the companions of his croſs and ſufferings. So that he, who was the Light of the Law, is alſo the Light of the Goſpel, though not in one and the ſame Manifeſtation, or Degree of Diſcovery: As the Light is not one in Condemning and Juſtifying, though it be One in Itſelf; nor the ſame in its Luſtre in the degree and growth of Little Children, Young Men, and Fathers; yet One Pure, Eternal, Unalterable Light of Life and Righteouſneſs in Itſelf. If therefore it doth the office of the Law in any, to be ſure ſuch an one is yet under a ſtate of Condemnation for evil, and he is not yet come to know the Fulfilling of the Law, as becometh every follower of Chriſt; yea, every one that would come to Chriſt.

Chriſt indeed fulfils the Law for us: But how? The Light in us, as we are ſubject to it, and led by it, adminiſters an Holy Power, by which we are enabled to do that which is good and acceptable in the ſight of the Lord; and ſo, obeying the Light, we fulfil the Law: “ Thus he works his works in us and for us.” And ſo far was Chriſt from diſengaging his followers from an indiſpenſible neceſſity of keeping the Law, as outwardly ingraven on ſtones, that he ſet them a far harder taſk, by how much it is more eaſy to refrain ourſelves from Acting than Thinking. “ Thou ſhalt not commit adultery,” ſaith the diſpenſation of Moſes. “ Whoſoever looks on a woman to luſt after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart,” ſaith that more excellent diſpenſation of Chriſt. Certainly, then, thoſe men who fancy themſelves upon eaſy terms of being excuſed from fulfilling of the Law, or performing good works, as a condition to juſtification, muſt baſely abuſe themſelves, and dangerouſly hazard the well-being of their own ſouls. In ſhort, He was the True Light, who ſaid, “ he that looks upon a woman to luſt after Mat. v. 27, 28. “ her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart:” But ſo was HE alſo, that ſaid of old by Moſes, “ Thou ſhalt not commit adultery.” Should we therefore conclude Two Lights, and not rather Two ſeveral Manifeſtations, or gradual Diſcoveries, of the ſelf-ſame Eternal Light?

To conclude: The Law, as I may ſay, is the Goſpel *begun*; and the Goſpel is the Law *finiſhed*. He that would be juſtified, muſt firſt be condemned; and they who would be healed, muſt firſt be wounded. The Law is as the Sword; the Goſpel as Balm: The one Duty, the other Love. And that which alone is needful to attain unto the higheſt diſcovery, is, to be humbly ſubject, and conſtantly obedient, to the loweſt appearance of it: ‘ The faithful Servant becomes a Son by adoption.’ Wouldeſt thou know the Word a *reconciler*, thou muſt firſt witneſs it an *hammer*, a *ſword*, a *fire*, &c. The way to arrive at Evangelical righteouſneſs, is firſt to perform the righteouſneſs of the Law. By Law I mean not that of politic ſhadows and ceremonies, or the external order or policy of the Jews; but that Mora land Eternal law, which is ſaid to have come by Moſes (though but repeated and renewed by him), and is accompliſhed by Chriſt. And there is great hopes, that they who conſcientiouſly keep the beginning, will compaſs the end. Such as have conquered *evil doing*, if they be faithful to what they have received of God's Light and Spirit, it will enable them againſt *bad ſaying*, till at laſt they overcome *evil thinking* too; and witneſs that ſcripture fulfilled, “ Judgment (the Law) is brought forth into “ Victory (the Goſpel). He that follows me, (the Light of the World, that enlightens all men coming into the world) ſhall not abide in darkneſs, but ſhall have the John viii. 12, i. 9. “ Light of Life.” I make not this diſtinction of Law and Goſpel to diſtinguiſh in Kind, but Degree; and for the ſake of the Weak, accuſtomed to it. “ And if the Son make “ you free, then are you free indeed:” For as it is a Condemner, it may be called the

Light that brings Death, in that it ſlays, by the Brightneſs of its coming into the conſcience, the tranſgreſſing nature. Like unto that expreſſion, "The Day of the Lord is "a Day of Darkneſs," becauſe of the judgments and terrors of the Lord in the conſcience for ſin; but to the obedient, it is the "Light of Life," it brings peace and conſolation.

Thus is Chriſt, as the Word-God, and Light of the World, through every diſpenſation, *one* in *himſelf*, tho' to mankind he has variouſly appeared, not by different Lights, but different Manifeſtations only of One and the ſame Eternal Light of life and righteouſneſs.

CHAP. XV.

The ſecond part of the Objection, That Christ *was not antiently called the* LIGHT, *anſwered. And the contrary proved from ſcripture and reaſon.*

Chap. XV. TO the ſecond part of the Objection, 'If the Light in every man were *Chriſt*, how 'comes it that the *Jews* and *Greeks* never called it ſo?' I anſwer, We do not ſay that the Light, ſtrictly, in every man, *is* Chriſt, but *of* or *from* Chriſt. He is that Fulneſs from whence all receive a Meaſure of divine light and knowledge; but not that every individual has the *whole* or *complete* Chriſt *in him*, ſo as to be no-where elſe! Such an abſurdity never fell from us, nor is it conſequent of our doctrine, though the malice of our adverſaries hath charged it upon both. But as the *external ſun* darts its Light upon the Organ of the Eye of the Body, by which it conveys True Diſcerning to act about Viſible Things; ſo doth the *internal ſun* of *righteouſneſs* ſhine upon the Eye of the Soul, giving it the knowledge of thoſe Inviſible Things which properly relate to the Nature of the Soul. So that we are the leſs obliged to give a reaſon why others called not the Light in man *Chriſt*, ſince we renounce all ſhare in ſuch belief ourſelves, ſtrictly ſpeaking. Yet thus far I will ſay, that Chriſt was called Light before ever he was in the world, though not before he was Chriſt. "I will give him for a Light to lighten the Gentiles, "&c." Now if any will ſay that this Light was not Chriſt, let them tell us ſo in plain words: But if it will be allowed, they had beſt aſk, Why the prophet, by the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould call Chriſt "Light," even as ſoon as, if not before, he was called "*Chriſt*?" And why, in that very ſtate in which he was called "*Chriſt*," he ſhould alſo be called "*Light*?" Certain it is then, that by "him," the Light, we are to underſtand "Chriſt;" which is one and the ſame thing as if he had ſaid, 'I will give Christ for a *light* to en'lighten the Gentiles;' or, 'He who is the *Chriſt*, is the Light; or the *light* is 'Christ.' So that it will follow, the Gentiles were enlightened by Christ; which is the whole of what we underſtand by our aſſertion, as to the "Light in Man."

Again, John expreſly calls that Light, with which every man is enlightened, "the "Word; and the Word is ſaid to have "taken Fleſh." If then He that took fleſh was Christ, and conſequently that body Chriſt's *body* only, (as none, I think, will dare deny, but Muggleton, and his credulous followers) it will follow, 'That Christ, 'who took, or appeared in, that Prepared Body, is the Light with which every Man 'is lighted.'

Farther, Chriſt himſelf ſays, "I am the Light of the World:" Which is as much as if he had ſaid, 'I have lighted, or ſhined forth to, the world:' Therefore the Light which ſhines in the hearts of mankind, is Christ. Though we do not ſay that every Particular Illumination is the *entire Chriſt*; for ſo there would be as many Chriſts as there are men, which were abſurd and blaſphemous.

But laſtly, the apoſtle himſelf calls him Chriſt, before his coming in the fleſh; ſo that Chriſt was Chriſt before his appearance in that Holy Body at Jeruſalem, which clears that point in controverſy. For the ſtreſs of the objection, as to this particular, lies here, 'Chriſt, *as* Chriſt, was not before he took fleſh;' therefore though it ſhould be granted, that as the Word-God, all are enlightened by him, yet not as he is Christ, before that Viſible Appearance. But if Chriſt was not *before*, then the *manhood*, that was taken in *time*, muſt only be the Chriſt: But I would fain know ſuch people's reaſon for it. The dilemma in ſhort is this, That ſuch as deny Chriſt to have been Chriſt before that coming, thwart as plain a text as the ſcriptures have; and if they ſhould allow it, their oppoſition to our aſſertion muſt appear unſound and reprovable. Howbeit, ſince Chriſt, as the Word-God, hath lighted *all men* antecedent to his coming in the fleſh, (as moſt of our 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. objectors confeſs) and that the apoſtle ſays, that "the Word was Chriſt," or that "Chriſt "was before he came in the fleſh;" in that Chriſt was, in the wilderneſs, "a Rock to "Iſrael," (unleſs Chriſt and the Word are Two diſtinct beings, or that there be Two diſtinct Chriſts) Chriſt was "that Light which lighted mankind;" and that very Light with which mankind was lighted, was the "very Christ of God;" and conſequently the Light has been called, both expreſly and implicitly, *CHRIST*, before that Viſible Appearance at Jeruſalem.

Nor is the allegation of that ſcripture againſt us pertinent to the matter in hand, viz. "Which none of the princes of this world knew, &c." for that was ſpoken in reference to the "Wiſdom which had been hid," and not to the mere Manhood of Chriſt. But ſuppoſe his Holy Manhood concerned in it, we have this to ſay, 'That ſuch as rejected 'him, and much more thoſe that crucified him, in his Outward Appearance, had firſt 'deſpiſed and ſlain him Within:' They were of thoſe, as Job ſaid, who "rebelled againſt "the light, and loved not the ways thereof." And I affirm, againſt all oppoſers, that it was by the ſight this Divine Light within gave to Simeon, Peter, Nathanael, and all others who believed in him, that they truly came to confeſs him, and ſuffer for him. Yea, ſuch as had not out-ſinned their day, and finally hardened their hearts, as others by wicked works had done; but, through the Light of the Lord, had in good meaſure kept their conſciences void of offence, they received and embraced him. The Light knew its own: The Leſſer led to the Greater; and the Greater Light as naturally attracted the Leſſer, as we may ſee Fire does every day.

To conclude this particular, let me add, That they were not the Princes of this world that put him *outwardly* to death; for it came by the envious and wicked accuſations of the Jews (a broken conquered people) to Pilate, Governor of a Province only: Therefore, ſince I believe what the apoſtle ſaith to be true, I have rather reaſon to infer that it was meant of Chriſt *myſtically*, than of that Viſible Body. However it be, that part of our adverſaries objection about the Light's not being called Chriſt, antecedent to his coming in the fleſh, can be of no weight to the matter under debate, ſince we have ſo evidently made the contrary appear.

CHAP. XVI.

The third part of the Objection; 'If Chriſt was enjoyed under the law; as he was, if the Light be Chriſt; why was he typified? is proved of no force. The type and anti-type, in ſome reſpects, may be at one and the ſame time: This is proved by plenty of ſcripture. Our adverſaries oppoſition and cavil weak and unſucceſsful.

Ch. XVI.

THE third part of the Objection, and what ſeems at firſt ſight to carry ſomething of moment againſt us, is this? 'If the Light within be Chriſt, and the Jews and 'Gentiles had it from the beginning of the world, how can Chriſt be ſaid to be typified 'out, as not come, and propheſied of to come, when by your own principle he hath 'been always come?' I anſwer; This part of the objection is in ſome reſpect built upon the ſame miſtake as was the ſecond, namely, that the Illumination within is *intirely* Chriſt; concerning which, I have plainly and truly expreſſed myſelf before. I will therefore faithfully ſtate the queſtion for them thus: 'Well, but ſtill you ſay, Chriſt lighted 'Jews and Gentiles before that Viſible Coming: If ſo, then was he come, by your 'own principle, whilſt his coming was typified out, and propheſied of: Doth not this 'ſeem a contradiction?' But to this I ſay, that the ſuppoſed contradiction ariſeth from the miſtake of the Diſpenſations; for it takes for granted, that there was no difference in the Degree of illumination before, and at, the coming of Chriſt in that viſible manner into the world; which all muſt needs confeſs. For as I would be underſtood, when I call the Light *before* and *after* Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, LIGHT, to mean but *one* and the *ſelf-ſame* light in nature; ſo let none apprehend, as if we made no difference, by the acknowledgement of a more eminent *manifeſtation* of the *ſame light*. What follows then? Why thus much moſt clearly, That under the enjoyment of the *leſſer* manifeſtation of light, ſuited to the then childiſh ſtate of the Jews, God was pleaſed to allure them after an expectation of *higher* things, by types and prophecies of that *far more* excellent and exceeding glorious diſpenſation of the Light and Love of God in after-ages.

The end of God's giving the Iſraelites that Outward Prophet and Leader Moſes, was, to bring to the *inward leader*, CHRIST JESUS: And though they, through carnality and weakneſs, were not then ſenſible of him, ſo as to ſtay their minds upon him, yet Moſes propheſied of him: And indeed, all the external dealings of God with men, have been to bring to Chriſt, the *ſeed within*, which is able to "bruiſe the ſerpent's head," and did ſo, in ſome meaſure, through all ages. So that with good reaſon and truth we may aſſert, 'Chriſt, the Light, was the Rock that followed Iſrael in the wilderneſs (who is 'the Rock of ages, and Foundation of all generations, and who ever lighted all mankind, 'the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever); yet a *greater* manifeſtation of that Divine 'Light might be typically preached forth under the enjoyment of the Leſſer.'

And that we herein are not without the ſuffrage of the ſcriptures to our defence, I would fain know, if, notwithſtanding all thoſe outward waſhings of thoſe times, God did not frequently preſs the very ſubſtance itſelf, namely, "a clean heart, and a new "ſpirit;" accounting all worſhip ſhort thereof, but as "the cutting off of a dog's neck, "and offering of ſwine's blood?" And whether Chriſt himſelf did not with his own hands give the bread and wine to his diſciples, and yet bid them "do it till he came?" Isa. lxvi. 3.

Whence it is eaſy to obſerve, that unleſs the Bread and the Wine are the Very CHRIST, (thereby deſtroying the nature of a Sacrament) and inſtead of doing it *till* he came, that he ſhould come whenever they do *receive* it; it muſt be granted to us, that Chriſt *preſent* gave them a Figure of Chriſt *to come:* Therefore to figure out Chriſt *to* come, deſtroys not Chriſt's *being* come; eſpecially taking our diſtinction of the *leſſer manifeſtation from the greater*; which nevertheleſs divides not the Light, but that it remains, in itſelf, One Pure, Eternal Being of Light, and Sun of Righteouſneſs, through every diſpenſation. And thus much that paſſage I have already obſerved from the apoſtle Paul, in anſwer to the ſecond part of the objection, plainly clears to us: For if Chriſt, typified out, was their Rock, or the Rock of that Age, even when the *brazen ſerpent*, the *type*, was in being, I cannot ſee but the type, and the thing typified, might be at one and the ſame time; not as to Degree, but Nature; for ſo I would be underſtood.

Before I conclude, take this notable ſaying of Chriſt to the Jews, and what may be collected from it to our purpoſe: "Before Abraham was, I am. Abraham ſaw my "day, and rejoiced."---Which affords us briefly thus much; That though he was not ſo viſibly come, yet it was the very ſame He that came above one thouſand ſix hundred years ago, who was with the fathers of old; and that Abraham, who lived one thouſand nine hundred years before that outward appearance, ſaw him, and his day. If this be not the import of the place, I know none; for the Jews, not believing him to be the Meſſiah, thought it high preſumption for him to compare with Abraham. "Art thou "greater than our father Abraham, who is dead, and the prophets, who are dead? "Whom makeſt thou thyſelf?" ſaid that unbelieving people: Unto which he anſwered, (that he might prove himſelf to be the *true Meſſiah*, the Chriſt of God) "Abraham "ſaw my day, and rejoiced." They, ſtill harping upon that Viſible Body, or Outward Man, not thirty-three years old, replied, "Thou art not yet Fifty, and haſt thou ſeen "Abraham?" Taking that to be the Meſſiah, the Chriſt of God, and Saviour of the world he meant, which they ſaw with their carnal eyes. To which he rejoined with a "Verily, verily I ſay unto you, before Abraham was I am: Then took they up ſtones to caſt "at him, &c." By all which it is moſt clear, that unleſs our adverſaries will deny him that ſo ſpoke to be Chriſt, who ſingled and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the Meſſiah, the Chriſt of God, and Saviour of the world, from that viſible Body, not fifty years old indeed; both Chriſt, that then ſpoke, muſt needs have been long before Abraham's time, and that ſuch holy ancients were not without a ſight and proſpect of him, and the day of his glorious appearance, or that moſt ſignal manifeſtation of himſelf in the Body prepared for that great and holy purpoſe; witneſs the exceeding clear and heavenly prophecies in the ſcriptures of truth, that were as ſo many fore-runners or introducers of the evangelical ſtate.

John. viii. 56. 57, 58.

Helv. Chron.

And this is unqueſtionably confirmed unto us, by that known and weighty expreſſion of the apoſtle Paul to the Romans: "Whoſe are the fathers, and of whom, as con- "cerning the fleſh, Chriſt came, who is over all, God bleſſed for ever, Amen;" ſince here Chriſt is both diſtinguiſhed from the Body he took, and alſo made One with God, who is over all bleſſed for ever, Amen. As much as to ſay, "of whoſe fleſh Chriſt took;" therefore Chriſt was *before* he took it; or his taking it only did not conſtitute him *Chriſt*; which *Chriſt* is *God:* And if God (which cannot be ſaid of mere fleſh, or any corporal lineage) then muſt he have been from all everlaſting.

Rom. ix. 5.

To conclude; as Abraham outward and natural was the great father of the Jews outward and natural, whoſe ſeed God promiſed to bleſs with earthly bleſſings, as Canaan, &c. and that they were figurative of the One Seed Chriſt, and ſuch as he ſhould beget unto a lively hope, through the power of his ſpiritual reſurrection, it will conſequently follow, that this Seed muſt be *inward* and *ſpiritual*; ſince one Outward thing cannot be the proper Figure or Repreſentation of another: Nor is it the way of holy ſcripture ſo to teach us. The *outward* Lamb ſhews forth the *inward* Lamb; the Jew *outward*, the Jew *inward*. As God attended the one with many ſingular outward mercies (to ſay no more) above other nations, ſo doth he benefit the Jew in *ſpirit*, above all other people.

I have theſe two ſhort arguments farther to prove what I believe and aſſert, as to the ſpirituality of the True Seed, and a clearer overthrow it is to the opinion of our adverſaries concerning the True Chriſt. Firſt, Every thing begets its *like:* What is ſimply *natural* produces not a *ſpiritual* being: *Material* things bring not forth things that are *immaterial*. Now, becauſe the Nature, or Image, begotten in the hearts of true believers is *ſpiritual*, it will follow, that the *ſeed*, which ſo begets and brings forth that birth, muſt be the *ſame* in *nature* with that which is begotten; therefore *ſpiritual:* Then Chriſt's *body*, or what he had from the Virgin, *ſtrictly* conſidered *as ſuch*, was not the Seed.

Secondly, It is clear from hence: The Serpent is a *ſpirit*. Now nothing bruiſes the head of the ſerpent in man, but ſomething that is alſo *internal* and *ſpiritual*, as the ſerpent is. But if *that body* of Chriſt were only the Seed, then could he not bruiſe the ſerpent's head in all, becauſe the *body* of Chriſt is not ſo much as in any one (tho' too many have weakly concluded it upon us, from a perverſion or miſtake of our doctrine of *Chriſt*

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in man, by his Light and Spirit); and conſequently the Seed of the Promiſe is an *holy* and *ſpiritual* principle of *light*, *life* and *power*, which being received into the heart, bruiſeth the ſerpent's head. And becauſe the Seed (which in this ſenſe cannot be that Body) is *Chriſt*, as teſtify the ſcriptures, the Seed is ONE, and that Seed CHRIST, and Chriſt GOD over all, bleſſed for ever, we do conclude that Chriſt was, and is, the *divine word* of *light* and *life*, that was in the beginning *with* God, and *was* and *is* God over all, bleſſed for ever. Gal. iii. 16.

And that this may yet more evidently appear, let it but be ſeriouſly weighed, that antecedent to that viſible appearance, the Seed bruiſed, in good meaſure, the Serpent's Head, in the holy men and women of all generations; otherwiſe they had not been holy, but *ſerpentine* and *wicked*. And if the Seed was *before*, and that Seed be Chriſt, (becauſe there is but One Chriſt, as well as but One Seed) it doth clearly follow that Chriſt was Chriſt *before* that outward appearance; and conſequently it could but be a *more excellent* and *free* manifeſtation of his truth, righteouſneſs, ſalvation, wiſdom, power, glory, and dominion; as indeed it was.

For notwithſtanding that this heavenly Seed was in ſome meaſure known, and what was wrought of inward deliverance in that day, was by and through the power and virtue of it, as the minds of people were retired to the Word of God nigh in the heart, to cleanſe and redeem; and though particular perſons might arrive at great attainments, even to a beholding the day of the Seed's complete redemption, and conqueſt over all its oppreſſors (when that which was but in the condition of a Seed, or new-born Child, ſhould become the "Only Son, the Wonderful Counſellor, the Mighty God, the Everlaſting Father, and the Prince of Peace, of the increaſe of whoſe government there "ſhall be no end," as ſpeaks the prophet); yet it is granted, through that good underſtanding the Lord hath given us in theſe weighty things, that the *generality* were but weak, dark, and imbondaged, as ſaith the apoſtle, under carnal and beggarly *elements*, not clearly ſeeing through thoſe outward ſervices, by which (if I may ſpeak) God held them in hand, condeſcending to their weakneſs, that he might both keep them from gadding after the pompous inventions and idolatrous worſhip of other nations, and point out unto them, under their great carnality, that *more hidden* glory and *ſpiritual* diſpenſation, which ſhould afterwards be revealed, to wit, 'The complete redemption of the ſoul, and reign of the *holy ſeed*, from the Child born, and the Son given, to the wonderful Counſellor, 'the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace, of the increaſe of whoſe 'government there ſhall be no end.' Iſa. ix. 6.

So that then we ought, and we do, by abſolute force of truth, conclude, 1ſt. That the *ſeed*, which is *Chriſt*, WAS in all ages; with Abraham, with the Iſraelites, with the prophets; therefore he was as well *before* he came in that prepared body, as then and ſince. 2dly. Yet it is confeſſed that he was not ſo clearly revealed, perfectly brought forth, and generally known *before* his ſo coming, as then and ſince, but more darkly figured out by types and ſhadowy ſervices; which, though they cleanſed not, ſaved not, redeemed not, yet did they ſhew forth a more hidden and ſpiritual *ſubſtance*, that was able to cleanſe, ſave and redeem, and actually did, all that received it, and were truly ſubject to it, and that both from Sin and Wrath. 3dly. That it therefore is not at all abſurd, that the more excellent manifeſtation of Truth ſhould be typified and propheſied of under the enjoyment of the leſſer, ſince the reaſon of the thing, and the teſtimonies of the ſcripture, are ſo expreſs for it; which ends our anſwer to this particular.

CHAP. XVII.

The fourth part of the Objection ſtated and conſidered. Chriſt's death and ſufferings confeſſed to, and reſpected: They were beneficial to ſalvation. The Light of Chriſt within is the efficient cauſe of ſalvation completely taken.

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HAVING conſidered the third part of this great Objection, I am now come to what chiefly ſtumbles the people, with reſpect to the Light within, at leaſt as I apprehend; and that in this fourth and laſt particular; viz. 'But if the Light in every man 'be Chriſt, how doth it bear our ſins, and how are our iniquities laid upon it? and how 'can we be ſaid to be juſtified, redeemed or ſaved by its blood, ſince all theſe things 'are ſpoken by the holy pen-men of the Man Chriſt, or Jeſus born at Bethlehem? 'Surely you wholly invalidate his life, death, reſurrection, aſcenſion, and mediation, by 'this belief of yours in the Light within.'

This I take to be the very ſtreſs of the matter, collected out of the moſt forcible writings of our adverſaries: To which I anſwer, and let him that reads underſtand.

It muſt be conſidered, in this laſt part of the objection, how thoſe queſtions can be applicable to the Light, and yet be reconcilable with thoſe ſcriptures that ſeem to attribute all to his Bodily Sufferings. I hope to make appear, that as we exalt the firſt, ſo we dare not by any means to ſlight the laſt.

The *light*, or rather HE that is *light in man* (for ſo I have always deſired to be under-

1673. Ch. XVII. ſtood; light being a *metaphor*, or a word taken from the *outward day*, and chiefly ſo termed, becauſe of *man's darkneſs*, which is thereby diſcovered) hath been, according to ſcripture, as a "Lamb ſlain ſince the foundation of the world:" That is, the world had not been long created, before man, being envied by Lucifer the fallen angel, was betrayed of his innocency by him; and ſin, by diſobedience, prevailing, the *light*, or *principle of life*, under whoſe holy leadings man was placed, became *reſiſted*, *grieved*, and as it were *ſlain*: Which word *ſlain* is alſo *metaphorical*. That is to ſay, the innocent pure Life was, as it were, *wounded unto death*, through diſobedience; and that lamb-like image, in which Adam was created, by him through rebellion loſt. Thus that Holy Principle, which God placed in the heart of Adam, in which was true *light*, *life* and *power*, *bore* the ſin, was *preſſed* under it, as a cart under ſheaves, *grieved* exceedingly, and, as it were, *quenched* with iniquity.

This hath been the condition of that precious and elect Seed, Spirit, Light, Life, Truth, or whatever name equivalent any may pleaſe to give it, ever ſince that firſt rebellion, to this very day. And as, in wicked men, God's holy Light and Spirit, or that Principle which is ſo called, hath been deeply wounded, yea, as one ſlain; ſo in good men, that have had a ſenſe of the world's abominations, hath it alſo borne many burdens and weights; for the Light and Life is ONE in ALL, though not treated alike in all: And thoſe who have been reformed by it, and joined to it, have been as One Spirit, and have not been without their ſhare of the Lord's heavy ſufferings from the ungodly world; which was as well a filling-up of Chriſt's ſufferings that were *before* his outward coming, as what to this generation are yet *behind* to be completed.

And as at any time diſobedient men have hearkened to the ſtill voice of the *Word*, that Meſſenger of God in their hearts, to be affected and convinced by it, as it brings reproof for ſin, which is but a fatherly chaſtiſement; ſo upon true brokenneſs of ſoul, and contrition of ſpirit, that very ſame Principle and Word of Life in man, has *mediated* and *atoned*, and God has been propitious, lifting up the light of his countenance, and repleniſhing ſuch humble penitents with divine conſolations. So that ſtill the ſame Chriſt, *Word-God*, who has lighted all men, is by ſin grieved and burdened, and bears the iniquities of ſuch as ſo ſin, and reject his benefits. But as any hear his knocks and let him into their hearts, he firſt wounds and then heals; afterwards he atones, mediates, and re-inſtates man in the holy image he is fallen from by ſin. Behold this is the ſtate of Reſtitution! and this in ſome meaſure was witneſſed by the holy patriarchs, prophets and ſervants of God in old time, to whom Chriſt was *ſubſtantially* the ſame Saviour, and Seed bruiſing the ſerpent's head, that he is now to us, what difference ſoever there may be in point of manifeſtation.

But notwithſtanding it was the ſame Light and Life with that which afterwards clothed itſelf with that outward body, which did in meaſure inwardly appear for the ſalvation of the ſouls of men, yet, as I have often ſaid, never did that Divine Life ſo eminently ſhew forth itſelf, as in that ſanctified and prepared body: So that what he *then* ſuffered and did in that tranſcendent manifeſtation, may, by way of eminency, have the credit of the whole work unto itſelf that he ever did before, or might do afterwards, for man's ſalvation. For doubtleſs the *very ſame* Light, Life and Power, which dwelt in that fleſhly tabernacle, eminently was the Convincer, Condemner, Saviour and Redeemer: Yet not only as confined to that bleſſed Body, but alſo as revealed in the *hearts* of men; as he was in Paul; who, not conſulting with fleſh and blood, againſt the Lord of glory, did willingly receive him in, to bind the ſtrong man, ſpoil his goods, and caſt him out, that He might reign, whoſe right it was. And that the Divine Life, Light, Spirit, Nature or Principle, which reſided in that body was the efficient cauſe of ſalvation, obſerve the title that is given him, from the great work he was to do, namely, "To "ſave his people from their SINS;" there is not one word of *wrath*, but conſequentially. Now, ſince that ſin is in the heart and conſcience of mankind, nothing but a divine Light, Spirit or Power can reach and convey purity into thoſe inward parts, and conſequently That muſt be the Redeemer and Saviour from ſin. But indeed, thoſe who have a mind to naturalize that ſtrange figure into the language of the Holy Truth, (I mean, that to be *ſaved*, is only to be ſaved from *wrath*, and not from ſin, whoſe aſſured wages *is* wrath) may have ſome intereſt, though no reaſon, for their implacable enmity againſt an inherent holineſs.

But I farther confeſs, that his Righteous Life, with reſpect to its appearance in that Holy Body, was grieved by ſin, and that the weight of the iniquity of the whole world, with the concernment of its eternal well-being, lay hard upon him; nor was his Manhood inſenſible of it. Under the load of this did he travail; alone "he trode the wine-"preſs;" that is, All others were then inſenſible of that eternal wrath, which would be the portion of impenitent perſons; as well as that it was his great care, and deep travail, that the holy, yet oppreſſed Seed, might ariſe over the preſſures of iniquity in the hearts of men, to bruiſe the Serpent's head in all: And as outwardly he gave his outward life for the world, ſo he might inwardly ſhed abroad in their ſouls the Blood of God; that is, the holy purifying *life* and *virtue* which is in him as the *Word-God*; and as which, he is the Light and Life of the world.

This was it which gave the Manhood the underſtanding it had, and fitted it for ſo great an ambaſſy; by whoſe power alone it faſted, prayed, preached, caſt out devils, wrought miracles, lived that moſt unblemiſhed life, patiently ſuffered death, was raiſed for an holy confirmation, maugre all the military oppoſition of the Jews: And this Divine Power it was which accompanied the miniſtry of his followers, rendering it efficacious to conviction and converſion: So that the inviſible, ſpiritual and divine Life, Principle or Nature, was the Root and Fountain of all which is ſometimes aſcribed in ſcripture to the Body, by that common figure, or way of ſpeaking amongſt men, the *thing containing*, which was the Body, for the *thing contained*, which was the Eternal Power, Wiſdom, Life, &c. Not that we ſhould irreverently rob the Holy Body of whatſoever acknowledgement is juſtly due, nor yet ſeparate that which God hath joined: Though I confeſs, with holy fear, I dare not attribute that to an external prepared being, which is the natural, proper and only work of the Divine Light and Life to operate and effect. But certainly, if ſome men in ſcripture are entituled *ſaviours*, becauſe of the contribution of their trials, travails and labours towards the ſalvation of mankind, of much more right is that honour aſcribable to him "who had the Spirit without meaſure:" For I do freely acknowledge the Holy Manhood to have been, in ſome ſenſe, a co-worker and partner with the Divine Life in thoſe trials, weights, ſufferings and travails for mankind. Yet as it was the Divine Power that gave them weight in that great work, ſo was it the Divine Life in him which made that Holy Manhood what it was; and therefore ought we, *chiefly*, to appropriate the ſalvation to Chriſt as the *Word-God*, and to the Holy Manhood but ſecondarily and inſtrumentally; I mean, as it was a *choſen inſtrument* or *veſſel*, in and by which God declared the bleſſed Glad Tidings of Love, and his meſſage of Reconciliation to the world; in which he gave the moſt heavenly example of purity, and through whoſe whole life, doctrine and death, did ſhine forth the cleareſt evidences of truth, goodneſs, mercy, patience, deep travail for the world, ſelf-denial, holineſs and triumphant martyrdom.

No wonder then if he be called a *Saviour*, who not only came on an embaſſy of ſalvation, but when come did draw many after him, who were ſtruck with the authority of his ſayings, and whom he allowed for a time to have their eyes and hearts upon him, as in that ſtate preſent with them; but afterwards, he let his diſciples know, of how much benefit it would be to them, that he ſhould leave them: How? For ever, and in all capacities? No: But as with reſpect to his *outward* appearance, that being ſcattered, in that day, to their own meaſure of Light, Power and Life, they might know him "no more "after the *fleſh*," but witneſs him come into their hearts a Comforter, who would not leave his true-hearted diſciples comfortleſs. "He that is *with* you ſhall be *in* you." John xiv. 16, 17.

To be brief, that I may yet again expreſs our reverent ſenſe of Chriſt's Manifeſtation, ſo far as relates to that Holy Thing that ſhould be born of Mary, take theſe few particulars in my next chapter.

CHAP. XVIII.

A confeſſion, in particular, to redemption, remiſſion, juſtification and ſalvation by Chriſt.

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I. THOUGH we believe the eternal *power*, *life*, and *light*, which inhabited that Holy Perſon who was born at Bethlehem, was and is chiefly and eminently the *ſaviour* (for "there is no Saviour beſides ME," ſaith God); yet we reverently confeſs the Holy Manhood was inſtrumentally a ſaviour, as prepared and choſen for the work that Chriſt, the *Word-God*, had then to do in it, which was actually to the ſalvation of ſome, and intentionally of the whole world, then, and in ages to come; ſuitable to that ſcripture, "Lo, in the volume of the book it is written, I come to do thy "will, O God; a body haſt thou prepared me, &c." Hoſ. xiii. 4.

II. That as there was a neceſſity that "One ſhould die for the people," ſo whoever then or ſince believed in him, had and have a ſeal, or confirmation, of the *remiſſion of their ſins in his blood*; and that *blood*, alluding to the cuſtom of the Jewiſh ſacrifices, ſhall be an *utter blotting out* of former iniquities, carrying them as into a land of forgetfulneſs. This great aſſurance of remiſſion, from the wrath due upon the ſcore of former offences, do all receive in the ratifying blood of Chriſt; who, repenting of their ſins, believe and obey the Holy Light with which he hath lighted them. For Paul's being turned from darkneſs to the Light in his heart, was one and the ſame with his believing in the Son of God "revealed in his heart." Heb. x. 5, 7.

III. This more glorious appearance ended that leſs glorious ſervice of the Jews; for the figures being completed, the ſhadows fell. He, in that body, preached and lived *beyond* thoſe beggarly *elements*: He drew religion more inward, even into the ſecret of the heart, and made it to conſiſt in an higher ſtate of righteouſneſs, called *evangelical*; and at once became both the author of a more Heavenly diſpenſation, and therein an example to all, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*; ſealing ſuch a common and general religion to both with his blood, as would for ever end the *difference* and ſlay the *enmity*, that they might be all One in Chriſt. Thus did he end the Jews external ſervices, and overturn the Gentiles idolatries, by his one moſt pure and ſpiritual offering and worſhip.

IV. It plainly preaches thus much to us, that as He whoſe body the Jews outwardly ſlew, was, by wicked works, crucified in the ſtreets of Sodom and Egypt ſpiritually ſo called, (viz. our polluted hearts and conſciences;) ſo, unleſs we come to know the power and benefit of this Inward Life, anſwering to, and expreſſed by, that Outward Life he gave for the world, that will avail us little. For ſo it is, and very marvellous in our eyes, that the LIFE of the Crucified can only *ſave* thoſe who may well be reputed the Crucifiers. O myſtery! And becauſe thoſe that did not actually ſlay him outwardly, have ſlain him inwardly, (that is, by their evil Spirits reſiſting and quenching his *ſpiritual appearance* to their ſouls) therefore muſt ſuch really know that *divine life* inwardly *raiſed* and ſhed abroad for ſanctification and redemption from ſin. O how great was his love to man! Truly larger than man's cruelty; who whilſt he died *by* wicked men, died *for* them; and when dead, they could not hinder him from *riſing* to do them *good*, who had done their worſt for his deſtruction; thereby ſhewing mercy to thoſe, who ſhewed they had no mercy for Him nor Themſelves. “O Jeruſalem! Jeruſalem! *how often* would I have “gathered thee, and thou *wouldeſt* not! &c.”

V. That expreſſion of his is greatly worth our notice, “I lay down my *life* for the “world.” All he did was for the *good* of the world, and particularly the laying down of his life, that he might both expreſs his *love* and our *duty*. Had he not deſired man's ſalvation, and for that purpoſe prepared a *body*, in which to *viſit* him, and by his daily labours among men to further their eternal happineſs, the Jews had never been able to put him to death. But being come, and when come ſo hardly uſed, herein did he recommend his great love to us, that beſides the inward weights of ſin he bore, with his deep concernment for man's eternal well-being, he *chearfully* offered up his *bodily life*, to recommend and ratify his love for the remiſſion of ſin, and gave us an holy example to follow his ſteps. But theſe words will bear another ſenſe too, as do thoſe he ſpoke to the Jews, John vi. 51, 52, 53, 54. 62, 63. “Unleſs ye eat my fleſh, and drink my blood, you have no life in you:” Where we may plainly ſee, that as the Jews vainly and carnally fancied he meant his Outward Body only, to which they oppoſed the impoſſibility of the thing; ſo Chriſt declares their miſtake of his meaning to his diſciples, in theſe few, but deep words, “The *fleſh* profiteth “nothing; it is the *ſpirit* that quickeneth.” So that the words are true, and weighty in both ſenſes.

VI. And we farther acknowledge, that in that holy Body the divine Principle of Light and Life did diſcover the depths of Satan's darkneſs, encounter hell, death, and the grave, and every temptation it was poſſible for the Serpent, with all his power and ſubtilty, to beſet him with, (in which ſenſe “he was made like unto us in all things, “ſin excepted, that he might be ſenſible of our infirmities);” yea, the divine Life travailed under all, adminiſtering ſtrength to, and ſupporting the Outward man, that it might anſwer the end of its appointment, and in the end utterly defeat, and for ever overcome, the power of the Tempter, “bruiſing the Serpent's head in *general*,” as prince of darkneſs, and god of the world, and in a plain combat giving him that foil, which in good meaſure ſhook his foundation, divided his kingdom, chaſed away his lying oracles, and proved a very fatal blow to his whole empire. Which holy conqueſt, obtained by “ſweat of blood, and deepeſt agonies, with holy patience,” may not unfitly be compared to that of ſome worldly prince maintaining a righteous cauſe againſt an uſurper of his territories, whom he puts to rout in the open field (by which I underſtand the General Conqueſt) yet many towns and cities, and citadels, remaining ſtrongly garriſoned (by which I underſtand particular men and women enſlaved by Sin) they are not thereby overcome, though the approach be eaſier to them, and that they are truly more acceſſible than before.

The One Seed, who is Chriſt, “who is God over all bleſſed for ever,” tho' he gave this proof of his Everlaſting Arm, That it has brought a General Salvation, by a plain overthrow of “the god of this world,” the enemy of his glory, and thereby weakened his power, as in himſelf (which is the *ſingle* battle, “fought in garments rolled in “blood,” between the Two Seeds, Spirits, Natures and Powers, God and Mammon, Chriſt and Belial) yet there are alſo many Towns, Cities, and Citadels to vanquiſh, which are ſtrongly garriſoned by this god of the world, to wit, the Souls of men and women poſſeſſed and enſlaved by him: So that though their hearts are more acceſſible by that general victory over the very Spirit of darkneſs, and that Light may be more clear and broken forth, yet unleſs thoſe *particular* places, or perſons, are beſieged and taken, their goods ſpoiled, and houſes ſacked of all their ſtrange gods, and ſo come to be redeemed from under the yoke of that Pharaonian taſk-maſter, reclaimed, renewed, ſanctified, and divinely naturalized, and brought into an holy ſubjection to Him who is “Lord from Heaven, the Right Heir of all things,” and “receive *his* mark, and bear *his* image;” thoſe places, or perſons, muſt needs be under the power of the Prince of Darkneſs, the god of this world, who reigns and rules in the hearts of the children of diſobedience.

To conclude; we ſay, though this general victory was obtained, and holy privileges therewith, and that the Holy Body was inſtrumentally a ſharer therein; yet both the efficient or chiefeſt Cauſe was the *divine light* or *life*, that ſo clearly diſcriminated and deeply wounded this myſtery of iniquity; and that none can be thereby benefited, but as they come to experience the Holy Seed of Life, who is “God's mighty ARM of Power,” revealed to effect the ſame ſalvation from ſin in each particular conſcience; and which none can fail of, who firſt receive it as “a Light that manifeſteth and reproveth every evil way,” and continue to walk up to it in all its holy manifeſtations.

VII. But there is yet a farther benefit that accrueth by the Blood of Chriſt, viz. ‘That Chriſt is a propitiation and redemption to ſuch as have Faith in him.’ For though I ſtill place the ſtreſs of feeling of a *particular* benefit, upon the *light*, *life* and *ſpirit* revealed and witneſſed in every particular perſon, yet in that General Appearance there was a General Benefit juſtly to be attributed unto the *blood* of that very *body* of Chriſt which he offered up through the Eternal Spirit, to wit, that it did *propitiate*. For, however it might draw ſtupendous judgments upon the heads of thoſe who were authors of that diſmal tragedy and bloody murder of the Son of God, and died impenitent; yet doubtleſs it is thus far turned to very great account, in that it was a *moſt precious Offering* in the ſight of the Lord, and drew God's love the more eminently unto mankind, at leaſt ſuch as ſhould believe in his name; as his ſolemn prayer to his Father at his leaving the world, given us by his beloved diſciple, doth plainly witneſs.

For how can it otherwiſe be, but that it ſhould render God moſt propitious to all ſuch as believe in Chriſt, the Light of the world, when it was but placing of his only begotten Son's ſufferings truly on their account that ſhould ever believe and obey him? Yea, doubtleſs, greatly did that ſacrifice influence to ſome ſingular tenderneſs, and peculiar regard, unto all ſuch who ſhould believe in his name, being the laſt and greateſt of all his external acts, viz. ‘The reſiſting unto blood, or the ſpiritual good of the world, thereby offering up his life upon the croſs, through the power of the Eternal Spirit, that Remiſſion of Sin, (God's Bounty to the world) might be preached in his name, and in his very *blood* too, as that which was the moſt ratifying of all his bodily ſufferings.’ And indeed, therefore might it ſeem meet to the Holy Ghoſt, that Redemption, Propitiation, and Remiſſion, ſhould be declared and held forth in the Blood of Chriſt unto all that have right Faith therein, as ſaith the apoſtle to the Romans, “Whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation through faith in his Blood:” And to the Epheſians; “In whom we have redemption through his Blood, the forgiveneſs of ſins, &c.” becauſe it implies a firm belief that Chriſt was come in the *fleſh*, and that none could then have him as their propitiation or redemption, who withſtood the acknowledgment of, and belief in, his *viſible* appearance, which John tells us ſome denied. 2. That he came in order to the remiſſion, redemption and ſalvation of the world. 3. That his ſo dying was both an evident token of his love, and a ſtrong argument of confirmation of his meſſage and work. 4. That it might the better end the Jews ſhadowy ſervices, by an alluſion to the way of their temporary and typical ſacrifices, as the whole epiſtle to the Hebrews ſheweth. 5. And that by bringing (through the Holy Light in every particular) into the acknowledgement of, and belief in, the Blood, which was ratifying of that whole appearance, men might be brought unto the knowing Chriſt after a more inward and ſpiritual manner, ſuitable to Chriſt's own words, “It is the Spirit that quickens;” and the apoſtle avers, that “the Lord from heaven is that quickening Spirit;” by which eternal Spirit he offered up himſelf without ſpot. Nor can any reaſonably ſuppoſe, that when Chriſt ſo ſpoke to his diſciples, explanatorily of what he had obſcurely and in parables ſaid to the Jews, that he meant not ſomething more hidden and divine than what they and the Jews ſaw; yet that which hindered thoſe Jews from the knowledge or benefit thereof, was their ſtumbling at Him, without a confeſſing of whom they could never come into the beholding or experiencing of his Divine Life in them.

Rom. iii. 25.
Epheſ. i. 7.

To conclude; that Body was the Divine LIFE's; “A *body* haſt thou prepared ME;” therefore all that was done by that body, towards the redemption of mankind, was *eminently* the Divine Life's: Yet becauſe oftentimes actions are denominated from, or appropriated to, the inſtrument, as the next cauſe, though not the efficient or moſt eminent cauſe; therefore the ſcripture ſpeaks forth (as indeed is the propriety of both the Hebrew and Greek tongues) parabolically, hyperbolically, metaphorically, the inward Subſtance and hidden Life of things, by things more exterior and obvious to the ſenſe,

1673. Ch.XVIII. to the end that ſuch myſteries might be the better accommodated to vulgar capacities. Conſider what I ſay, with this qualification, That *ultimately* and *chiefly*, not *wholly* and *excluſively*, the Divine Life in that Body was the Redeemer: For the Sufferings of that Holy Body of Jeſus had an engaging and procuring Virtue in them, though the Divine Life was that fountain from whence originally it came. And as the Life declared and preached forth itſelf through that Holy Body, ſo they who did then come to the benefit procured by the Divine Life, could only do it through an hearty confeſſion to it as appearing in that Body, and that from a ſenſe firſt begotten by a meaſure of the ſame in themſelves.

Rom. iii. 25. This is the main import of thoſe places; "whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation," and "in whom we have redemption through faith in his blood." For who is this *he*, whom God hath ſet forth, and in whom is redemption? Certainly the ſame Heb. x. 5. 7. *he* that was before Abraham, the Rock of the fathers, that cried, "Lo, I come to do "thy will, O God; a body haſt thou prepared me;" which was long before the body was conceived and born. But may ſome ſay, 'How is it then his Blood?' Why, juſt as the Body is his Body.

Thoſe who had ſaith in that blood, believed his viſible appearance, inaſmuch as they acknowledged that great ſeal and ratification of it, to wit, the ſhedding of the blood of his body, who came to ſave the world, and who alone is the propitiation, redemption, and ſalvation of all who had and have right faith in that appearance, and meſſage ſo confirmed, and therefore ſo often expreſſed by it, as including all his whole life and ſufferings beſides. And this is my reaſon for it, That it was impoſſible for any man, in that day, to confeſs to and believe in the Divine Light and Life which appeared in that prepared Body, but from the inward diſcoveries and operations of the Divine Light, with which Chriſt the Word-God, who took fleſh, had enlightened him.

However, though the apoſtles might then ſo expreſs themſelves, thereby to aſſert and recommend unto the faith of all that eminent and bleſſed Manifeſtation, and the great love of Chriſt therein, as the viſitation of the Heavenly Life through that prepared Body, and the deep ſufferings of both for the world, being true and ſpiritual witneſſes thereof; yet it was never intended that they ſhould barely reſt there, but preſs after the knowledge of Chriſt, by faith, in ſomething farther, and beyond that body in which he appeared, not excluding our belief in That too. They who knew Chriſt after the Fleſh, were to preſs after ſome more Spiritual diſcovery of him; and it was expedient that they who almoſt doted upon his outward manifeſtation, ſhould be weaned from it, to the end his more interior, and indeed beneficial revelation of himſelf, might be witneſſed by the ſoul.

Faith in his Blood was requiſite, that they might confeſs Him, whoſe body and blood it was, to be the Christ, who is God over all, bleſſed for ever; which was the great queſtion with the Jews, 'Whether God was truly manifeſted in that Body of Fleſh, 'which they ſaw?' So that the ſtreſs lies in confeſſing to the *Divinity* come in the *fleſh*; otherwiſe they would have rejected not only the moſt ſignal ſuffering of the Whole Manifeſtation, but conſequently That Itſelf. To conclude, we confeſs, *he* who then appeared, was and is the Propitiation, &c. and in him was redemption obtained, by all thoſe who had ſuch true faith in his blood: But ſtill it is to be underſtood, that there muſt be a witneſſing of a meaſure of the ſame Light, Spirit and Power, to appear for the redemption of the ſoul from the pollution of ſin, in each particular.

VIII. That Juſtification came by Faith in his Blood, is clear in a ſenſe; for by the Law could no fleſh be juſtified: That is, the Law being added becauſe of tranſgreſſion, certainly the tranſgreſſor could not be juſtified, *whilſt ſuch*, by that Law which condemned him *for being ſuch*. Which puts me upon diſtinguiſhing betwixt Juſtification as it is ſometimes taken, viz. for Remiſſion, Pardon, or Forgiveneſs of ſin paſt upon Repentance; and that Juſtification which implies an *acceptance with*, and an *acceſs to*, God, as a keeper of the law of the Spirit of Life; which is 'to be made inherently 'juſt, righteous, or holy.'

In the firſt ſenſe, ſince all have ſinned, no man can be *juſtified* by the *law he has tranſgreſſed:* Therefore that great favour and mercy of remiſſion, pardon and forgiveneſs, was only then generally preached in the name of Jeſus, which ſuch as believed in his meſſage ſhould obtain. Thus, "by the work of the law ſhall no fleſh be juſti-"fied;" becauſe all the righteouſneſs man is capable of, cannot make ſatisfaction for any unrighteouſneſs he hath committed; ſince what he daily *doth*, is but what he daily *owes*. But ſtill, ſuch as *keep* the law are juſtified: For that a man ſhould be condemned both for tranſgreſſing and keeping the law too, would be very hard. What ſhall we ſay then, but that Juſtification in the firſt ſenſe, ſince Adam's day to this, hath been God's *free love*, upon Repentance; and above all, that by Chriſt's Viſible appearance and Suffering, and in his Name, was Remiſſion, Pardon, or Forgiveneſs preached, or held forth to the whole world, upon their *believing* therein, more eminently than ever.

But in the laſt ſenſe, no man can be juſtified, but as he is *made juſt*, and is found *actually doing* the *will* of *God:* That juſtifies; That is it which gives acceptance with, and acceſs to God. In this ſenſe it was the apoſtle ſaid, "Such as are the *doers* of the law, "ſhall be juſtified;" and not from the guilt of what they formerly did *againſt* it by their after *keeping* it; for that is the Free Love of God alone, upon the repentance of the creature; which hath been in all former ages, but never ſo eminently held forth to the world, as by the Coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the Fleſh.

So that thus far we can approach the honeſter ſort of profeſſors of religion; or rather, we were herein never at a diſtance from them, viz. 'That men may be *reconciled*, and 'in a ſenſe *juſtified*, while ſin may not be totally deſtroyed:' That is, God, upon their repenting of paſt ſins, tho' not then clearly purged from the *ground* of evil, may, and we believe doth, *remit*, *pardon*, or *forgive* former offences, and is thus far reconciled: That is, he ceaſeth to be angry, or at a diſtance from them, as when they went on in a ſtate of diſobedience to the Light. Yet for ever we muſt affirm, That no man or woman can be made a child of God, but as the New Birth, Regeneration, and the Divine and Heavenly Image, comes to be witneſſed, through the putting off the old man and his deeds, and being baptized, by the Holy Ghoſt and Fire, into the One Holy Body, of which Chriſt, the immaculate Lamb of God, is Head and Lord. So that all thoſe who apply to themſelves, or others, the promiſes due to this ſtate, unto that before mentioned, heal themſelves or others deceitfully; and God will judge for thoſe things. So let all people conſider with ſobriety and moderation, if the things we aſſert are not moſt agreeable to the Scripture, and that Light of Truth which is in their own Conſciences, unto which we moſt of all deſire to be made manifeſt.

IX. Nor is this all the good the Coming and Sufferings of that bleſſed Manhood brought unto the world: For having been enabled ſo effectually to perform the will of God, living; and having ſo patiently ſuffered the will of wicked men, dying; therein freely offering up his moſt innocent life for the world; he certainly "obtained exceeding great and precious Gifts;" which, as every man comes to believe in the Light wherewith Chriſt Jeſus hath enlightened him, and to be led by it, he ſhall aſſuredly feel a *particular* benefit to himſelf, accruing from that *general* one procured by Chriſt, who ſo laid down his life for the world.

In ſhort, as we cannot but acknowledge him a Saviour in that very Manifeſtation, or coming in that prepared Body, who appeared ſo extraordinarily to viſit the world with his marvellous Light and Truth, and to turn their minds from error and darkneſs, and who actually converted and reclaimed many, and endued his followers with his own heavenly Light, Life and Power, whereby to ſupply his exterior abſence with a moſt lively, piercing and effectual miniſtry, for the completing of the reſt from generation to generation; ſo muſt we needs attribute this, chiefly, to the Divine Light, Life and Power, that through the Manhood, of both Lord and Servants, ſhined forth and revealed itſelf to the ſalvation of the world.

Nor are we yet, as hath been often hinted (to ſpeak ſtrictly) to aſcribe the *particular* ſalvation of every man's ſoul to the appearance of that ſame Light in Nature, in either Lord or Servant (albeit many were reached into their very hearts and conſciences at *that* time, and great and mighty things were generally procured, and Chriſt in that manifeſtation became the Author of ſalvation unto many); but rather, as he is the Light of men *individually*, he both then did, and now doth, appear in the *hearts* and *conſciences* of men, unto the awakening of them, and turning their minds from the darkneſs of tradition, formality and ſin, which had, and doth, overcaſt and darken the ſoul, unto that bleſſed Light in men, that thereby (as to *them*) ſuffered, and doth yet ſuffer, ſo great and tedious an eclipſe: I ſay, this is the *efficient* cauſe of ſalvation; and all other exterior viſitations, and miniſtries of aſſiſtance, though from the ſame Light, are, in reſpect of the Light in every ſingle man or woman, but *inſtrumental* and *ſecondary*.

In this ſenſe then, man is only a ſaviour inſtrumentally; but Chriſt, both with reference to his Bodily Appearance, and in the Miniſtry of his Servants, is the *Moſt Excellent Means*, and the *Only efficient Cauſe*, of ſalvation, as revealed and obeyed in the conſciences of men. So that the queſtion is not, Whether Quakers deny any benefit to redound by Chriſt's bodily ſufferings? But, Whether the profeſſors allow and acknowledge the *main* of the work to the *divine life* and *light*?

In ſhort, he was a *general* Saviour in that eminent appearance at Jeruſalem, in which he did ſo many great and good things for *mankind*; and he is an *effectual* Saviour to every *particular perſon*, as we find him in our hearts, an holy *Light*, ſhewing ſin, reproving for it, and converting from it, into the holy nature of the Light, Chriſt Jeſus, to be fleſh of *his* fleſh, and bone of *his* bone.

Thus have I declared, according to my underſtanding, grounded upon my *experience*, and that *illumination* God has given me, in love and moderation, the very truth, weight and tendency of the outward coming of Chriſt and his deep ſufferings by and for the world: And alſo the nature of his inward coming into the ſouls of men, to expel the darkneſs that lodged there, and give unto them the "Light of Life." In both which reſpects I confeſs him to be the Saviour of the world in *general*, and the Saviour of each man in *particular*: But that the benefit accruing to men from him as the *general* Saviour,

1673. Ch. XVIII. viour, is only known and received by ſuch as witneſs him a *particular* Saviour; and this I will abide by: For "Chriſt *in* man becometh the Hope of Glory," and man's being "changed into the ſame image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord," 2 Cor. iii. 18. is the Salvation and Perfection of every true Chriſtian.

CHAP. XIX.

That Chriſt is the Light, or the Light is Chriſt, proved from Scripture, and ſo concluded; notwithſtanding two Objections, which are fully anſwered.

Ch. XIX. THAT which remains to compleat our ſcriptural diſcourſe of the divine Light, is to pronounce it that which our enemies deſpiſe to call it, and do not a little undervalue both us and it, becauſe we do; I mean *Chriſt*. Not that the Manifeſtation of Light in every conſcience is the *intire* Chriſt, but that Chriſt, the Word-God, is that "Light of Righteouſneſs, which lighteth all men;" for which the ſcripture is moſt expreſs in that ſo well known (but little believed) paſſage, delivered to us by the beloved diſciple, who beſt knew what his Lord was, and ſtood in no need of any of their information how to denominate or rightly characterize him; altho' they and others implicitly accuſe him of weakneſs, obſcurity, nay error, if not blaſphemy too; who make it all this (and if it were poſſible more) in a poor Quaker, for only believing, on pure conviction, this one weighty paſſage, "That was the true Light which enlightens all mankind coming into the world."

I have ſo thoroughly handled this matter, in a late book, intituled, "The Spirit of Truth Vindicated," that I need the leſs to enlarge at this time, to which I refer the reader for ſatisfaction, concerning ſome objections raiſed againſt the place. However, I will briefly conſider it here; and that our believing Chriſt to be an univerſal and ſufficient Light, and that Light to be Chriſt, may ſtand in the view of the world upon ſo good a foundation as the teſtimony of that divine and well-beloved apoſtle, I ſhall obſerve that two things are commonly urged againſt our underſtanding of the firſt nine verſes of John, as they reſpect the Light.

1. Some ſay, That the light here ſpoken of is not a ſupernatural, and conſequently no ſaving light, but the light of common Reaſon: Others call it of Nature, decayed by the fall; and what conviction ariſeth thence, is only the imperfect remains of that Natural Light, which theſe men, who thus ſpeak, grant *all* have, as well before, as after Chriſt's coming in the fleſh.

2. Others ſay, That this is indeed an univerſal and ſaving Light, but they reſtrain it to Chriſt's *viſible* appearance; and make the *all* to be all thoſe only that ſhall *believe*; and the *world* to be the new *ſpiritual* world Chriſt came to create, by ſaving knowledge, which believers come into.

I will briefly anſwer both, and therein as well all thoſe who hold the former, as thoſe who maintain the latter.

It is agreed by the firſt ſort, that in the beginning of this chapter Chriſt's Eternal Divinity is declared by the Evangeliſt; ſince ſome of them tell us out of Euſebius, that it was written on that very occaſion; one Cerinthus then denying any ſuch thing.

John i. 1, 2, 3, 5, 9. "The Word which was with God, and was and is God." This *God*, the ſame perſon tells us in his Firſt Epiſtle, "is *Light*:" That "by him all things were made;" among the reſt, mankind. He then tells us, That "this Word had Life;" and from thence deſcends to inform us what the Word was with reſpect to man: "In Him," the Word, "was Life, and the Life was the Light of Men:" And that, as ſuch, He was "that True Light (and not *John*, who only came to bear witneſs of that true "Light) which lighteth all mankind coming into the world."

That this Light is Divine, and no otherwiſe natural than as it is *Chriſt's* Nature, or Natural to the Word, I ſhall thus prove:

Man is here ſuppoſed to *be* before he was *lighted*; therefore whatever was proper and natural to man, *as* man, he had *before* he was enlightened; that is, 'He had a reaſonable Soul, endued with intelligent faculties, and that cloathed with a Body fitted with ſenſible organs: The latter differed him from inanimate, the former from irrational creatures.' But ſtill the Light, with which this Soul is lighted, in reference to God, and things appertaining to its eternal well-being, belongs not to man, *as* man. Surely, then, this Light muſt be *ſuperadded*; that is, over and above man's compoſition as a meer *underſtanding* creature; and conſequently, it muſt deſcend from above, and in this ſenſe be ſupernatural. 'Thus the Word created all things; and among them, made man, and lighted man with a ſupernatural Light.'

That this Light was not only over and above man's nature, but is alſo of a Divine and ſaving one in itſelf, I prove from its being the LIFE of the WORD. For if the Life of the Word be the Light of Men, here is no ſuch Thing as deſcending to an Effect to prove the Light divine (as that the Life ſhould bring forth a Light; and therefore

fore this Light is divine, becauſe the Life of the Word, that produced it, is ſo); I ſay, without going to an Effect for a proof of the Light's Divinity, I thus undeniably prove it from the Life itſelf; "for that VERY Divine LIFE is the Light." Not that it *createth* a light, or *brings forth* a light, as a cauſe doth an effect; but is ITSELF that Very Light. So that unleſs they will make that Life *Natural*, (I mean, as they do, *Created*, though very improperly, for a Divine Life is *Natural* to Chriſt) they cannot conclude the Light, which is that very ſame *Life itſelf*, to be a mere *Natural* Light.

If, then, the very Life of the Word be the Light of Men; then, unleſs the Life of the Word be Natural, the Light of men muſt be *ſupernatural*, divine and infinite, as it becomes the Life of the Word (which is GOD) to be.

The Life of the Word being then the Light of Men, and that without any deſcent, and conſequently Divine, I have no need to prove it ſaving, till our oppoſers have divided *Saving* from *Divine*. However, let me briefly ſay, that it being a meaſure of the True Light, ſo called by way of excellency, far tranſcending *John* (for as ſuch is He preferred who is the Enlightner) and that it was through John all ſhould believe in him; and laſtly, that to thoſe who received him as the Univerſal Enlightener, or the True Light, "He gave power to become the Sons of God," it will unanſwerably follow, that the John i. 12. Light is ſaving. And indeed I have, with multiplied arguments and teſtimonies, made appear from ſcripture and ſtory, the univerſality and ſufficiency of that Divine Light. Such then that ſay it is decayed, becauſe they are ſo themſelves, methinks reſemble thoſe at Sea, who, being under ſail, fancy the Shore moves. The fault is in the Eye, blinded by the god of the world, and not in that bleſſed Light, which ſhines unprofitably upon the blind, through their own blindneſs got by diſobedience. Let them, by unfeigned repentance, be unſcaled, and the Sun will give proof of its Light. Darkneſs ought not to charge the Light, but itſelf, that it ſees not. Some confeſs *All* are enlightened, but deny the Sufficiency thereof; yet refuſe to be ruled by it, and live up to it. Let them firſt obey it, before they deſpiſe it; and prove themſelves above it, before they throw it ſo far below a Chriſtian: They may be then allowed to blame the Light as impotent, or imperfect, when they outlive it, or can live uncondemned of it, and that experience tells us its inſufficiency to well-living: 'Tis vain to undervalue that which chargeth both with duty omitted, and ſin committed.

However, this ſtands ſure, that the Life of the Word is the Light of Men, and conſequently Divine; and there I will leave this firſt ſort of Men, and their fruitleſs oppoſition.

To the ſecond interpretation given, deſtructive of that ſcope we ſay the text has, I return thus much:

That becauſe the Light of men was the Life of the Word, which Word was GOD, by whom all things were created; and that *All Men* are mentioned in that place controverted, which preſuppoſeth no farther qualification in order to have this Light, than being born (One of that *All Men*) into this World; I conclude, that it is not only a moſt falſe, but injurious notion, to aſſert the Commencement or Being of that Light to men only to be from the Coming of Chriſt in the Fleſh.

Beſides, ſince this relates to the *Whole Man*; which Word begins with Adam, and ends with the laſt of man's race; I cannot conceive how that expoſition can be valid: For then *John* would have been before *Chriſt*, inſtead of *Chriſt*'s being before *Abraham*: Whereas, therefore is *John* denied to be that Light, becauſe that True Light, by way of excellency, was the enlightner of *All Men*, yea, of John himſelf; and therefore called, "That *True* Light," that is, the Fountain of all Light, Light *itſelf*, from whom All derive, but he derives from *none*.

And to ſay nothing at this time of the miſerable eſtate thoſe of mankind muſt labour under antecedently to Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, let it be conſidered, that theſe firſt nine verſes in John relate not in the leaſt to his *Fleſhly* appearance, from whence thoſe men would date both His Original, and Man's Illumination; but are a continued ſeries of the higheſt proofs of his *Divinity*, that we might as well know what he was *before* he came, as when he *did* come; and the one was an introduction to the other. Neither is it fair for theſe men to allegorize Chriſt out of his Divinity, and yet deny us any allegory to prove it. If they deny meanings elſewhere, let them do ſo here: It miſbecomes men that have their wits, to rack them to prop fancy.

Farther let me add, that as He who then came into the world, was the ſame that John i. 10. *created* that world into which he came, and therefore previous, or before ſuch coming; ſo neither can it hold that the World, into which man comes, is the *new* creation, ſince it is not ſaid, "who *believe*," which is uſually joined to things of that importance, ("be- John iii. 19. "lieve and be ſaved," &c.) Eph. v. 13. Nor can ſuch as do not believe, be totally excluded from being lighted; ſince the wicked could not rebel againſt it, if they had it not; neither mens evil actions be reproved without it: So that all ſuch notions are foreign both from Scripture and Reaſon.

We ſhall conclude then, 'That Chriſt, the Word-God, is the Light of the World, 'and that *All* are enlightned by Him, the Eternal Sun of righteouſneſs; therefore the

'Light of men is Chriſt, (for to Him) Chriſt, or the True Light, John teſtified who gives wicked men to ſee their unrighteouſneſs, and who leads good men on in the way of holineſs, which, perſevered in, brings unqueſtionably to eternal happineſs; and without which, all Imputation of general acts of righteouſneſs, performed by Chriſt *without* us, will avail nothing for ſalvation in the great and terrible day of God's inqueſt and judgment, when all ſhall be judged, not by the deeds any *other* hath done for them (wholly *without* them) but according to the deeds done in their *own* mortal bodies.'

This ſubject I ſhall conclude, with a few reaſons for the Univerſality and Sufficiency of the Light within; that we may not only be ſeen to have the Scriptures of Truth, and other authorities, but Reaſon alſo (which is more univerſal) on our ſide too.

CHAP. XX.

The Univerſality of the LIGHT Within, *proved by Reaſon.*

Chap. XX.

THAT there is an Univerſal Light, the Univerſality of all ages hath plentifully teſtified. There is nothing more conſtant now, that can plead either ſuch antiquity, or general conſent: Not a nation in the world ever knew an age, in which it was deſtitute of ſuch a diſcovery of internal Light, as gave them to diſcern evil from good; that virtue was not ever moſt commendable, and vice above all things pernicious and damnable. This is matter of fact, which I have already proved, and the moſt barbarous of nations now inhabited, are a clear demonſtration of what I ſay. I conclude, therefore, ſince both wicked and good men, in all ages, have confeſſed to well and ill doing, and that this depends upon the diſcovery of the Divine Light of Chriſt, which manifeſts every reproveable action; that none of mankind are exempted from this illumination.

But again, it is highly conſiſtent with the Goodneſs of God, and Order of his Creation; ſince it ſeems unreaſonable that men ſhould have the benefit of a Natural Sun, which ſhines on the juſt and unjuſt, by which to direct their ſteps, and ſecurely tranſact all temporal affairs; and yet that their Souls ſhould be left deſtitute of a Spiritual Luminary, or Sun of Righteouſneſs; when, in compariſon of the ſalvation of a ſingle Soul, Chriſt counts the world of no value. The Soul then hath Eyes as well as the Body; and as men may ſee, if they pleaſe, when the Sun is in the outward firmament, unleſs they wilfully cloſe their eyes, ſo may all rational ſouls ſee, if they will, by their *Eye* of REASON, that *Spiritual* Sun, which gives as true diſcerning and direction to the Mind, how to think and deſire, as the natural Sun doth to the Body, how to act and walk aright.

Were not this true, men would miſerably charge God with neglect to his creatures: For ſince it is to be ſuppoſed that God made nothing but with a deſign it ſhould acknowledge a Creator, after its reſpective nature; and that man's duty was peculiar, namely, Divine Homage and Worſhip, expreſſed generally by a life correſponding with that Being which made him, it is juſt that we believe God hath endued mankind with ſomething that is Divine, in order to it; ſince otherwiſe, man would be deſtitute of that which ſhould enable him to perform that duty, without which he could not pleaſe or rightly acknowledge God. If then all mankind ought to worſhip, fear, and reverence God, certainly all mankind have an *ability* from God ſo to do, or elſe perfect impoſſibilities are expected, man of himſelf being a moſt impotent creature. But certainly it can never ſtand with the rectitude and juſtice of the eternal God, to expect from man what he never gave him power to do, or the improvement of a talent he never had. In ſhort, if we ought to think that God is to be reverenced and worſhipped, we muſt agree that God endued mankind with a Divine Light and Knowledge, in order to that end, or ſay with the man in Matthew, "God is an hard Maſter, and auſtere Lord, he reaps "where he never ſowed." But I am almoſt afraid that the principles and prejudice of ſome incline them rather to think hardly of God, than favourably of the Light. How ill doth it become thoſe to object an impoſſibility of the Light's bearing their iniquities, who are daily *wounding* it with their rebellions?

But they object 'Some deny they have it; and others by their diſſolute lives ſhew 'they are void of it.' To which I ſay, it is not impoſſible for a life of worldly care and pleaſures, and downright debauchery, to darken and quite blind that Eye which only ſees the Light of Truth, and, being kept ſingle, preſerves the body full of Light; but this makes no alteration in the LIGHT: If, through repentance and contrition, the ſcales fall off, the Light refuſes not itſelf to the eye that can and will ſee it; the Light remains unaltered, it is Man that changes. Would the running mad of ſome men be a good argument to prove mankind irrational? Neither is it any demonſtration againſt the Univerſality of the Light within, becauſe ſome have, by the ſtupefyings of ſin, rendered themſelves inſenſible of it.

Nor doth ill living diſprove the Sufficiency of the Light, though it prove Diſobedience to it. Is it good logick, 'that becauſe a wicked man will not *receive* good advice, therefore he never *had* it?’ And what better reaſon can it be to ſay, ‘Men diſobey the Light, therefore they never had it,’ whilſt that proves they had it, at leaſt as a Condemner? A man may be ſaid to be lighted, when he knows and does not his duty; but rather, I confeſs, when he becomes a better man by ſuch illumination. In the firſt ſenſe, All are illuminated; in the laſt, only ſuch as follow to obey the Light; for they will find their underſtandings illuminated, and their hearts mended, of which the diſobedience of others deprives them. In ſhort, all have Light to reprove, unleſs they have quite put out their eyes; but ſuch only have it beneficially, as their teacher and director, who receive it in the Love of it.

Since then the Conſent of Mankind, the Goodneſs and Juſtice of God, and the Reaſon of the thing itſelf, plead ſo ſtrongly for the Univerſality of this Light, I need ſay the leſs, and ſhall deſcend to conſider its Sufficiency.

CHAP. XXI.

The Sufficiency of the LIGHT *proved by Reaſon.*

BEcauſe as well the Sufficiency, as Univerſality of the Light, is ſtruck at by our adverſaries, it will not, I hope, ſeem amiſs if I ſay ſomething briefly to it; though much of what I have ſaid about the other may be referred to this.

That the Univerſal Light is alſo ſufficient, is a belief ſo reaſonable and neceſſary, that the oppoſite opinion muſt needs impeach the juſtice of God. All grant, that God has made man rational, capable, in ſome meaſure, of the knowledge of his Creator; which his bare Capacity would never have given him, unleſs God had pleaſed to have made ſome diſcovery of himſelf, ſuitable to that created Capacity in the creature. Certainly then, ſince God deſires not that the creature ſhould receive a wrong impreſſion of him, while he requires univerſal fear and reverence, he muſt needs have given ſome certain and ſufficient diſcovery and meaſure to the creature, in order to it, by thoſe lively manifeſtations, and moſt ſenſible touches of the Light to and upon the ſoul, which cannot but be true, clear, and, if minded, efficacious: For that God ſhould require men to ſerve him, and not give them what is ſufficient, is worſe than not to give at all; ſince man's not obeying ſuch diſcoveries, is not ſo great an aggravation of his neglect, as the imperfection of them is, either of the inſufficiency, or unwillingneſs, of him that made them, do otherwiſe. What is this but to ſay, that God expects homage from men, as their ſovereign Lord, and that they live uprightly in the world, and yet he has not given them ability to do it? He pronounces ſuch miſerable who conform not themſelves to an holy life, but gives no power to avoid the curſe? In ſhort, though Reaſon tell us he made none purpoſely to deſtroy them, but rather that he might be glorified in their ſalvation, which he is alſo ſaid to invite men to; yet that he deſigns nothing leſs, by leaving all mankind under the faintings of an impoſſible ſucceſs. But as ſuch diſmal conſequences belong not to the Truth, ſo we are well aſſured, the Light, of which we ſpeek, has ever been ſufficient to the end for which it has been given, in every age, both to manifeſt evil, condemn for it, and redeem from the power and pollution of it, by the holy operation of its power, all thoſe who are the diligent diſciples of it. For it ſeems moſt unreaſonable that the ſpirit of darkneſs ſhould be ſufficient to draw into ſin, and yet that the Spirit and Light of Chriſt ſhould not be ſufficient to redeem and ſave from it. Since therefore we cannot admit of any inſufficiency in the Light within, but at the ſame time we muſt ſuppoſe, 1ſt, That whilſt God would be rightly worſhipped, he has too darkly diſcovered the way how to do it aright; and 2dly, That his gift is impotent; and 3dly, That man is required to do what he has no power to perform; and 4thly, That whilſt God requires man to ſerve him, he hath not ſo much as ſhewn him what way he ought to do it (which are conſequences moſt unworthy of God); we rather chuſe to ſit down contented with this belief, ‘That God, who made man, and has given him a ſoul capable of knowing and ſerving his maker, hath alſo endued him with divine knowledge, by a *ſuperadded* Light and Power, and enabled him thereby to live ſubſervient to that knowledge: That God's gift is perfect and ſufficient for that work; and that ſuch as are led by it, muſt needs be led to God; unto whom the Divine Light naturally tends, and attracts, as that from whom it came; which is certainly a ſtate of bleſſed immortality.’

In ſhort, accept, reader, of theſe few arguments, comprehenſive of theſe two chapters, and indeed of moſt of what goes before.

1. God requires no man to do any thing he has not given him firſt Light to know, and then Power to do. But God requires every man to fear him, and work righteouſneſs: Therefore he has given every man both a Diſcovery of his will, and Power to do it.

2. No man ought to worſhip the True God ignorantly: But every man is commanded to worſhip God: Therefore he is to do it knowingly.

3. No man can know God, but God muſt diſcover it to him, and that cannot be without Light: Therefore every man has Light.

4. This Light muſt be ſufficient, or God's gifts are imperfect, and anſwer not the end for which they were given. But God's gifts are perfect, and can perform what they are deſigned for: Therefore ſince the Light is his gift, it muſt be ſufficient.

The Sum is this:

Every man ought to fear, worſhip, and obey God. No man can do it aright, that knows him not. No man can know him but by the diſcovery he makes of himſelf. No diſcovery can be made without Light. Nor can this Light give that diſcovery, if imperfect or inſufficient in nature: Therefore all have a ſufficient Light to this great end and purpoſe, viz. To fear, worſhip, and obey God; and this Light is Chriſt.

CHAP. XXII.

The Queſtion, Who He is, or They are, that obey this Divine Light, &c. conſidered and anſwered; being the Character of a True Quaker.

Ch. XXII. I Am now come to my laſt Queſtion, viz. 'Who this he is, or they are, that obey 'this Light, and in obeying attain Salvation?' Or, what are the qualifications of thoſe that obey this Light? Not what are their Names; but what kind or manner of people are they? In ſhort, 'What is it to obey the Light?'

I think I have ſo fully expreſſed myſelf already in this matter, that, with an ingenious reader, I might be ſaved the pains of farther conſidering it; but that nothing may be thought to be ſhunned as unanſwerable, which is ſo eaſy to be anſwered, I muſt tell him and all men, and that not without ſome experimental knowledge of what I ſay, That ſuch obey the Light, who refrain from all that the Light manifeſts to be evil, and who incline to perform all that it requires to be done. For example: When the Light ſhews that it is inconſiſtent with a man fearing God, to be wanton, paſſionate, proud, covetous, backbiting, envious, wrathful, unmerciful, revengeful, prophane, drunken, voluptuous, unclean; which, with-ſuch-like, are called in ſcripture "the fruits of the fleſh, and the "works of darkneſs;" and perſons ſo qualified, "the children of wrath, ſuch as de-"light not to retain God in their knowledge, &c." I ſay, when the Light diſcovers theſe things to be inconſiſtent with a man fearing God, he who truly obeys the Light, denies and forſakes them, however *croſs* it be to fleſh and blood, and let it coſt him never ſo dear: Though relations do both threaten and intreat, and the world mock, and that he is ſure to become the ſong of the drunkard, and a deriſion to his ancient companions. No, he dare not conform himſelf any more to the faſhions of the world, which paſs away, and which draw out the mind into vain and unprofitable delights, by which the JUST in him had formerly been ſlain; neither to gratify "the luſt of the eye, the "luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life," which are not of the nature of his Father, who has begotten better deſires and reſolutions in him. He rejects the converſation he once had in the world; and, in the eye of its children, ſeems a man forlorn and diſtracted. He takes up the Croſs, deſpiſes the ſhame, and willingly drinks of the cup of bitter mockings, and yields to be baptized with the baptiſm of deep trials, that Chriſt Jeſus his Lord drank of, and was baptized with.

Gal. v. Epheſ. v. Rom. i.

Jam. v. 6. 1 John ii. 15. 16.

He is as well taught to deny the religions, as cares and pleaſures of the world. Such as profeſs religion from what they have either been taught by others, or read and gathered after their carnal minds out of the Scriptures, intruding into the practices of either prophets or apoſtles, as to the external and ſhadowy things, not being led thereto by the ſame Power they had, he can have no fellowſhip with. He counts all ſuch faith and worſhip the imagination of men, or a mere lifeleſs imitation: He prefers one ſigh begotten from a ſenſe of God's work in the heart, beyond the longeſt prayers in that ſtate: 'He leaves them all, walks as a man alone, fearing to offer God a ſacrifice that is not 'of his own preparing.' He charges all other faiths and worſhips with inſufficiency, and mere creaturely power, which are not held and performed from an holy conviction and preparation by the Angel of God, the Light of his Preſence, in the heart and conſcience: Therefore it is that he goes forth in the ſtrength of his God againſt the merchants of Babylon; and woes and plagues are rightly in his mouth againſt thoſe buyers and ſellers of the ſouls of men. He is jealous for the name of the Lord, and therefore dares not ſpeak peace unto them, neither can he put into their mouths, but teſtifies againſt all ſuch ways: "Freely he received, freely he gives."

Thus is this man unraveled, unreligioned, and unbottomed as to his former ſtate, wherein he was religious upon Letter, Form, Mens Traditions, Education, and his own Imagination. He is as a man quite undone, that he may be made what the Lord would have him to be. Thus is he convinced of Sin, and of Righteouſneſs too; and the joy he once had when he girded himſelf and went whither he liſted, is now turned into ſorrow, and his rejoicing into howling. He has beheld God in the Light of his Son, and abhors himſelf in duſt and aſhes. Sin, that was pleaſant once in the mouth, he finds bitter now in the belly; and that which the world eſteems worthy of their care, he flies as a man would do a bear robbed of her whelps. Sin is become “exceeding “ſinful” to him, inſomuch that he cries out, “who ſhall deliver me?” He labours greatly, and is very heavy laden. Yet he is not willing to “fly in the Winter,” but is reſolved to ſtand the trial; for this man not only brings his former deeds to the Light, and there ſuffers judgment to paſs upon them, but patiently takes *part* in that judgment, who was ſo great an *acceſſory* to them. Nor doth his obedience conclude with the ſentence given againſt paſt ſins, and himſelf that committed them; but moſt patiently “endures the hand of the Lord till his indignation be over-paſt,” and till that which condemned ſin (the *fruit*) hath deſtroyed the very *root* of it which hath taken ſo deep hold in his heart, and that the ſame Spirit of Judgment that condemned ſin, is brought forth into perfect victory over the very nature and power of ſin. This judgment is found and felt in the Light; therefore do the “Sons of the Night” reject the knowledge of its ways, and the Children of the Day rejoice greatly in its appearance.

But neither is this all that makes up that Good Man who obeys the Light: For a complete Son of Light is one that has conquered and expelled the darkneſs? It is true, he was once darkneſs, but now “Light in the Lord,” becauſe he hath been turned from darkneſs to the Light, and from Satan's power unto God, who is *Light Itſelf*, and with him is his fellowſhip continually.

Eph. v.
1 John i. 5, 6.

This is the man, who, in the way of the Light of the Lamb of God, hath met with Inward Cleanſing; for having been purged by the Spirit of Judgment, and the Spirit of *burning*, (otherwiſe called the ſevere *reproofs*, *ſtrokes* and *terrors* of the Light in the conſcience) he has ever a watch ſet up in his heart. A thought muſt not paſs which has not the *watch-word*; but at every appearance to the mind, he cries, “Stand:” If a friend, and owned of the Light (who is the great Leader, given of God for that purpoſe) then he entertains it; otherwiſe, he brings it to the Commander of the conſcience, who is to ſit in judgment upon it. Thus is Chriſt the Light, King, Judge and Lawgiver. And by this he grows ſtrong, and increaſeth with the increaſes of God. Yet he often reads the bleſſed Scriptures, and that with much delight; greatly admiring the exceeding love of God to former ages, which he himſelf witneſſeth to be true in this; where alſo many things are opened to his refreſhment: So is the Light the “juſt man's “path,” that in every age ſtill “ſhineth brighter and brighter,” in which the cleanſing blood of Jeſus Chriſt is felt to cleanſe from all ſin. Thus doth he bridle his thoughts, ſo that his words and actions offend not. Above all, he is often retired to the Lord, loves fellowſhip with him, waits for daily bread, which he aſks, not in his *own* words, ſtrivings or will; but, as one empty of his thoughts, and jealous of the peace or comfort that is drawn from thence, he ſilently waits to feel the Heavenly Subſtance brought into his ſoul by the Immediate Hand of the Lord. For it is not fetching in this thought, or remembring the other paſſage in ſcripture, or deſignedly calling to mind what has been formerly known, that gives right peace; but “every Immediate Word that proceeds out of the Mouth of God,” that can ſatisfy him. In ſhort, he that obeys the Light, is thereby taught to ‘deny ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to be ſober, righteous, patient, humble, meek, upright, merciful, forbearing, forgiving, peaceable, ‘gentle, ſelf-denying, conſtant, faithful, and holy, becauſe the Lord his God is ‘holy.’

Jam. iii. 1, 2, 3.

Thus have I given a brief account as well what he is *not*, as what he *is*, who is obedient to the Light within, which is Chriſt's Spiritual Appearance in the heart, whoſe Holy Blood is ſenſibly felt to *cleanſe*, *atone*, and *ſave*, all thoſe who believe and abide therein, both from the Guilt and Pollution of ſin.

CHAP. XXIII.

The diſcourſe hitherto ſummed up, and concluded, with an Exhortation to all Profeſſors of Religion, eſpecially our Oppoſers.

Ch.XXIII.

I Will ſum up the whole of this diſcourſe in theſe few heads:

I. That *ſalvation* is to be ſaved from Sin firſt, and Wrath conſequently: “He ſhall “ſave his people from their ſins.” Matt. i.

II. That Chriſt, the Word-God, has lighted all mankind, not only after his coming in the fleſh, but *before:* And that the Light has ever been ſufficient, as well as univerſal, to lead to God all ſuch as have obeyed it, as by its properties and effects is demonſtrated.

III. That the difference betwixt the time of the Law and that of the Goſpel, as generally

rally diſtinguiſhed, was rather in Manifeſtation than in Nature. God might be as much more propitious and bountiful to the laſt ages (be it that they were better able to receive ſuch extraordinary diſcoveries, or that it was the alone good pleaſure of his ſovereign will) as he was to the former ages; yet that he gave them a ſufficiency of the ſame Divine Light to conduct them through the world to eternal bleſſedneſs.

IV. That Jews and Greeks, Heathens and Chriſtians, agree in this.

V. That ſtill the pre-eminence is given to *Chriſt's manifeſtation* in *fleſh*, both generally and particularly; that being both the fulneſs of Time, and fulneſs of Diſcovery, which put an end to the types and figures, and carnal commandments, by ſhewing forth an Abrogation and Conſummation of them all, in Chriſt, the *ſubſtance* itſelf: In which ſtate they are not needed; but, in compariſon thereof, they are (though once they were as calendars, for weak people to read ſome myſtical glory by) but *beggarly elements* now.

VI. That not only in that Fleſh did the Eternal Light preach forth itſelf the End of theſe things, by revealing and becoming the author of a more plain and perfect way, though leſs eaſy to fleſh and blood (placing the ſtreſs of all upon an *evangelical* righteouſneſs, whereof he became the Firſt Miniſter, and our moſt Holy Example); but he alſo appeared in that Public Body, ſo peculiarly prepared, a General Saviour, by his Life, Doctrine, Miracles, Death of the Croſs, and Reſurrection; in and by all which he obtained "a name above every name."

VII. That nevertheleſs, not to the Body, but the Holy *Light of Life* therein, is chiefly to be aſcribed the ſalvation; and to the Body, however excellent, but inſtrumentally: For that it was the Eternal Light and Life, which gave the weight to all the actions and ſufferings of the Body.

VIII. That the benefit then procured is not witneſſed by any, but as they come to believe in Chriſt the Light, as he doth appear in the heart and conſcience, to "ſave "from ſin, deſtroy the works of the Devil, finiſh tranſgreſſion, and bring in of his "everlaſting righteouſneſs." Wherefore to imagine one's ſelf intituled to a ſtate of ſalvation, whilſt in *rebellion* againſt the Light within, which is Chriſt's *inward knocking* and *appearance*, muſt needs be a deluſion, moſt pernicious, and deſtructive to the ſouls of men.

IX. That, upon the whole, it is determined and concluded, that "Chriſt is that Light "which ſhineth in the conſcience."

X. That the Light is proved, by *reaſon*, both Univerſal and Sufficient: The firſt, from the Conſent of Mankind and the Goodneſs and Rectitude of God: The ſecond, both from *experience*, and that it were inconſiſtent with the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of God to give a light to his creature *inſufficient* for the work for which he gave it.

Thus, in ſhort, have I given the heads and reſults of moſt of the matter contained in the whole diſcourſe upon the *Light:* And I intreat our adverſaries they would ſeriouſly weigh the whole, before they either reject it, or pretend to reply to it. But let them be adviſed to *try* the Virtue of the Light, before they ſentence it to have none; and, in the love of God, be once prevailed upon to conſider, if ſomething *in them* doth not really *condemn* them for *evil*; and, amongſt other things, for theſe briſk attempts againſt it, and unreaſonable undervaluings of it.

O why ſhould men covet to *know* ſo far beyond what they do faithfully *practiſe!* Let them firſt *out-live* the juſt and holy requirings of the *Light*, before they put theſe barbarous affronts upon it; as a Will-in-the-whiſp, a Dark-Lanthorn-Light, natural, inſufficient, *ignis fatuus*, the Quakers idol, and abundance of ſuch-like frothy, prophane, and indeed blaſphemous epithets, which ſome have wickedly beſtowed upon it, as if they were its proper names: When the ſcriptures they would oppoſe to it plainly tell them, that the whole work of the apoſtolical miniſtry was, "to turn people from darkneſs to "the Light, from the power of Satan unto God, that they might have remiſſion of ſins." As much as to ſay, 'Such as are turned to the *Light*, are turned to *God*, who *is* Light; 'and thoſe who abide there, both have remiſſion of the *puniſhment*, and purgation from 'the *defilement*, of ſin.'

And whatever any may think of us, we both believe, aſſert, and will maintain, againſt men and devils, "That God is *Light*:" and that *out* of the Light, or *void* of his Divine Illumination, no man can *know* him, and conſequently not *worſhip* him, unleſs they ſhould worſhip an *unknown god:* That ſuch as receive this Illumination, and rebel not againſt it, but improve this Heavenly Talent, they have fellowſhip with the Pure Eternal God, and experience the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt to "cleanſe them from all unrighteouſneſs."

If any think to arrive at glory another way, and will not be admoniſhed, let them proceed: We ſpeak what we *know*, and can but declare what we have *felt* of the work of God in our hearts. The Scriptures we highly value: but we believe not the things we often quote thence to be true *only* becauſe there, but for that we are *witneſſes* of the *ſame operation*, and bring in our *experimental* teſtimonies to confirm the truth of theirs; and ſuch truly honour the ſcriptures: All others are at beſt but empty Scribes, and phariſaical babblers.

So with God I leave my labour in this particular, deſiring that this Heavenly Light may yet more abundantly ariſe upon the dark hearts of mankind, and awaken them to repentance: That ſince it hath ſo long ſhined in darkneſs *uncomprehended*, till even darkneſs itſelf is grown ſo impudent as to impute it to the Inſufficiency of the Light, he would be pleaſed to cauſe it to *ſhine out* of darkneſs, that it might plead the excellency of its own Divine Nature in the conſciences of men and women, againſt the ſcorns and detractions that even too many of the great profeſſors of Chriſtianity ſtick not to fling upon it; ſo ill are they principled, and ſo unchriſtianly employed: Which proves to me how little they are profeſſors of the "True, Pure and Undefiled Religion," whatever opinion ſome weak and ſimple people may have of them. My ſoul pitieth their oppoſition, and feareth the conſequence of ſuch reſiſtance, and deſires they may ſee the *very vanity* of their endeavours againſt the Light, repent of them, and be converted, that God may yet heal them. Which ſincere prayer is my return for all their hard ſpeeches and ungodly ſayings againſt us in general, and myſelf in particular,

W. PENN.

A DIS-

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
General Rule of FAITH and PRACTICE,
AND
JUDGE of CONTROVERSY.

Greatly importing all thoſe who deſire to take Right Meaſures of Faith, and to determine (at leaſt to themſelves) the numerous Controverſies now on foot in the World.

By the ſame Author.

> For in Chriſt Jeſus, neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor Uncircumciſion, but a NEW Creature: And as many as walk according to THIS Rule, Peace be on them, and Mercy, and upon the Iſrael of God. GAL. vi. 16.
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> But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: For the Spirit ſearcheth all Things, yea, the deep Things of God.--- The Things of God knoweth no Man, but the Spirit of God.--- He that is ſpiritual judgeth all Things. 1 COR. ii. 10, 11, 15.
>
> But ye have an Unction from the Holy One; and ye ſhall know all Things. 1 JOHN ii. 20.

A Diſcourſe of the General Rule of FAITH and PRACTICE,

SINCE there are ſo many Faiths in the world, and perplexed Controverſies about them; and that it greatly behoveth every man, if to contend for, then firſt to know, the *True Faith* that overcometh the world; it may not be unneceſſary to ſay ſomething of the General Rule of Faith and Life, and Judge of Controverſy, at this time. And indeed I am preſt from this weighty conſideration, that men periſh for want of it, and can no more arrive at truth without it, than the diſtreſſed mariner can gain his port, who ſails without either ſtar or compaſs.

I ſhall begin with an explanation of the terms, Rule, and Faith; of which we ſhall firſt treat; that we may as well expreſs what we intend by the one, as what we mean by the other; which will be a proper introduction to the whole diſcourſe.

By GENERAL RULE, &c. we underſtand, That *Conſtant Meaſure* or *Standard*, by which men, in *all Ages*, have been enabled to judge of the Truth or Error of Doctrines, and the Good or Evil of Thoughts, Words and Actions.

By FAITH, we underſtand, An *Aſſent* of the *Mind*, in ſuch manner, to the Diſcoveries made of God thereto, as to *reſign up to God*, and *have Dependance upon Him*, as the Great Creator and Saviour of his people; which is *inſeparable* from *good Works*.

That men, in all ages, have had a belief of God, and ſome knowledge of him, though not upon equal diſcovery, muſt be granted from that account that all ſtory gives of mankind in matters of religion. Several have fully performed this; of old, Juſtin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Auguſtine, and others; of latter times, Du Pleſſy, Grotius, Amiraldus, L. Herbert, and above all Dr. Cudworth: And indeed the relicks we have of the moſt ancient hiſtorians and authors, are a demonſtration in the point. Now the ſcripture tells us, that "no man knows the Father but the Son, and

“ he to whom the Son reveals him:” And “ as none knows the things of man, ſave “ the ſpirit of man; ſo the things of God knows no man, but the Spirit of God.” Hence we may ſafely conclude, that the Creating Word that was with God, and was God, in whom was Life, and that *Life* the Light of men, and who is the Quickening Spirit, was *he* by whom God in all ages hath revealed himſelf; conſequently, that Light or Spirit muſt have been the *general rule* of mens knowledge, faith and obedience, with reſpect to God. And thus much Pythagoras, who lived about ſix hundred years before thoſe words were ſpoke or writ, laid down for a maxim, viz. ‘ That no man can know ‘ what is agreeable to God, except a man *hear God himſelf*,’ and that muſt be within; for that was his doctrine. To which the apoſtle and prophet thus agree: 1. In that “ whatever makes manifeſt is Light.” 2. That “ whatever might be known of God was “ made manifeſt within; for God (who is *Light*, 1 John i. 5.) had ſhewn it unto them.” And, “ God hath ſhewn unto thee, O man, what is good, and what God requireth of “ thee, &c.” Which could not be without the Light of his Son ſhining in man's Conſcience: Therefore the Light of Chriſt in the conſcience muſt needs have been the *general rule*, &c. It was by this Law that Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Melchizedeck, Abimelech, Job, Jethro, &c. walked and were accepted, as ſaith Irenæus and Tertullian; ‘ They were juſt by the Law written in their Hearts:’ Then was it their *rule*, to and in that juſt ſtate.

Mat. xi. 17.
1 Cor. ii. 11.
Eph. v. 13.
Rom. i. 19.
Mic. vi. 8.
Iren. l. 2. c. 30. Tertul. con. Jud. p. 184.

Obj. *It ſeems then you deny the Scriptures to be the General Rule, &c.*

Anſw. How can they be the General Rule, that have not been *general?* That which was both *before* and *ſince* they were in being, muſt needs be more general than they: But that was this Light in the conſcience, the Law and Guide of thoſe PATRIARCHS (for the Scriptures began long after, in the time of MOSES) conſequently *that* muſt be the General Rule, &c.

Obj. *But granting that the Light within were ſo before ſcripture was extant; yet, ſince the writings of holy Scripture, the Scripture, and not the Light, hath been the General Rule.*

Anſw. That cannot be, unleſs *Paleſtina*, or *Canaan*, a little province of Aſia, was the Whole World, and that the *Jews*, a particular people, were All Mankind. For at what time thoſe writings were among the *Jews*, other nations were only left to the Law and Light Within. This the apoſtle confirmeth in that paſſage, “ For the Gentiles, “ which have not the Law (that is, the *outward* law, or law written upon ſtone) do by “ nature the things contained in the Law, which ſheweth the work of the Law written “ in their hearts.” And the Gentiles themſelves called it, ‘ the Immutable Law; the Everlaſting Foundation of Virtue; no lifeleſs precepts, but Immortal; a ſacred Good, God the Overſeer; the Living Rule; the Root of the Soul; that which makes the Good Man. Thus Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plotin, Hieron, Philo, Plutarch, as cited. And ſaith Sophocles, ‘ God grant that I may always obſerve that venerable ſanctity ‘ in my words and deeds which theſe Noble Precepts (writ in man's heart) require: God ‘ is their father, neither ſhall they ever be abrogated; for there is in them a *great God* ‘ that never waxeth old.’ More reverend epithets than our oppoſers can afford, as their books but too openly witneſs; yet would go for chriſtian men, tho' manifeſtly ſhort of Heathens.

Rom. ii. 14, 15.

Thus it is evident that the Scripture was not the General Rule, after it was given forth.

Obj. *But hath it not been ſince, and is it not now, the general rule? &c.*

Anſw. There hath been ſince, and is now, the ſame impediment; for before Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, and ſince, where the Scriptures never reached, there hath been the ſame Light. And though nations, by not glorifying God as God, when they have known him, have been given up to all manner of iniquities, inſomuch as their underſtandings have been greatly veiled; yet did not the Light Within ſo entirely loſe its ruling exerciſe among them, as that they lived without any ſenſe of ſuch a thing: Therefore ſtill the ſcriptures have not been, neither are, the General Rule; no not ſo much as of any age; ſince in no age can it be proved that the whole, or greateſt part of the world, had them. But had they been ſo for ſome one or two ages, as they never were; yet the granting it will not reach our queſtion, where the word *general* implieth the nature of the thing itſelf reſpecting mankind, from the beginning of the world to this day, and ſo to the end.

Obj. *But is not the ſcripture the rule, &c. of our day?*

Anſw. If *the* rule, then the *general* rule: For whatſoever is *the* rule of faith and

1673. life, excludeth all other from being *general*, they being but *particular* in reſpect of itſelf; Therefore not *the* rule, though *a* rule, of faith and life.

But beſides their not being general, I have ſeveral reaſons to offer, why they cannot be *the rule* of faith and life, &c.

* 1. If *now* the rule, then *ever* the rule; but they were *not* ever the rule; and therefore they cannot *now* be the rule. That they were not *ever* the rule is granted: But that they are not therefore *now* the rule, may be by ſome denied; which I ſhall prove thus. If the *faith* of God's people in all ages be of *one nature*, then the *rule* but of one nature: But clear it is, Heb. xi. the Faith has been but of one nature. In ſhort, if the holy ancients had Faith before they had or wrote Scripture, they had a *rule* before they had or wrote Scripture; for where Faith is, there is a Rule for that Faith. And if the Faith be of one nature, the Rule is of one nature alſo. And ſince the Faith is *inward, ſpiritual,* begotten of the Immortal Word, in which is Life, and that Life the Light of men, and that this *Word of life and light* was *the rule*; then no Book, Writing, or Ingraving on viſible and periſhable matter, can be the Rule *now*.

Again; ſuch as the Faith is, ſuch muſt the Rule be: But the Faith is, as before, *inward* and *ſpiritual,* which no *mere book* can be.

2. If the Scriptures were the *general* rule, they muſt have always been a *perfect* rule, ever ſince they were a rule: But this is impoſſible, ſince they were *many hundred years in writing*, and are now imperfect alſo as to *number*; how then are they the *perfect* rule?

That they were not the *perfect* rule before they were *written*, muſt be granted: And that they were many hundred years writing, muſt alſo be allowed: And that they are imperfect now, as to *number*, I prove;

Firſt, "Enoch's Prophecy," is mentioned by Jude, but not extant in the Bible. "The Book of the Wars of the Lord," Numb. xxi. 14. "The Book of Jaſher," Joſh. x. 13. 2 Sam. i. 18. "The Book of Nathan," 2 Chron. ix. 29. "The Book of Shemaiah," 2 Chron. xii. 15. "The Book of Jehu:" The Epiſtle of the apoſtle Paul "to the Laodiceans," Coloſ. iv. 16. and ſeveral others mentioned in the ſcriptures, not now extant. And laſtly, Luke ſays, "That *many* took in hand to relate from eye-witneſſes the things moſt ſurely believed, &c."

2. Now, it is taken for granted, that John wrote many years after Luke: Some think Luke wrote before Mark. However, Matthew and Mark were not *many*, and to this day we ſee no more than thoſe Four in our Bibles; and therefore many ſuch writings are loſt: And if loſt, then the Scriptures, as aforeſaid, not Perfect; and if imperfect, how can they be *the rule of faith*, ſince the Rule of Faith muſt be Perfect?

3. My third reaſon is this; The Scriptures, however uſeful to edification and comfort, ſeem not in their own nature and frame to have been compiled and delivered as the *general rule*, and *intire body of faith*, but rather written upon particular occaſions and emergencies. The Doctrines are ſcattered throughout the Scriptures; inſomuch that thoſe ſocieties who have given forth Verbal Confeſſions of their Faith, have been neceſſitated to toſs them to and fro, ſearch here and ſearch there, to lay down this or the other principle; and then as like the Original Text as their apprehenſions can render it: Whereas, were it as plain and diſtinct as the nature of a Rule requires, they needed only to have given their Subſcription for a Confeſſion. Beſides, here they are *proper*, there *metaphorical:* In one place *literally*, in another *myſtically* to be accepted: Moſt times points are to be proved by comparing and weighing places coherent; where to allude aptly, and not wrong the ſenſe, is difficult, and requires a clear and certain diſcerning, notwithſtanding the clamours upon us about Infallibillity. Now from all this, with abundance more

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* Juſtin Martyr ſaith, ‘that all are Chriſtians who live with Chriſt, as Abraham and Elias; and amongſt the Greeks, as Socrates, Heraclitus, &c.’ See Scultetus on him; who alſo ſaith, ‘That ſome at this day are of his judgment, who have taught that Melchizedech, Abimelech, Ruth, Rachab, the queen of Sheba, Hiram of Tyre, Naaman the Syrian, and the city of Nineveh, are in the catalogue of Chriſtians.’

Euſebius Pamph. in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſaith, ‘That Abraham and the ancient fathers were Chriſtians:’ And defines a Chriſtian to be, ‘one that by the knowledge and doctrine of Chriſt excels in moderation of mind, in righteouſneſs and continency of life, and ſtrength of virtue and godlineſs towards one only God.’ See Scultetus on him.

Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith, ‘The Law of Nature and of Diſcipline is one. And Moſes ſeems to call the Lord *the Covenant:*’ For he had ſaid before, ‘the Covenant was not to be ſought in Scripture; for that is the Covenant, which God, the cauſe of all, ſetteth, whence his nature in Greek is derived. And in the preaching of Peter, thou mayeſt find the Lord called the *Word* or *Reaſon*, and the *Law*.’ See his 1 book Strom. at the end. And before, page 353, he ſaith, ‘The Law and the Goſpel is the operation of One Lord, who is the Virtue and Wiſdom of God; And the Fear which the Law had bred, is merciful to Salvation: And the Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wiſdom. That She (that is, *Wiſdom*) that miniſtreth providence, is Miſtreſs and *good*; and the power of both procureth Salvation: The one Chaſtizing as Miſtreſs; the other being Bountiful, as a Benefactor; for one muſt paſs from Darkneſs to Life; and, applying his ear to Wiſdom, firſt be a Servant, then a faithful Miniſter, and ſo aſcend into the number of Sons, and be brought into the Elect Adoption of Sons. That the Law works to make them immortal, that chuſe to live temperately and juſtly.’ And again, ‘Evil men do not underſtand the Law; but they that ſeek the Lord, do underſtand every good thing.’ And the whole firſt book of the *Stromata* is eſpecially to prove the antiquity of the *One true religion*, or *philoſophy*, as he calls it.

that might be ſaid, plain is it that the Scriptures are not plain but to the *ſpiritual* man: Thus Peter ſaid of Paul's writings, that "in many things they were hard to be underſtood?" Therefore not *ſuch* a rule, which ought to be plain, proper and intelligible.

4. Again, the Scripture cannot be the Rule of Faith, becauſe it cannot *give* Faith; for Faith is the "gift of God which overcomes the world:" Neither of Practice, becauſe it cannot diſtinguiſh *of itſelf*, in all caſes, what ought to be practiſed and what not; ſince it contains as well what ought *not* to be practiſed, as what *ought*.

Eph. ii. 8.
1 John. v. 4.

This was the caſe of Chriſt's diſciples, who had no particular Rule in the Old Teſtament Writings for the aboliſhing of ſome part of the Old Teſtament Religion: On the contrary, they might have pleaded for the perpetuity of it, becauſe Chriſt ſaid unto them, "Do as they ſay that ſit in Moſes's chair," more reaſonably than many who make that a plea now-a-days for their invented worſhips. What then guided them in their declaring void and relinquiſhing thoſe things? For inſtance, God gave Circumciſion "as a ſign *for ever*:" And Paul tells the Galatians, "that if they be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhould profit them nothing:" Was not this the Spirit of Truth, that leads into all truth, that the apoſtles made the Judge and Rule of their doctrine and practice? So ſaid James, and the aſſembly of the apoſtles, when they told the believers, "It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us, &c."

Gen. xvii. 7.
Gal. v. 1. 2.
Acts xv. 28.

5. Theſe very men that ſay it is the Rule of Faith and Life, deviate in their proof from their aſſertion; for the Scriptures no where ſay ſo of themſelves. Here they fly to meanings and interpretations: The queſtion ariſes not about the truth of the Text, for that is agreed on all hands; but the Expoſition of it: If then I yield to that Man, do I bow to the Letter of the Text, or to his Interpretation? If the latter, as manifeſtly I do, is the Scripture, or *that man's ſenſe* of it, my rule? Nay the perſon ſo interpreting makes not the Scripture his rule, but his own Apprehenſion, whatever he may ſay to gain credit to his conceptions with others; then Mine it muſt needs be, I conſenting thereto.

6. How ſhall I be aſſured that theſe Scriptures came from God? I am bound to try all things: If all things, then Them amongſt the reſt. I would fain know what I muſt try them with? With the Scriptures? Then the Scriptures muſt be the rule of my examination and faith concerning Themſelves, which is improper. If with the Spirit that gave them forth, which ſearcheth the deep things of God (a meaſure of which is given to me to profit withal) then is it moſt congruous to call the *Spirit*, by way of excellency, and not the Scriptures, *the rule*.

7. If the Scriptures are the rule, they muſt be ſo in the *original*, or *copies*: If in the *original*, that is not extant, and ſo there would be no rule in being; for the laſt of it that was extant, was the Evangeliſt John's hiſtory at Epheſus, not ſeen almoſt theſe thouſand years. If the *copies* muſt be the rule, it were to be wiſhed we knew which were the nigheſt to the Original, there being above Thirty in Number. This is undetermined, and for aught we ſee undeterminable. And that which farther confirms what I ſay is, the variety of Readings which we find among thoſe Copies, amounting to ſeveral thouſands. And if the Copies cannot, how can the *tranſlations* be the rule, ſo various (if not differing) from the true ſenſe of the Copies in many things, and one from another? Beſides, I would fain know of thoſe of our preſent age, who thus contend for the Scriptures being the General Rule, &c. *in oppoſition to the Spirit*, upon what foot they receive them into this place and authority: Is it by *Tradition*, or *Revelation?* I mean, the *Internal Teſtimony of the Spirit*; or the *External Award* and *Determination* of *Men?* If the former, they muſt unavoidably come over to us; for then the Spirit will, and muſt be both *Rule* and *Judge:* If the latter, I aſk how are they aſſured that they are not miſerably abuſed by Careleſneſs or Deſign; ſince we ſee, that uſing the utmoſt diligence, both Tranſlation, Tranſcription and Printing, are ſubject to numerous miſtakes, and thoſe ſometimes very material, againſt which the Scripture of itſelf can be no fence?

But admit there were no ground for any ſuch objection, I farther demand of our adverſaries, if they are well aſſured of thoſe Men that firſt collected, embodied and declared them authentic by a Public *Canon?* Which we read was in the *Council* of *Laodicea*, held three hundred and ſixty years after Chriſt, though not as they are now received: During which time they had been toſſed and tumbled through many hands, and of many judgments and opinions. Some were received, and ſome rejected, and doubtleſs many thouſands of times tranſcribed; and it is not improbable that they were alſo abuſed. If they miſs in their judgment here, they are gone till they come to us. I ſay, how do they know that theſe men rightly diſcerned true from ſpurious? Either their judgment was infallible in the matter, or it was not: If it were, then there was ſuch a thing as Infallibility ſince the Apoſtles days, which is a contradiction to yourſelves. But be it ſo that they were infallible; how came you to be aſſured they were ſo? Not by Inſpiration; for that is dangerous doctrine with you: Which way was it then? Not by Tradition; Was it by the Scripture? That were to ſay that the Scripture tells you that thoſe men, that collected it for true, were right in their judgment: But we are yet to find any ſuch place; and if it were ſo, that would but beg the queſtion. I cannot ſee any other ground, beſides your very great *Indulgence* to *their choice*; which you call *Popery*, and believing as the *Church believes*, in other folks. But if theſe men were fallible, as your opinion makes them, and their own determinations prove them, what then? Doubtleſs your condition will be very uncertain.

Now, ſure it is, that ſome of the Scriptures taken in by one council for *canonical*, were rejected by another as *apocryphal*; and that which was left out by the former for *apocryphal*, was taken in by the latter for *canonical*. Now viſible it is, that they contradicted each other, and as true that they both erred, reſpecting the preſent belief: For *your* Canon and Catalogue vary from *theirs*, and, let me ſay without offence, from any catalogue you can produce. Behold the labyrinth of uncertainties you run yourſelves into, who go from that Heavenly Gift in yourſelves, by which the Holy Scriptures are truly diſcerned, reliſhed, and diſtinguiſhed from the inventions and abuſes of men!

8. Farthermore, if the Scriptures were the Rule of Faith and Life, &c. then, becauſe they cannot be the rule in their Tranſlations, ſuppoſing the ancient Copies were Exact, it cannot be the rule to far the *greateſt* part of mankind; indeed to none but *learned* men: Which neither anſwers the promiſe relating to Goſpel-times, which is univerſal; nor the neceſſity of all mankind for a Rule of Faith and Life.

9. That the Scriptures are not the Rule of Faith and Life, is proved from thoſe voluminous diſcourſes of *Caſes of Conſcience* that are extant among us: For had the Scriptures been as ſufficient as the nature of the Rule of Faith and Life requireth, there had been no need of ſuch tracts: Every man might have read his own condition laid down in Scripture, without thoſe numerous ſupplements. Do not your own language and practice prove its inſufficiency to that end, at what time you both exhort to, and go in ſecret to ſeek, the Mind of the Lord in this or that important affair? Why do not you turn to Chapter and Verſe for ſatisfaction, if the Scripture be appointed of God for the General Rule? Strange! That what is ſo common in the mouths of all ſorts, viz. "God direct you," (which implieth Inſpiration and Revelation, or immediate Counſel or Guiding from God) ſhould not be known, much leſs acknowledged by you in our writings; but diſdained with ſuch ſcaring epithets, as Enthuſiaſm, Familiſm, Fanaticiſm, Quakeriſm, &c. In ſhort, there are a * thouſand caſes, and not a few occurring almoſt daily, in which the Scripture cannot be our *plain* and *diſtinct* Rule and Guide: Yet has not God left himſelf without a witneſs in *any* boſom; for his GRACE, "that brings ſalvation, has appeared unto *all* men, teaching them that *believe* in it, to deny ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly in this preſent world." And Chriſt Jeſus, the Eternal Word, has for that end lighted every man coming into the world, viz. to diſcover, reprove, and inſtruct about Faith and Practice. But it may be, and is objected by ſome,

* There is not laid down in Scripture any general rule how to anſwer *before magiſtrates*; and to act in *times of ſufferings*. John i. 9. Titus ii. 11. 12.

Obj. *If this Law and Light in the conſcience had been enough, what need had there been of Scripture?*

Anſw. The ſame argument will hold againſt God, Chriſt, his Spirit and Grace; all which are ſufficient, notwithſtanding the uſe and benefit of Scripture. The caſe was this: Man's mind being eſtranged from the Light and Spirit, through its wanderings after viſible and periſhing things; and in as much as the Light became thereby veiled from him, the Spirit as it were quenched, and the Law defaced, God in peculiar mercy to the Jews, according to his covenant with faithful Abraham, ſuperadded, or repeated (as Urſin terms it) the *Law inward*, by a declaration of it *outwardly*; that both God might not be without an Outward witneſs, as well as an Inward (they having ſo much loſt the feeling thereof); and likewiſe more deeply to ſtrike their minds by their *ſenſes* (into which their minds were gone) and to meet them abroad, where they were roving and wandering from the *Law* and *Light within*.

As it is great vanity and weakneſs to infer Inſufficiency to the Light, from the Imbecillity and Darkneſs that are in men; ſo is it from God's ſuperadding Scripture, and other external aſſiſtances to men in that ſtate; ſince their blindneſs is occaſioned through their Rebellion to the Law and Light within. What! would ſuch have God, his Light and Spirit, appear to, and converſe with, peoples outward Senſes? That cannot be: The one is Spiritual, and the other too carnal for any ſuch thing. Or are they inſufficient, becauſe they converſe with men through theſe exterior things, ſuited to that weak ſtate? Or tell me if the moſt conſiderable part of Scripture be any more than the declared Knowledge and Experience of ſuch as were come to a more improved ſtate in the teachings of that Light and Spirit; which is therefore given forth, that others loitering behind might be ſtirred up, and the more prevailed with to follow them, as they had followed the Lord in the Light of his Spirit? Certainly it can never be that Scripture ſhould impeach the Light of Inſufficiency, when that very Scripture is but the Mind and Teachings of the Divine Light in others, declared or recorded. Does the declaration jarr with, or make weak, that from whence it came? Or becauſe of God's condeſcenſion for a time to External Mediums, ſhall they turn the Light and Spirit out of the office of Rule and Judge? Or is it to *lay down Inſtituted Religion*, as ſome ignorantly talk, to preſs after that which was before, and ends thoſe temporary things? The law *outward*, as *a rule*, was but as

Moſes, till *the Son* came. “ The *ſervant* abideth not in the houſe *for ever*.” The written
law held its place but till the inward aroſe in *more glory* and *brightneſs*; or rather, till
people became more capable of being turned to it, and living with and in it? “ In thoſe John xviii. 36.
“ days,” ſaith the Lord, “ I will write my law in their Hearts, &c.” They who ſay Iſa. liv. 13.
otherwiſe of Scripture, do pervert and abuſe it; for there is nothing more clearly laid
down in it, from beginning to end, than the *Rule* and *Reign* of the *Spirit*. “ My kingdom,” Joel ii. 28.
ſaid Chriſt, “ is not of *this* world.” Again, “ The kingdom of God is *within*. Tit. ii. 11,12.
“ I will write my law in their *hearts*, and place my fear in their *inward parts*. All
“ thy children ſhall be taught of the *Lord*, and in righteouſneſs ſhall they be eſtabliſhed.
“ I will pour out of my Spirit on *all* fleſh. The Grace of God that brings ſalvation,
“ hath appeared to *all* men, teaching, &c.”

Obj. *But if the Law engraven and delivered to Moſes, was a Rule to the Jews, why ſhould not the Law delivered by Chriſt, and written by the Apoſtles, be the Rule to Chriſtians?*

Anſw. Chriſt left nothing in *writing* for the Rule of Faith and Practice that we hear of; and it is not to be thought that he was leſs faithful in his houſe than Moſes: And doubtleſs, had he intended the rule of his followers to have been a *written* Rule, he would have left it upon record with all *punctuality*: *This* muſt be *believed*, and that *done*, on pain of eternal death. Nor did his followers write in the *method of a rule*, as the Law was written; nor did they ſo call or recommend what they writ.

But this leads me to my eighth reaſon why the Scriptures cannot be the Rule under
the New covenant, &c. for admitting the Law written by Moſes were the Rule (*A Rule*,
I grant it was) to the Jew outward, yet Chriſt, the *ſpiritual leader* of a *ſpiritual Iſrael*,
writeth his *ſpiritual law* in the *heart*; as Moſes, the *outward* Iſrael's leader, writ the Law
upon Tables of *Stone*. This was God's promiſe, and the privilege and bleſſing of
the New Covenant, that as the *outward Jew* had an *outward Law*, for a *Directory*,
the *inward Jew* ſhould have an *inward law* for *his* Directory: And as the outward Jew
had an outward *Prieſt*, at whoſe mouth he ought to ſeek the Law; ſo the Jew *inward*,
and circumciſion *in ſpirit*, has an *inward* and *ſpiritual* High Prieſt, whoſe lips preſerve Mal. ii. 7.
knowledge; at whoſe mouth he is to receive the law of life. And *this* is his Rule, even Heb. vii. 24,
he who is the Ruler of his People Iſrael, who reigneth in righteouſneſs, and of whoſe 25, 26, 27.
heavenly government there ſhall be no end. The King, Ruler, Judge, Law-giver, Iſa. ix. 6, 7.
High Prieſt, Law, Rule, Temple, are all *ſpiritual*; ſo the Scriptures inform us; “ My Luke 17. 20,
“ kingdom,” ſaid Chriſt, “ is not of this world.” Again, “The kingdom of God is within. 21. Heb. viii. 10.
“ I will write my law in their hearts, and place my fear in their inward parts. They Rev. xxi. 3.
“ ſhall be all taught of me; and in righteouſneſs ſhall they be eſtabliſhed. The tabernacle Joel ii. 28.
“ of God is with man; he will dwell with them. I will pour out my Spirit on Tit. ii. 11,12. Job xxxii. 8.
“ all fleſh. The grace of God hath appeared unto all men, teaching, &c. A meaſure of Rom. i. 19.
“ the Spirit is given to all men to profit withal. The Inſpiration of the Almighty giveth Gal. v. 16.
“ underſtanding. Whatſoever may be known of God is manifeſt within. Walk in 1 John i. 7. Iſa. ii. 5.
“ the Spirit. If ye walk in the Light, &c. Come let us walk in the Light of the Lord. Rev. xxi. 23.
“ And there needed neither ſun nor moon to ſhine; for the glory of God did lighten it, Gal. vi. 15, 16.
“ and the Lamb was the Light thereof. As many as walk according to this Rule, *(y)*
“ peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Iſrael of God, &c.” What rule? Not
that of the *old legal* creation, which then paſſed away; but the Rule of the καινὴ κτίσις, or
New creation, as it may be rendered, and as Druſius alſo doth interpret it; which is the
way of Life Iſaiah ſpoke of; “ an high-way there ſhall be, and it ſhall be called the
“ way of holineſs; the unclean ſhall not paſs over it, and wayfaring men, though fools,
“ ſhall not err therein: There ſhall be no lion there, nor ravenous beaſt go thereon,
“ but the redeemed ſhall walk there:” Which Way, Teacher, Guide, Rule, Light,
Spirit, and holy Unction, that directs and keeps in ſteady paths of truth, is CHRIST
JESUS our Lord.

Obj. *But do you not turn the Scriptures off, for an uncertain and unſerviceable writing, and as good as reject and deny them altogether?*

Anſw. Some indeed, to render us odious to all Proteſtants, have ſaid as much in our names, as the conſequence of our principles; but not without great injuſtice to us.

(y) Galat vi. 16. τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ, *in this rule*; as it is tranſlated, Phil. iii. 16. which was ſpoken of the Meaſure of Attainment: And Grotius ſaith, ‘ in the *manuſcript*, *rule* is not; ſo it muſt be underſtood, “ *let us walk* “ *in the ſame attainment*;” as alſo in 2 Cor. x. 13. 15. in which three places that word is only found: See Eraſmus, Vatablus, Zegerus, Cameron, Jac. Capellus and Grotius, on thoſe places, none whereof can be drawn to the ſcriptures. Zegerus interprets this place of Gal. vi. 16. thus, ‘ *they* that have followed this Form of ‘ Life, or Rule of the New Creature, having turned away from the invalid Ceremonies of the Law; peace, &c.’ Druſius explains it from chap. v. 6. ‘ the new *creation*. *Faith which worketh by love*.’ Grotius ſaith, ‘ *rule* ‘ here is a way made as to a Rule that is plainly right; ſuch is that *way* of the *New creation*, which was fore‘ told, Iſa. xlii. 9. And ſignifies the *ſtate of the new man*, of which Paul ſpeaks, Col. iii. 10. Eph. ii. 15. ‘ Rom. vi. 4.’

The ſcriptures are uncertain upon *their* foundation, but not upon *ours*. Doth our manifeſting their faith concerning the ſcriptures to be grounded upon their own Imaginations, or human Traditions, make void the ſcriptures, or render them uncertain? By no means; for we would have them received upon the Spirit's teſtimony and evidence, which gave them forth. And though we cannot allow them to be *the rule* of Faith and Life, under the diſpenſation of the Goſpel, which is *Power* and *Life* itſelf; yet are they to be reverently *read, believed*, and *fulfilled*, under the Goſpel. For notwithſtanding the Law written upon Stone was not Paul's Rule, after the Son of God was revealed in him; yet the Son of God taught Paul to *fulfil* the righteouſneſs declared by that Law. If it be to deny and reject (as ſome have enviouſly ſaid of us) yea, to vilify the ſcripture, becauſe we cannot allow it to be *the rule*, &c. Paul then may be ſaid to deny, reject, and vilify the written Law, at what time the law of the *Spirit of life* in Chriſt Jeſus became *his rule*. There is a great difference between aſſerting that the Spirit is the rule, and caſting away and vilifying of ſcripture. And indeed it is but an old fetch of the Devil's, to pretend honour to the Letter, that he might the more unſuſpectedly oppoſe the bringing in of the diſpenſation of the Spirit; which the Letter itſelf teſtifies of and to. They that come to be led of the Spirit, arrive at the end for which the ſcripture was given forth: The apoſtle John did as good as ſay the ſame thing, when he told them to whom he wrote, "that the Anointing which they had received, and abode in them, "would lead them into all Truth; and that they needed not that any man ſhould teach "them:" To deny this to have been the Saints Teacher, is to deny as plain a propoſition as is in the whole Scripture: And that one age of Chriſtianity ſhould have *one* rule, and another age *another* rule; that age the *Spirit*, and this but the *Letter*, is more than any man can prove. Yet did John's ſo writing to the believers invalidate the Scripture, or vilify his own Epiſtle? I would think none could talk ſo idly. How then doth our exalting the Light and Spirit of Chriſt, which fulfils the ſcriptures (by bringing ſuch as are led by it to enjoy the good things therein declared) reject and vilify the ſcriptures? Does our living up to them, by an *higher* Rule, make us deny and reprobate them? Eraſmus and Grotius think them then to be moſt valued, when men are witneſſes of their truth in themſelves: See them on 2 Pet. i. 19, 20. I do acknowledge they contain an account of ſeveral heavenly prophecies, godly reproofs, inſtructions and examples, that ought to be obeyed, and followed.

Obj. *If ſo, then how are they not* a rule *of Faith and Life?*

Anſw. *A Rule*, and *The* rule, are two things. By *The* Rule of Faith and Practice, I underſtand, the Living, Spiritual, Immediate, Omnipreſent, Diſcovering, Ordering, *Spirit of God:* And by *A rule*, I apprehend ſome *Inſtrument*, by and through which this *Great* and *Univerſal Rule* may convey its directions. Such a *ſubordinate, ſecondary* and *declaratory* Rule, we never ſaid ſeveral Parts of Scripture were not: Yet we confeſs the reaſon of our obedience is not merely becauſe they are there *written* (for that were *legal*) but becauſe they are the *eternal precepts* of the *Spirit*, in mens conſciences, *there* repeated and declared. It is the *Teſtimony of the Spirit*, which is the *true Rule* for believing and underſtanding of the Scripture; therefore not the Scripture, but the *Spirit of Truth*, muſt be the *rule* for our believing and underſtanding them. Thus held the ancients.

Bp. Rob. Sand. de Regul. Conſ. Præl. 4ta. Sect. 31.

Tertul. de Præſcrip. Herætic. p. 204.

Tertullian ſaith, 'Worldly wiſdom the Lord calls fooliſhneſs. He hath choſen the 'fooliſh things of the world, to the confounding of philoſophy; for that is the matter 'of worldly wiſdom. A Divine Interpreter of the Divine Nature and Diſpoſings.'

Dell. confut. of Simpſ. p. 89, 90.

Juſtin Martyr, in Expoſit. Fid. 'The interpretation of the ſcriptures is to be accommodated to the will of the doctrine of the Spirit; and not to human Reaſonings.'

Hieron. Tom. 4. 7.

Hieron ſaith, 'The ſcriptures muſt be opened with ſpiritual expoſition.'

Bp. Jewel, p. 532.

Epiphanius ſaith, 'Only to the children of the Holy Ghoſt all the ſcriptures are plain 'and clear.'

Polano. Hiſtor. Counc. Tr. p. 150.

Nor were the moſt approved Proteſtants of any ſort (who have been ſo reputed in oppoſition to Popery) of another mind. It is the ſubſtance of the fourth article exhibited againſt the Lutherans, in the Council of Trent, as an erroneous doctrine they held, 'That to underſtand the ſcripture, neither Gloſs nor Comment is neceſſary; but only to 'have the Spirit of a Sheep of Chriſt's paſture.'

Eraſmus on 1 Pet. i. 19. ib. on 1 Cor. ii.

Eraſmus tells us, 'What man ſets forth by Man's Device, may be received by Man's 'Wit: But the thing that is ſet forth by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, requireth 'an interpreter inſpired with the like Spirit; and without the *Inſpiration* of it, the ſe'crets of God cannot be known.'

Luther, tom. 3. fol. 169.

Luther giveth us his mind thus: 'The ſcriptures are not to be underſtood, but by that 'very Spirit by which they were writ.'

Peter Martyr Com. loc. p. 1. c. 6.

Peter Martyr, that famous Italian Proteſtant, teacheth us, 'The Spirit is the abettor, 'by which we muſt aſſure ourſelves for underſtanding the ſcriptures, that thereby we 'muſt diſcern between Chriſt's words, and a Stranger's;' quoting Chriſt's words, "My "ſheep know my voice," and ſeveral other places of ſcripture.

Again, ‘The Spirit of God revealeth the truth in the ſcriptures.’

H. Bullinger, decad. 4. ſerm. 8. ‘Men fetch the underſtanding of heavenly things, and knowledge of the Holy Ghoſt, from *no-where elſe*, but from the *ſame Spirit*.’

Ibid. p. 2. c. 18.

John Bradford anſwered to the archbiſhop of York thus: ‘We know the ſcriptures, as Chriſt's ſheep, by the *ſame Spirit* that wrote and ſpake them; being thereby aſſured, &c.’

Book of Martyrs, 3 vol. p. 298.

Calvin teacheth thus in his Inſtitutes; ‘It is neceſſary the *ſame Spirit* that ſpake by the mouth of the Prophets, ſhould pierce into our hearts, to perſuade us that they faithfully delivered that which was committed to them of God.’

Calvin. Inſtit. lib. 1. cap. 8.

Beza ſaith, ‘That the way of underſtanding prophecies, and referring them to the right ſcope, muſt be ſought or fetched from the *ſame Spirit* which dictated them to the Prophets themſelves?’ and more to that purpoſe.

Beza on 2 Pet. i. 19.

W. Tindal, called the Engliſh apoſtle by J. Fox, ſaith, ‘It is impoſſible to underſtand in the Scripture more than a Turk, for any that hath not the law of God, *writ in the heart*, to fulfil it.’

Tindal's works, p. 319 & 80.

Bp. Jewel ſays thus againſt Harding, ‘The Spirit of God is bound neither to ſharpneſs of wit, nor to abundance of learning: Fleſh and blood is not able to underſtand the holy will of God, without *ſpecial revelation*. Without this *ſpecial help* and *prompting* of God's *Spirit*, the Scripture is to the reader, be he never ſo wiſe and well learned, as the viſion of a *Sealed Book*.’

Jewel againſt Harding, p. 532, 534.

D. Ames, a great father of the Independents, ſaith upon occaſion of Bellarmin's words, ‘The *Anointing of the Holy Spirit* doth teach the faithful to underſtand thoſe things which they received of the Apoſtles; therefore to underſtand the Scriptures in thoſe things which are neceſſary to ſalvation;’ with more to that purpoſe.

Dr. Ames againſt Bellarm. l. 1. c. 6. Theſ. 32.

Vatablus on Job xxxii. 8. with Druſius, Clarius, and others, ſpeak to the ſame effect.

G. Cradock, a famous independent preacher, preached, ‘that the ſcripture is a *ſpeechleſs thing* without the Spirit.’

G. Cradock's divine drops, page 217.

Ch. Goad, an eminent Separate, in his works ſtiled B. D. of K. college in Cambridge, and an independent paſtor, thus taught, ‘There is no knowledge of Chriſt, nor of the Scripture, but by *Revelation*.’

C. Goad's Refr. drops. page 12.

Dr. J. Owen, a man of greateſt fame among the preſent Independents, ſaith, ‘The public, authentic and infallible Interpreter of the holy ſcriptures, is He who is the *Author* of them; from the Breathing of whoſe Spirit they derive all their Verity, Perſpicuity, and Authority.’

Exercit. 2. 7. 9. againſt Quak.

So that we ſee, upon the judgment of many conſiderable perſons, the ſcripture is no Rule for our believing and underſtanding of itſelf; and therefore not *The Rule* of Faith and Practice concerning the things therein declared.

I will give a ſhort inſtance in Chriſt's words about Regeneration. He taught (and ſtrange it was, no doubt, to wiſe Nicodemus) “that unleſs a man be born again, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God.” This is as plain a propoſition as can be laid down, and may be credited *hiſtorically*: But what is that to the *knowledge* and *experience* of the new birth? That they are never like to be informed of there. Nor can that ſcripture be my rule in that heavenly travel, reſpecting the many and wonderful trials and exerciſes that are to be met with in the way to it; neither can any other writing whatever. This only is the office of that *Spirit* and *Word immortal* by which we are begotten again. What, then, is my Rule, to inform, order, ſtrengthen, and lead through the whole operation, but the *ſame Spirit?* All doctrinal Scripture was *experienced* before written, or they had not been true witneſſes who wrote it.

Now that which was *their* rule, can guide *us* into the ſame experiences; nor are they to be rightly known before experienced: “If any man will do his will, he ſhall know of the doctrine,” ſaith Chriſt. I read the Hiſtory of ſuch things: This ſaves not: Neither can the Hiſtory be the Rule leading into the Myſtery. That belongs only to the Spirit, that ſearcheth out the deep things of God. Conſequently the Spirit, and not the Scripture, is the rule for *ſo* believing and living.

Obj. *But is not this to make void the Proteſtants plea againſt the Papiſts, viz. That the Scriptures are the Rule of Faith and Practice?*

Anſw. No ſuch matter: For the queſtion was not, Whether the Spirit of Chriſt, or the ſcripture, was the rule; but, Whether the ſcripture, which is *God's* Tradition, or *Popiſh* Traditions, were the Rule to meaſure the truth of doctrines and practices by? We grant that particular ſcriptures, rightly underſtood, may meaſure what is agreeable or diſagreeable to them: That is, ſuch doctrines and practices as are contrary to that part of ſcripture, more particularly relating to our days, are queſtionable by the ſcripture; eſpecially ſince all parties pretend that what they ſay and do is according to ſcripture. Yet this concludes not the ſcripture to be *the General* and *Evangelical Rule*.

Obj. *But if God had not revealed thoſe things that are in ſcripture, by* it *to us, how could they have been known by us?*

1 Pet. i. 11.

Anſw. They were known by the Light and Spirit of Chriſt *before* they were written; for from *being written* they are called Scripture. Therefore it is ſaid, “that the prophets ſearched diligently what, and what manner of time, the Spirit of Chriſt, that was in them, did ſignify, when it teſtified *before-hand* of the ſufferings of Chriſt.” Nor are they ever the more revealed to the blind and dark mind, becauſe they are written. The myſteries of regeneration are as puzzling to natural wit and earthly wiſdom, as before. Therefore well ſaid Epiphanius, ‘Only to the children of the Holy Ghoſt all the holy ſcriptures are plain and eaſy.’ Mens going to hammer out principles, without this infallible Guide and Rule, hath been the cauſe of that great confuſion that is over mankind about religion to this very day.

Obj. *But how elſe could you have known thoſe prophecies to be true; for that is not matter of witneſſing, but foretelling?*

Anſw. That is an Extraordinary revelation, not falling within the ordinary diſcoveries that are abſolutely neceſſary to man's ſalvation; by which God ſhews his power and faithfulneſs, that he is God, and can foretel, and will bring to paſs: But therefore muſt there be an extraordinary *Light* or *Spirit*, and not rather an extraordinary *ſight* and *ſenſe* from *one* and the *ſame* Light and Spirit in them? Beſides, that which gives me to believe and ſavour it to be from the Spirit, and not by impoſture, is my Rule for believing it. Now that the Spirit ſo doth, both Calvin and Beza, as before cited, aſſert for me, viz. ‘The ſame Spirit, that ſpake by the mouth of the Prophets, muſt pierce into our hearts, to perſuade us that they faithfully declared that which was committed to them of God.’

Obj. *But this Light you ſpeak of, could not tell you which way ſin came into the world: That there was an Adam and Eve, that they fell after that manner, and that ſin ſo entered the world: That Chriſt was born of a Virgin, ſuffered death, and roſe again: That you ought not to ſwear in any caſe, &c. if the Scriptures had not told you ſo.*

1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.
Eph. v. 13.

Anſw. That is boldly ſaid. But conſider well: ‘Moſes,’ ſays the vulgar opinion, ‘had that account of the creation, above two thouſand years after it, by Revelation, which we find in Geneſis.’ Now that there could be no revelation without this Divine Light or Spirit, which is the Life of the eternal, creating Word, muſt needs be granted; “for,” ſaith the apoſtle Paul, “the Spirit of God *only* knoweth the things of God: And whatever makes manifeſt is Light.” And that the Spirit and Light are One, though two Names, has been ſufficiently evidenced already. If then it was this Light of the Eternal Word, that delivered thoſe paſt things to Moſes, and gave that proſpect of future things to the Prophets; as no doubt it was, if the ſcriptures be credible; then to ſay, ‘The Light or Spirit could not do it,’ is blaſphemous, as well as abſurd. Again, To argue, becauſe the Light does not reveal every circumſtance of Hiſtory to each individual that hath already an account thereof, therefore it *could not*, is unreaſonable. Were the Hiſtory of the tranſactions of Chriſt and his followers wanting, (as before Moſes was that of Adam and his poſterity,) and that the Lord ſaw it needful to acquaint mankind therewith, no doubt but the Light and Spirit which revealed the account of the Creation, above two thouſand years after, to Moſes, and foretold ſeveral hundred years many of thoſe tranſactions of Chriſt by the Prophets, would alſo have ſupplied that want: But inaſmuch as an account is extant, and therefore not needed, that objection is vain.

Again, it does not follow, becauſe every man has a Meaſure of Light to inform and rule him, that therefore he muſt needs know all which that Light knows, or is able to reveal to him. I return that argument thus upon our adverſaries: They ſay, ‘they have the Spirit of God:’ Then they know all that the Spirit of God knows, or can reveal to them. If the latter be abſurd, then the former. Again ſay they, “The Light Within did not reveal Chriſt to the Gentiles, and that Chriſt ſhould be born of a Virgin, &c. therefore inſufficient.” I return upon them thus; The Spirit of God, given to the children of Iſrael, Neh. ix. 20. did not acquaint them that Chriſt ſhould be born of a *Virgin*, nor much more of his life and bodily tranſactions; therefore the Spirit of God was inſufficient. The like may be concluded againſt the Spirit in the Prophets: For it is manifeſt from 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. that the Spirit had not revealed to all the prophets the Time of Chriſt's appearance and ſufferings. Was the Spirit therefore an inſufficient Rule to them? But that which falls heavieſt upon our oppoſers, is this, That the ſcriptures, by their own argument, are a moſt *imperfect account* themſelves of what was done, not relating the hundredth part of things; therefore as inſufficient in not relating *what is behind*, as they would weakly render the Light or Spirit, in not revealing to every individual thoſe things which are *already paſt*. Nay, they may as well infer inſufficiency to the Spirit, or the Light Within, in that it does not ſhew *all that ſhall be* to the *end of the world*, which in their proper ſeaſons there will be a neceſſity to know, as to reflect Inſufficiency upon it, &c. becauſe it did not foretel things that are now paſt unto former ages, or *needleſly* reveal them over again to us in this age. Neither is *hiſtory*, or can it be, the Rule of that Faith and Life we ſpeak of, which are ſo abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation; which is the Faith that *God*, and not Hiſtory, gives; and that works not by Hiſtory, but by *Love*, and overcomes the world; by which millions of *hiſtorical* believers are overcome, and wallow in the ſpirit and practice of. And the Rule muſt be anſwerable to the nature and workings of the Faith: The ſame in point of Practice, which is duty done. Now Hiſtory, though it inform me of others actions, yet it does not follow that it is the Rule of *duty* to me, ſince it may relate to actions not imitable, as in the caſe of Adam and Eve in ſeveral reſpects, and Chriſt's being born of a virgin, dying for the ſins of the world, &c. wherefore this cannot be *the rule of duty*. The like may be ſaid of the *Jewiſh ſtory*, that was the particular concern and tranſaction of that people.

Obj. *But theſe things ought to be believed.*

Anſw. I ſay ſo too, where the hiſtory has reached, and the Spirit of God hath made a conviction upon the conſcience; which, ſays doctor J. Owen, as before cited, "gives "them authority, verity, and perſpicuity," But where this hiſtory has not reached any people, or they die ignorant of it, they are not reſponſible for not believing any ſuch paſſages, as ſaith biſhop Sanderſon. It is one thing to ſay, The ſcriptures ought to be read, believed, and fulfilled; and another thing to ſay, They are the Evangelical Rule of Faith and Life: For when I read, and believe, and witneſs them fulfilling, I muſt needs have a Rule by which to read, underſtand, believe, and witneſs them: Which being the Divine Light and Spirit of Chriſt, it muſt be *that*, and not themſelves, that muſt be my Rule for ſo reading, underſtanding, and believing them.

Prelect. 4. § 21, 22.

And farther, to prove that the Light and Spirit within the Heathens was ſufficient to diſcover theſe things, it is granted on all hands, that the *Sybils* had divine ſights. I mean not thoſe made in their name by ſome profeſſors of Chriſtianity, as is charged upon them, to gain authority upon the Gentiles, againſt which Blundel writes; but thoſe that are acknowledged, who propheſied of 'a Virgin's bringing forth a Son, and that he 'ſhould deſtroy the Serpent, and repleniſh the earth with Righteouſneſs,' as is before cited out of Virgil, who took it out of the remains of Cumæa's verſes, then among the Romans.

And for the practical part of the objection, viz. How ſhould we have known it had been unlawful to ſwear at all in any caſe, if Matt. v. 34. had not been (which is of moſt weight in this caſe, becauſe it is matter of duty, and called particularly by ſome an Evangelical Precept, being a ſtep above the righteouſneſs of the Outward Law among the Jews) I have this to ſay for proof of the Light's ſufficiency:

There were among the Jews themſelves, long before Chriſt came, an entire people, that would not ſwear, to wit, the Eſſeni: 'They keep their promiſes,' ſaith Joſephus, 'and account every word they ſpeak of *more force* than if they had bound it with an '*oath*: And they ſhun Oaths worſe than perjury; for they eſteem him condemned for 'a lyar, who without it is not believed.'

Joſephus's Wars of the Jews, l. 2. c. 7.

Philo writes to the ſame purpoſe, and taught himſelf, 'That it was beſt to *abſtain from* '*ſwearing*; that one's word might be taken inſtead of an Oath.'

Philo, de ſpec. leg. & decalog.

And Pythagoras, in his oration to the Crotonian ſenators, exhorted them thus, 'Let 'no man atteſt God by Oath, though in courts of judicature; but uſe to ſpeak ſuch 'things that he may be credited without an Oath.'

Laert. Herm. & Orig. contr. Celſ.

The Scythians are ſaid to have told Alexander of themſelves, 'Think not that Scythians confirm their friendſhip by Oath: They ſwear by keeping their word.'

Quint. Curt. in vit. Alex.

And Clinias, a Greek, and follower of Pythagoras, rather choſe to ſuffer the fine of Three Talents, (which made three hundred pounds Engliſh) than to leſſen his veracity by taking of an Oath. Which act was greatly commended of Baſilius, who upbraided the Chriſtians of his time with it; thereby (after our adverſaries way of drawing conſequences) preferring the Light of the Gentiles before the Light of the Chriſtians: Though indeed the Light was, and is, always *one* in itſelf. But the Chriſtian did not live up ſo cloſely to it as the Heathen did, and therefore took a greater liberty, and walked in a broader way.

H. Grotius on Mat. v. 34.

I would now know of our oppoſers, if they can yet think the Light that preached this doctrine in the Mount, was the ſame with that Light that ſhined in the conſciences of thoſe Gentiles, ſo many hundred years before that ſermon was writ or preached, who ſo plainly believed, practiſed and taught it, yea or nay? Perhaps ſome will yet ſtick out; while the more moderate will ſubmit, and conclude ignorance and folly have made all this oppoſition againſt us; and that of a truth, the *Voice* which cried, Prov. viii. 4, 6. "Unto you, O men, I call; and my Voice is to the ſons of men; hear, for I will ſpeak

" excellent things," was alſo heard by the Gentiles; and that what concerned the doctrine of holy living was not hid from them; I mean, evangelically ſo; provided Chriſt's heavenly ſermon upon the Mount, related by Matthew the Evangeliſt, may be eſteemed *ſuch*: For their writings flow with Amens thereunto.

But allowing our adverſaries that the Voice was then ſo low, and the manifeſtation of the Light ſo ſmall, as it diſcovered not many of thoſe things before-mentioned; could that give reaſonable men ground to conclude, therefore the divine Wiſdom or Light was inſufficient; or that the divine Wiſdom or Light was not then, and ſhould not in other ages become, the Rule and Guide of the children of men? Yet ſuch falſe conſequences have been the corner ſtone and foundation of our oppoſers building againſt us; and no reaſonable man, I think, will attempt to clear it from being a *ſandy* one.

Of the JUDGE of CONTROVERSY.

I ſhall explain what I mean by theſe terms.

A JUDGE, is one that has not only Power to determine, but Diſcerning to do it rightly.

CONTROVERSY, is a Debate between Two Parties about the Truth or Falſhood of any Propoſition to be determined by that Judge.

From whence I am led to aſſert, that the Judge of Controverſy muſt be *certain* and *unerring*.

And though this may ſeem ſtrange to ſome, it is nevertheleſs true in itſelf: For if the judge be *fallible*, he may indeed ſilence the contending Parties by his authority, but not the Controverſy by a *certain* judgment, ſince he may as well determine *falſly* as *truly*. So that controverſy can never be rightly determined by a fallible judge, therefore he is no true judge of controverſy. Indeed it is abſurd, and a contradiction in itſelf to think otherwiſe; ſince he that is uncertain, can never be certain of his deciſion: And if not a certain one, then none to the purpoſe. Nor ought any perſon, no otherwiſe judged, that is perſuaded of the truth of his cauſe, to let fall his belief upon ſo doubtful a determination; ſince he moves not only without conviction, but againſt conviction: And, which is worſe, he is not aſcertained of the truth of what he is required to ſubmit to. Therefore of all people they are moſt condemnable, who, notwithſtanding they keep ſo great a ſtir about religion, and ſometimes uſe coercive means to compaſs their deſigned uniformity, acknowledge to us, they are not *certain* of *their own* faith.'

Since then the judge muſt be unerring, it will be worth our while to conſider where this infallible judge is to be found. " There is none good but God," ſaid God himſelf, when manifeſted in the Fleſh; that is, originally, or as of himſelf: So, truly, there is none infallible but God, as of himſelf. Yet as the Supreme Good is communicated unto man according to Meaſure; ſo (as well ſays biſhop Latimer) is there Infallibility, Certainty, or Aſſurance of the truth of things given to man, according to Capacity: Otherwiſe men would be obliged to believe and obey, and that upon damnation, thoſe things concerning which there can be no *certainty*, whether they be true or falſe.

Book of Martyrs, vol. 3. p. 475.

Emmanuel, God with men, as he is their *Rule*, ſo their *Judge*: He is the *Law-Giver*, and therefore the beſt interpreter of any point that may concern his own Law: And men are ſo far certain, as they are ſubject to his Voice, Light, or Spirit in them, and no farther; for, *humanum eſt errare*, man is errable. Nor can any thing reſcue him out of error, or preſerve him from the infections of it, but the ſound and certain judgment that God, by the Light of his Spirit, gives unto him.

Obj. *But is not the Scripture the Judge of Controverſy?*

Anſw. How can that be, ſince the queſtion moſt times ariſes about the Meaning of Scripture? Is there any place tells us, without interpretation, whether the Socinian or Trinitarian be in the right, in their differing apprehenſions of the " Three that bear " record, &c." Alſo the Homouſian and Arrian, about Chriſt's Divinity; or the Papiſts or Proteſtants about Tranſubſtantiation? If then things are left undefined and undetermined, I mean Literally and Expreſly, in the Scripture, and that the queſtion ariſes about the *ſenſe of words*, doth the Scripture determine which of thoſe interpreters hit the mark? As this is not reaſonable to think, ſo muſt it be acknowledged, that if Interpretation decide the matter in controverſy, then not the Scripture, but the *interpreter* muſt be the judge.

Now this interpreter muſt either interpret by his own mere wiſdom or ſpirit, called by the apoſtle, 1 Cor. ii. 11. " the ſpirit of a man," who, by weighing the text, conſulting the intent of the writer, comparing places together, gives the judgment which the ſcripture does not give of itſelf; or, from the Spirit of God, " which gives under-

"ſtanding," as Job xxxii. 8. and as the ſame apoſtle ſaith, in the ſame place, "ſearcheth the deep things of God." If the firſt, then a *fallible*; if the laſt, then an *infallible* judge.

I would fain know, whether it was the Scripture, or the Holy Ghoſt, that preſided among the apoſtles when they were come together, Acts xv. when they ſaid, "It ſeemeth good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us, &c." If the Holy Ghoſt, then pray give us a plain ſcripture to prove we are to have *another* judge now: If that cannot be done, then we muſt have the *ſame*, and conſequently an *infallible* judge, viz. the Spirit of Truth, which leads Chriſtians into all truth, and is given of God, by Chriſt, for that very end.

Obj. *It is granted that the Spirit is infallible: But how ſhall I know that any man determines a thing by this Spirit, and does not rather obtrude his own Senſe upon us, under that ſpecious pretence?*

Anſw. By the ſame Spirit; as well ſaid Gualt. Cradock, 'The way to know whether 'the Spirit be in us, is its *own evidence*; and that is the way to know it in others too: 'And the man that hath the Spirit, may know the Spirit in another.' There it is,' ſaith he, 'a kind of ſagacity in the ſaints, to this purpoſe.' Which is alſo true in the judgment of abundance of Proteſtant Writers: For as they held that no man could know the Scriptures, but by the ſame Spirit which indicted them; ſo, conſequently, that the ſame Spirit only could aſſure him of the truth of the ſaid interpretation. And Peter Martyr, as before quoted, tells us, 'The Holy Ghoſt is the Author or Judge.' Alſo Doctor J. Owen ſaith, 'That the Holy Ghoſt is the *only* Authentic Interpreter of the 'Scripture:' And if the only authentic, then the only and infallible Judge; then the Judge of the mind or meaning of ſcripture, is both an only and an infallible Judge. But to wave this: Does not the very ſame objection lie againſt the *ſenſe* of ſcripture, ſince one ſays, *this* is the ſenſe, and another *that*? To know God's mind, men muſt come to Gods Spirit, elſe difficulties of that ſort are inſuperable.

G. Crad. Divine drops, p. 210.

In ſhort, it were greatly to be wiſhed that all men would hold themſelves unconcerned in diſputing about what they have not received an Aſſurance of from the Holy Spirit; ſince they beat but the air, and obtain no ſolid ſatisfaction, neither can they upon any other bottom. God never proſtrates his ſecrets to minds diſobedient to what they do already know. Let all practiſe what they aſſuredly know to be their duty, and be ſparing in their ſearch after nice and unknown matters. Weighty and ſeaſonable was, and is the apoſtle's ſaying, "Nevertheleſs, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk "by the ſame rule:" Where he both limits us to the preſent knowledge communicated to us, and exhorts us to live up to that; and if any thing be farther neceſſary for us, "God in due time will reveal it by his Spirit," that only gives to know, diſcern and judge of the things that are of God.

Phil. iii. 10.

Obj. *But how will this determine the controverſy, and allay the fury of debates that are on foot in the world.*

Anſw. Nothing like it, if a man adhere to it! And if he does not, there is no way left but the wrath that is to be revealed. But moſt perſuaſions are agreed about the abſolute neceſſaries in religion, from that Light and Witneſs God has placed in man's conſcience, viz. 'That God is: That he is a Rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him. 'That the way of God is a way of Purity, Patience, Meekneſs, &c. without which 'no man can ſee the Lord.' Nay, they accord in ſome conſiderable matters ſuperadded, as ſome of them ſpeak, to wit, 'That God was manifeſted extraordinarily in the *fleſh*; 'That he gave his Life for the World: That ſuch as believe and obey his Grace in their 'hearts, receive Remiſſion of Sins, and Life everlaſting.' Now I ſay, ſince theſe things men generally conſent to, let them live up to them, and forbear wanton ſcrutinies after things or notions that gender to ſtrife and contention, and leave not mankind better, but rather worſe than they found them, and the world would be ſoon rid of controverſy. *Holy Living*, and not Diſputing, would be the buſineſs of mankind. What more excellent judgment can be given, than that men quit their contentions about notions and opinions, and betake themſelves to the practice of that good which God hath already ſhewn unto them; as ſpeak both the prophet Micah vi. 8. and the apoſtle Paul, Rom. i. 19. And if any thing be revealed to one more than another, let the reſt judge in the Spirit, or be ſilent till God manifeſt more to them, in order to right judgment.

It is good to "try all things;" but we muſt have ſomething to try them by; and what ought that to be, but the "Spirit that ſearcheth," and "the Anointing that teaches "all things," which is Truth itſelf. Here mankind will live in Love, having at leaſt natural affections (now loſt by the barbarity of ſome of their cruel religions, or heats for their opinions) and a judgment of things will be made, not from the raſh, partial, ſhort-ſighted, and froward mind of man, but that Eternal Light and Spirit that never

1 Cor. ii. 10.
1 John ii. 20. 27.

erred: Which, however diſguſtful to ſome Proteſtants in this age, was no falſe doctrine in the account of John Philpot and biſhop Latimer, two great founders of the Reformation in England.

B. Martyrs, vol. 3. p. 577. The firſt, in his anſwer to the Biſhop of Chicheſter, reproving his confidence about True Faith in Chriſt, ‘Theſe Heretics,’ ſaith he, ‘take upon them to be *ſure* of all things they ſtand in.’---‘Let him doubt,’ ſaith John Philpot ‘of his faith that liſteth; God give me always to believe that I am *ſure* of True Faith and Favour in Chriſt.’

B. Martyrs, vol. 3. page 457. The ſecond, in his anſwer to Sir Ed. Baynton, objecting the uncertainty of man in what he calls Truth, thus recorded by J. Fox, ‘Your friends deny not, but that certain truths are communicated to us according to Capacity: But as to my preſumption and arrogancy, either I am certain, or uncertain, that it is Truth that I preach. If it be Truth, why may not I *ſay* ſo? If I be uncertain, why dare I be ſo bold as to *preach* it? And if your friends be preachers themſelves, after their ſermon, I pray you aſk them, whether they be *certain* and *ſure* they preach the Truth or not; and ſend me word what they ſay, that I may learn to ſpeak after them. If they ſay they be *ſure*, you know what follows: If they ſay they be *unſure*, when ſhall *you* be ſure, that have ſo doubtful and unſure teachers?’

Let not Proteſtants, for ſhame, judge us for owning a doctrine that is confeſſed to, and confirmed by ſome of the worthieſt of their own anceſtors, viz. ‘That an unerring, certain or infallible judgment, in things *neceſſary* to ſalvation, is both poſſible and requiſite, and that God communicates it, by his Spirit, to the ſouls of men.’

THE
CONCLUSION.

Rev. xxi. 3. 7. Iſa. liv. 13. TO conclude: *Emmanuel*, a word ſuited not only to *that* appearance, but the whole diſpenſation of the Goſpel, imports, *God nigh to*, or *with men*: “The tabernacle of God is with men; he will dwell in them, and walk in them: They ſhall be all taught of me, and in righteouſneſs ſhall they be eſtabliſhed:” That is, by the Spirit of his Son. And this admits not of any Book, or Literal rule or judge, to come between that indwelling Spirit of Light, Life and Wiſdom from God, and the Soul, as its Rule of Faith and Practice.

And becauſe it is the unutterable goodneſs of God to people in theſe latter days, as the ſum of ſcripture prophecy, thus to make known himſelf; we are inceſſant in our cries unto them, that they will turn their minds *inward* (now abroad, and taking up their reſt in the externals of religion) that they may hear his heavenly voice and knocks, and let him in, and be taught of him to know and do his will, that they may come to be experienced and expert in the ſchool of Chriſt; for never man ſpake and taught, as he livingly ſpeaks and teaches in the conſciences of thoſe who diligently hear him, and are willing to be taught of him the knowledge of his ways. The Prieſt was outward, but he is now *inward*; the Law outward, but it is now *inward*. And now “he is no more a Jew that is one outward, nor that circumciſion which is outward in the fleſh; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumciſion is that of the heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God.” Rom. ii. 28, 29. Which is ſo far from leſſening the authority of the Scriptures of Truth, that unleſs this be man’s *rule* and *judge* in the reading and believing of them, he can never underſtand them rightly, or keep their ſayings faithfully. And indeed, as before I have expreſſed, I cannot but ſay, that man (whilſt *unregenerated*) ſetting his wit and wiſdom to fathom and comprehend the intention of the Holy Ghoſt in many of thoſe writings, hath occaſioned that Confuſion, Darkneſs and perplexed Controverſy, that now ſo lamentably peſters the world: In which ſtate, for all the external imitations of the ancients in ſome temporary and figurative parts of worſhip, I am to tell ſuch, and from the Spirit of the Lord God of all truth, they will never be *accepted*.

The utmoſt of that Literal Knowledge, Hiſtorical Faith, and Outward Religion, is but as the *old heavens*, that are to be wrapped up as a ſcroll, and the *old wine* and *bottles*, that belong not to the kingdom of God. Such believers may flatter on themſelves, and and at laſt cry, Lord, Lord; but alas! they ſhall never enter into the reſt that God hath reſerved for his regenerated and redeemed children. For under ſuch a Faith and Religion, Envy, Wrath, Malice, Perſecution, Pride, Paſſion, Covetouſneſs, Worldly-mindedneſs, &c. may and do prevail; yea, and are *cloaked*, as with a ſecure cover, from the ſtroke of God’s Spirit; inſomuch, as when any are moved of the Lord to decry ſuch fair and hypocritical ſhews of Religion, they are reputed raſh and cenſorious, and preſently a plea muſt be made on this wiſe; ‘Do not we follow the commands of the Scripture? Did not ſuch and ſuch do ſo and ſo?’ Which at beſt are but the duties of Sacrifice, and not of

Obedience: Never regarding from what ground the performance ſprings, whether it be according to the rule of the *new* or of the *old* creature; but abuſe and vilify us for making ſuch diſtinctions: As if the Prayers, Preaching, Singings, outward Baptizings and Suppings, &c. of men in their own *unſanctified* ſpirits, ſtrength and will, were required and accepted of God for evangelical worſhip. Thick darkneſs, and a dangerous preſumption! Thus are men out of the way concerning both Faith and Practice, while they imagine the firſt to lie in an Aſſent of the Underſtanding to ſuch Propoſitions, and in an Imitation of former Obſervations, that were at beſt but Signs of good things to come, and the duties of Sacrifice (which is far from the *Emmanuel ſtate*); and the latter, viz. the Rule and Judge, to be the *ſcriptures*; which are but an Account of thoſe things that others were ruled to, and directed in, by the Holy Spirit, before they were ever recorded or made ſcripture; and no other rule or judge can ſo regulate: For as the *faith* and *experience*, ſo the *rule* and *judge* of that faith and that experience, muſt be One. God by his Spirit begets faith; God by his Spirit rules faith, and governs the life of his children; "for as many as are children of God, are *led* by the Spirit of God." The Scripture, much of it, is but a Declaration of faith and experience; therefore not *the Rule*, or Judge: For as Faith and Experience were *before* Scripture, (becauſe, as I ſaid before, there muſt be a rule and judge where there is faith) therefore the Scripture is not *that* rule or judge: And before that declaration be anſwered or fulfilled by any, they muſt come to the Faith, Rule and Judge, of which *that* is a declaration. So that Faith is 'yielding 'up to the requirings of God's Spirit in us, in full aſſurance of the remiſſion of ſins that 'are paſt, through the Son of his Love, and life everlaſting;' from whence daily flow works of holineſs, well-pleaſing to God: Which is more than a mere Aſſent of the Underſtanding to a verbal, though a true Propoſition: Again, The life of a true Chriſtian ſtands not in *bodily exerciſe*, which, ſays the apoſtle, profits little: Nor in an imitation of the ancients in temporary and ſhadowy things, which the hypocrite, as well as the ſaint, can do; but in *ſelf-denial*, and walking in the *Spirit*, to bring forth the fruits thereof unto all godlineſs, which is the pure and ſpiritual obedience, reſulting from the living ſpiritual faith of God's elect; and the Rule and Judge thereof is their Author and Begetter, even the *Spirit of truth*, which alone gives ſaving underſtanding, faith and obedience, and ſearcheth the deep things of God.

Rom. viii. 14, 15.

1 Tim. iv. 8.
Col. ii. 20, 21, 22, 23.
Gal. v. 16, 22, 23.

O ye profeſſors of religion, that you would but ſeriouſly weigh theſe things, and examine yourſelves in God's ſight (for he reſpects none for their fair outſide), if this ſaving faith be your faith, and this heavenly life be your life, and if the Holy Spirit be your Ruler and Leader? If not, you are but legal, formal, and in the oldneſs of the letter, and will-worſhippers, which obtains not with God: In which ſtate, not the wiſdom from above, but that which is from below, of the old creature, is your rule: In it you read ſcripture, expound it, pray, preach, ſing and perform all your duties; and this is not to walk "according to the rule of the New Creature," but in a Legal ſpirit to make a Goſpel profeſſion; the end of which, from the Lord, I am to tell you, "will be a bed "of ſorrow." Therefore reſiſt not the Light and Spirit within, but turn at the reproof thereof, that you may come to walk in the way of life, daily life to your ſouls; that ſo you may be quickned and made alive to God in all your duties, and live to him, while you live in that Life which is hid with Chriſt in God; that being thus born again, and become renewed in your inward man, you may perform that Pure and Spiritual Worſhip, which is of a ſweet ſavour with the Lord; ſo ſhall he bleſs you with his heavenly bleſſings, and daily repleniſh your ſouls with the unſpeakable joys of his love and ſalvation. This I heartily deſire, and through all difficulties inceſſantly travel for, in body, ſoul and ſpirit, that the All-wiſe, Good, Omnipotent God may be known, ſerved and obeyed by you, to your comfort, and his eternal honour, who alone is worthy to receive it, now and for ever. Amen.

Gal. vi. 16.
Prov. vi. 23.

WILLIAM PENN.

A
LETTER
TO THE
COUNCIL and SENATE
OF THE CITY OF
EMDEN.

The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who is God of all the Families of the Earth, incline your hearts to Juſtice, Mercy, and Truth.

1674. THE noiſe of your ſevere treatment of ſeveral perſons that are inhabitants of your ſtate, reproachfully termed QUAKERS, hath reached theſe parts, and filled ſeveral with compaſſion and ſurprize: Compaſſion, to hear of the * miſeries of men innocent and upright, againſt whom you have nothing to object, but the pure Exerciſe of their Conſcience to God: Surprize, that you, a Proteſtant State, ſhould employ your civil power to deter, puniſh and grievouſly afflict men for anſwering the convictions of their conſciences, and acting according to the beſt of their underſtandings. Methinks you ſhould not be oblivious of your own condition in the loins of your anceſtors, who, you think, with great reaſon and juſtice ſtrenuouſly advocated the cauſe of Liberty of Conſcience againſt the Pope's Bulls and the Spaniſh Inquiſition: How did they antichriſtian all force on conſcience or puniſhment for Non-conformity? Their own many and large apologies, and particularly their demands at the diets of Norimberg and Spire, are pregnant proofs in the caſe; and your practice doth not leſſen the weight of their reaſons; on the contrary, it aggravates your unkindneſs, let me ſay, injuſtice.

PROTESTANTS (and ſuch you glory to be thought) got their name by proteſting againſt Impoſitions; and will you turn Impoſers? They condemned it; and will you practiſe it? They thought it a mark peculiar to the BEAST; and can you repute it the care of a CHRISTIAN magiſtracy? I mean, that perſons muſt not live under your government, unleſs they receive your mark in their forehead or right hand? Which in plainer terms is, to ſubmit their conſciences to your edicts, and to aſk your leave, what religion they ſhould be of. Remember, that "Faith is the gift of God;" and, that "what is not of faith is ſin." Nothing can be more unreaſonable, than to compel men to believe againſt their belief, or to trouble them for practiſing what they believe, when it thwarts not the moral law of God.

You doubtleſs take yourſelves to be Chriſtians, and would eſteem it no little injury to be otherwiſe repreſented; yet what more unchriſtian, than to uſe external force to ſway the conſciences of men about the exerciſe of religious worſhip.

Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord and Author of the Chriſtian Religion, cenſured his own diſciples, that would have had fire from heaven to deſtroy thoſe that conformed not to what their bleſſed maſter taught: Are you ſure of your religion? Are you better Chriſtians? Or, have you more Chriſtian authority than they, that were the choſen witneſſes of Jeſus? However, remember they called but for fire from Heaven; and can you kindle fire on Earth to devour them? *Them*, I ſay, that are of your own people, merely for their religious diſſent from you? Doubtleſs, if that was then thought no fit argument to induce men to conformity by him that was wiſer than Solomon, it reflects greatly upon your modeſty and prudence, that you ſhould find out new ways, or rather old exploded ones, to effect ſo ill a deſign. Beſides, you do not ſay you know all you ought to know, or that there is nothing farther to be revealed: Have a care, therefore, that you perſecute not angels, by being harſh to that which you call ſtrange: Think not ill, much leſs ſpeak, and leaſt of all act that which is ſo, againſt what you do not perfectly underſtand. I am well perſuaded, that thoſe you inflict ſuch ſevere penalties upon, mean well in what they believe (to be ſure much better than you think they do, or elſe you are extremely to blame); and that the reaſon of their preſent diſtance from you, is not to introduce or inſinuate dangerous or exotick opinions; but to live a life of more holineſs, purity, and ſelf-denial, than before: They do not think that you walk up to your own principles; and have reaſon to believe that the power of godlineſs is much loſt among you; and having long lain under a decay and languiſhing of ſoul for want of true ſpiritual nouriſhment, they have now betaken themſelves to that Heavenly Gift and Grace of God in themſelves for divine ſatisfaction, even that Holy Anointing that is able to teach them all things neceſſary for them to know, as the bleſſed apoſtle ſpeaks; and they find the joys of the Holy Ghoſt in ſo doing. And I am perſuaded they are not leſs peaceable, ſober, juſt, and neighbourly than formerly, and altogether as conſiſtent with the proſperity of civil ſociety; and I am ſure, it is both found and confeſſed among us here, by ſome men of Quality, Learning and Virtue. Farther, be pleaſed to conſider with yourſelves, that you juſtify the ancient perſecutions of the Chriſtians and firſt Reformers, whoſe ſuperiors thought as ill of them, as you do of theſe men; nay, you ſhow the Papiſts what to do in their dominions to your own brethren. Do as you would be done by. If you would have liberty, give it; you know that God's Witneſs in your hearts dictates this to you, as an immutable law.

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* Our account ſays, ſome were cruelly beaten by order; others baniſhed; ſome put in a dungeon, and fed with bread and water only; ſeveral fined greater ſums of money, it is thought, than they had to pay.

Could you give Faith, it were more excuſable for you to puniſh ſuch as ſhould reſiſt. But ſince that is impoſſible, the other is unreaſonable; for it is to afflict men for not being what they cannot be, unleſs they turn hypocrites: That is the higheſt pitch your coercive power can arrive at; for never did it convert or preſerve one ſoul to God: Inſtead thereof, it offers violence unto conſcience, and puts a man either upon the denial of his faith and reaſon, or being deſtroyed for acting according to them: But what greater diſproportion can there be, than what lieth between the intellect of man, and priſons, fines, and baniſhments? They inform no man's judgment, reſolve no doubts, convince no underſtandings: The power of perſuaſion is not to be found in any ſuch barbarous actions, no more than the doctrine of Chriſtianity. This courſe deſtroys the bodies and * eſtates of men, inſtead of ſaving their ſouls: Were they in the wrong, it would become you to uſe God's weapons, his ſword of the Spirit, that ſaveth the Creature, and ſlayeth the Evil in him. This courſe tends to heart-burnings and deſtruction; I am ſure it is no Goſpel argument.

I beſeech you, for the ſake of that Lord Jeſus Chriſt that ſuffered ſo patiently for his own religion, and ſo ſharply prohibited making other men to ſuffer for theirs, that you would have a care how you exerciſe power over mens conſciences. My friends, conſcience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative: It is to uſurp his authority, and boldly aſcend his throne, to ſet lords over it. Were their converſation ſcandalous, and deſtructive to the good of your ſtate, you were to be held excuſable: But verily, no man of mercy and conſcience can defend your practice upon poor men ſo peaceable and inoffenſive. Gamaliel will riſe up in judgment againſt you, if you perſevere in this courſe. Do not you help to fill the catalogue of perſecutors, in much love I intreat you; but, as becomes Chriſtian men and true Proteſtants, leave men to their particular perſuaſions of affairs relative of the other world, which have no ill aſpect on the affairs of this; but Vice hath an evil conſequence as to both: Therefore puniſh Vice, and affect Truth and Righteouſneſs, and bend not your civil power to torment religious diſſenters; but to retrieve good life, lamentably loſt amidſt the great pretences that are made to religion. Doubleſs magiſtracy was both ordained of God, and elected by men, to be "a "terror to evil-doers," and not to them that do well, though of different judgments. You oppugn the Roman Church for aſſuming Infallibility to herſelf, and yet your own practice maketh you guilty of the ſame preſumption, or worſe: For either you do exerciſe that ſeverity upon an infallible knowledge, or you do not; if you do, you take that to yourſelves your principles deny to any church whatever, which is a contradiction; if you do not, you puniſh people for not conforming to what you yourſelves deny any certainty about: And how do you know but you compel them to that which is falſe, as well as that which is true? Verily, this dilemma is not eaſily avoided, as well as that this inhuman practice will ſtain your profeſſion, infame your government, and bring a blot upon your poſterity.

Remember that they are Men, as well as yourſelves, born free, and have equal plea to natural and civil common privileges with yourſelves: The different perſuaſion of their conſciences about things relating to another life, can no ways render them unfit for this; it neither unmans nor uncivilizes them. They have the ſame right to their liberty and property

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* And Property, which they repute themſelves guardians of, is hereby loſt.

1674. property as ever, having by no practice of theirs in the leaſt forfeited any of thoſe human advantages, the great Charters of Nature and Scripture have conferred upon them: And the opulency of your neighbours, and proſperity of their affairs, prove to you that Indulgence is not inconſiſtent with policy; howbeit, you have now tried the ſincerity of their procedure, by what you have already inflicted, and they ſuſtained: Let the time paſt ſuffice, and make them not ſacrifices for their conſcientious conſtancy. If they are in the wrong, it is more than they know: Will you perſecute men for being what they muſt be, if they will be true to themſelves? This were great violence; rather commiſerate, than thus violently compel them. I beſeech you, ſeek ſome cheaper way to accommodate yourſelves, than by their deſtruction, who are ſo very remote from ſeeking yours. ‘O! the day will come, wherein one act of tenderneſs about matters of conſcience, ſhall find a better reward, than all the ſeverity by which men uſe to propagate their perſuaſions in the world:’ And there is great reaſon for it, ſince the one flows from the Saviour, the other from the Deſtroyer, of men. In fine, “let your moderation be known unto all men; for the Lord is at hand, whoſe reward is with him; and he will recompenſe every Man, Family, State, Kingdom, and Empire, according to the nature of their works committed in this mortal body!” At whoſe bar it ſhall never be laid to your charge, that out of fear of taking God's office out of his hands, and of being unmerciful to tender conſciences, you admitted men of differing judgments to dwell quietly among you. Truly, you cannot be too tender in this point.

Imitate the God of Nature and Grace, by being propitious to all; “his ſun ſhineth on all, his rain falls on all, he gives life and being to all; his Grace viſits all, and in times of ignorance he winketh:” And tho' ſuch you may repute ours, I hope you cannot think you wink at it, who make ſuch broad tokens of your diſpleaſure. O! how forbearing and merciful is he towards you? Have you ſo lately eſcaped the wrath of enemies, and can you already thus ſharply treat your friends? Had he entered into judgment with you, what had become of you? Let his goodneſs to you prevail with you to expreſs clemency to others, that ſo the great God of the whole earth, even the ‘God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, who reſpects not the perſons of the rich, poor, or powerful in judgment,’ may ſhow you mercy in the day of his righteous judgments. Amen.

Your Friend, with the greateſt integrity, in the Univerſal Principle of Love and Truth.

W. PENN.

London, December the
14th 1674.

A
TREATISE
OF
OATHS:

CONTAINING

SEVERAL WEIGHTY REASONS

Why the People called QUAKERS
REFUSE to SWEAR.

And thoſe confirmed by Numerous Teſtimonies
OF
GENTILES, JEWS, and CHRISTIANS,
BOTH
Fathers, Doctors, *and* Martyrs.

Preſented to the KING and Great Council of England in Parliament.

But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all. MAT. v. 34.
Above all things, my Brethren, Swear not. JAM. v. 22.
Becauſe of Oaths, the Land mourneth. JER. xxxii. 10.

He ought to Swear neither this Thing nor any Thing. Theognis.
It is a great Good for a Man not to Swear at all. Maimonides.
It is not lawful to Swear, neither in a juſt nor unjuſt Cauſe. Chryſoſtom.

TO THE

KING,

AND

GREAT COUNCIL of ENGLAND,

Aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

The CASE of the People called QUAKERS, relating to OATHS, farther repreſented, and recommended to their Conſideration, in order to a ſpeedy and effectual Redreſs.

1675. THE common benefit of the Free People of England being undoubtedly both the firſt and greateſt reaſon for the ancient, juſt, and neceſſary conſtitution of Parliaments; and being alſo informed that it is your reſolution to employ this ſeſſion to the redreſs of public grievances; and ſince we cannot but repute ourſelves a Member of this Great Body you repreſent, by Birth and Engliſh Deſcent, and are not only involved in the common calamities of the kingdom, but in particular very cruelly treated in our perſons and eſtates, becauſe we cannot, for Pure Conſcience, take any Oath at all (though we have again and again tendered our Solemn Yea or Nay, and are moſt willing to ſuſtain the ſame penalty in caſe of Lying, that is uſually inflicted for Perjury); to the end we may not be interpreted to decline the cuſtom out of mere humour or evaſion (though our frequent and heavy ſufferings, by fines and tedious impriſonments, ſometimes to death itſelf, ſhould ſufficiently vindicate us againſt ſuch uncharitable cenſure) we do, with all due reſpect, preſent you with our reaſons for that tenderneſs, and many teſtimonies and precedents in their defence; and we intreat you to expreſs that care of a Member of your own Civil Body, which Nature and Chriſtianity excite to: We mean, that it would pleaſe you to conſider how deeply we have already ſuffered, in perſon and eſtate, the inconveniencies we have daily to encounter, and thoſe injurious not only to ourſelves, but others we commerce with, in that both they and we, becauſe of our tenderneſs in this matter, are conſtantly at the mercy of ſuch as will ſwear any thing to advantage themſelves, where they are ſure that a contrary evidence ſhall be by law eſteemed (however true) invalid; under which difficulty ſeveral of us at this hour fruitleſly labour: That being ſenſible of our calamity, you may pleaſe to endeavour, as for others, ſo for this grievance, both a ſpeedy and effectual redreſs; otherwiſe, beſides ordinary caſes, wherein many of us extraordinarily ſuffer, we may perhaps prove, in this of Oaths, the greateſt, if not the only ſufferers of the kingdom; a cruelty, we hope, you do not deſign againſt us.

God Almighty, we beſeech him with all ſincerity of heart, incline you to juſtice, mercy and truth. Amen.

London, the 25th of the
Third Month, 1675.

Subſcribed on the behalf of the reſt of our Friends, by

Alexander Parker,	Samuel Newton,
George Whitehead,	Thomas Heart,
Stephen Criſp,	John Oſgood,
William Mead,	James Claypool,
Gerrard Roberts,	Thomas Rudyard,
William Welſh,	Richard Richardſon,

And William Penn.

Some Inducements offered to anſwer this Requeſt, from a conſideration of the Cauſe and End of an Oath, and thoſe Reaſons and Teſtimonies given by us againſt the Uſe and Impoſition of it.

The Ground or Reaſon of Swearing.

THIS, we think, all will agree to have been the degeneration of man from Primitive Integrity, at what time Yea and Nay were enough; for when men grew corrupt, they diſtruſted each other, and had recourſe to extraordinary ways to awe one another into truth-ſpeaking, as a remedy againſt falſhood; elſe, what need had there been of an Oath, or any extraordinary way of evidence, when every ſyllable was freighted with truth and integrity? It had been a mere taking of God's holy name in vain: Truth then flowed naturally, and wanted no ſuch expedient to extort its evidence.

Thus Polybius, though an Heathen, in his ſtory of the Romans, ſaith, 'Among the 'ancients, Oaths were ſeldom uſed in judicatures themſelves; but when Perfidiouſneſs 'increaſed, Oaths increaſed,' or then the uſe of them firſt came in. (*a*)

Baſilius Magnus ſaith, 'Oaths are an effect of Sin.' (*b*)

Gregorius Nazianzenus, in his Dialogue againſt Swearing, ſaith, 'An oath is nothing 'elſe but a certain conſummation of miſchiefs.' (*c*)

Ambroſius ſaith, 'Swearing is only in condeſcenſion to a defect.'

Chryſoſtom ſaith, 'An oath came in when evils increaſed, when men appeared unfaithful, when all things became topſy-turvy.' Again, Commen. on Hebr. c. 6.

'To ſwear is of the devil; ſeeing Chriſt ſaith, "What is more (than yea, &c.) is "of evil." Again, Hom. 9. on Acts iii.

'Swearing took its beginning for want of truth or punctuality.' Hom. Pſal. v. Ad Pop. Antioc.

Auguſtin ſaith, 'An oath is not among good but evil things, and uſed for the infirmity of others, which is evil, from which we pray that we may be daily delivered.' On Mat. v.

Chromatius ſaith, 'What need we ſwear, ſeeing it is unlawful to lye.' Which ſhows that lying was the occaſion of oaths, and by leaving off lying, oaths vaniſh as unprofitable. Ibid.

Titelmannus ſaith, that 'An oath belongs not to virtue.' On Pſal. xiv.

Albertus Magnus ſaith, 'Swearing is by indulgence.' On Mat. v.

Ludulphus ſaith, 'An oath was permitted of infirmity.' Vit. Chr. p. 2. c. 12.

Burgenſis cites Jerom, ſaying, 'Our Saviour teacheth, that an oath ſprung from the 'vices of men.' On Mat. v.

Biſhop Gauden alſo tells us, 'That the evils of mens hearts and manners, the jealouſies and diſtruſts, the diſſimulations and frauds of many Chriſtians, their uncharitableneſs and inſecurities are ſuch, as by their diſeaſes do make ſolemn oaths and judicial 'ſwearing neceſſary; not abſolutely, morally, or preceptively, but as a remedy or expedient.' Of Oaths, p. 17, 23. On Mat. v. 36, 37.

Jerom, with many of the fathers, Chryſoſtom, Theodoret, and others here omitted, becauſe largely cited hereafter, make this the reaſon why God indulged the Jews in the uſe of ſwearing, 'That they were but in the ſtate of infancy, and that they might be 'kept from ſwearing by falſe Gods;' which the ſcripture is plain in: "For thou ſhalt "fear the Lord thy God, and ſwear by his name: Ye ſhall not go after other gods, for "God is a jealous God, &c." Which ſhews, that he diſpenſed with ſwearing by his name, that he might take them off from ſwearing by falſe gods, becauſe they would thereby acknowledge them, and not the true God; ſo that ſwearing is only better than idolatry. Deut. vi. 13, 14, 15.

IT will remain, that we give our REASONS why we cannot take this liberty, and ſwear, as well as other men have done, and yet do.

I. The firſt is drawn from the Cauſe and Ground of Oaths, viz. Perfidiouſneſs, Diſtruſt and Falſhood: God's inſtructions to avoid thoſe hateful crimes: The ability he hath given man to anſwer his commands; and man's duty to make that uſe of God's gift. For if ſwearing came in by perfidiouſneſs, diſtruſt, diſſimulation and falſhood, it is a moſt juſt conſequence that it ought to go out with them; or that as the riſe and increaſing of thoſe evils were the riſe and increaſing of oaths, ſo the decreaſing and extirpation of thoſe evils, ſhould be the decreaſing and aboliſhing of oaths; otherwiſe there would be no truth in the rule of contraries, nor reaſon in that maxim, *ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat lex*; 'that the ceaſing of the Reaſon of the law, is the ceſſation of the Law.' Expedients are no longer uſeful than to obtain what they are deſigned to: Means are ſwallowed up of their ends; Diſeaſed men only want remedies, and lame men crutches: Honeſty needs neither whip

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(*a*) He lived before Chriſt 200 years, H. Grotius on Mat. v. Biſhop Gauden of Oaths. p. 36. (*b*) in Pſalm xiv. (*c*) Jamb. 20.

1675.

whip nor ſpur; ſhe is ſecurity for herſelf; and men of virtue will ſpeak truth without extortings; for oaths are a ſort of racks to the mind, altogether uſeleſs where integrity ſways.

Mic. vi. 8.

This, we preſume, no man of reaſon will deny, viz. ‘That Swearing came in, and ‘ought to go out, with perfidiouſneſs;’ and hope it will be as eaſy to grant, at leaſt it will be very eaſy to prove, that God hath frequently, both by prophets and apoſtles, reproved men for ſuch impieties, and ſtrictly required truth and righteouſneſs; as, Iſa. lix. 3, 4. Jer. ix. 3, 5. Rom. xii. 19. Gal. v. 19, 20, 21. Col. iii. 8, 9, 10. Joſh. xxiv. 14. 1 Sam. xii. 24. 1 Kings ii. 4. Eph. iv. 25. and by abundance of other places in holy ſcripture. And that God ſhould enjoin man any thing that he hath not impowered him to perform, is unworthy of any man acknowledging a God ſo much as to conceive. It is true, that the unprofitable ſervant in the parable, is repreſented to entertain ſo blaſphemous a thought of his Maker, that he was ſo “hard a maſter, as to “reap where he did not ſow;” but the ſame parable alſo acquaints us of the dreadful conſequence of that preſumption. The prophet Micah preached another doctrine, “The Lord hath ſhewed thee, O man, what is good: And what doth the Lord require “of thee, but to do juſtly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?” For this end hath “the Grace of God appeared unto all men,” as ſpeaks the apoſtle Paul to Titus, that they ſhould be taught “to deny ungodlineſs and worldly luſts;” which entering, and over-running the world, made way, among other expedients, for that of oaths; ſo that to live that life which needs no oath, man is both required and impowered: And as it is only his fault and condemnation, if he doth not; ſo certainly there can be no obligation upon him, who liveth that life of truth and integrity, to perpetuate that which roſe, and therefore ought to fall, with falſhood and perfidiouſneſs: the reaſon of the thing itſelf excuſes him; for he that fears untruth, needs not ſwear, becauſe he will not lye; to prevent which, men exact ſwearing: And he that doth not fear telling untruth, what is his oath worth? He that makes no conſcience of that law that forbids lying, will he make any conſcience of forſwearing? Veracity is the beſt ſecurity; and Truth-ſpeaking the nobleſt tye and firmeſt teſtimony that can be given. This we declare to you to be both our judgment and attainment: We ſpeak not boaſtingly, but with humility, before the great Lord of heaven and earth, to whoſe alone Power we do unanimouſly aſcribe the honour: He hath taught us to ſpeak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as plainly and readily without an oath as with an oath, and to abhor lying as much as perjury; ſo that for us to ſwear, were to take his holy name in vain. Nor are we therein ſingular; for that not only Chriſtian Fathers, Martyrs and Doctors, but alſo Jews and Heathens, have had this ſenſe of the riſe of oaths, as will hereafter fully appear.

II. Our ſecond reaſon, why we refuſe to comply with this cuſtom, and our ſuperiors ought not to impoſe it, is this; It would gratify diſtruſts, humour jealouſies, and ſubject truth, and thoſe that love it, to the ſame checks, curbs, and preventions that have been invented againſt fraud; whereby the honour of a noble profeſſion, the power of a veracious example, and the juſt difference that ought to be made betwixt truſtineſs and diffidence, integrity and perfidiouſneſs, are utterly loſt.

How is it poſſible for men to recover that ancient confidence, that good men repoſed in one another, if ſome do not lead the way, and hold forth to the world a principle and converſation beyond the neceſſity of ſuch extraordinary expedients? At preſent, people lie all on a heap; and the greateſt truth finds no more favour than the greateſt fraud: Fidelity muſt wear the ſhackles worldly prudence hath made againſt the evil conſequences of cozenage, and ſubject herſelf to the cuſtoms brought up through fraud, or go to gaol. Be pleaſed to conſider, that truſtineſs did not all at once quit the world, nor will it return univerſally in the twinkling of an eye; things muſt be allowed their time for riſe, progreſs and perfection: And if ever you would ſee the world planted with primitive ſimplicity and faithfulneſs, rather cheriſh than make men ſufferers for refuſing to ſwear, eſpecially if they offer the ſame caution to the law with him that will ſwear. We dare not ſwear becauſe we dare not lye, and that it may appear to the world that we can ſpeak the truth upon eaſier terms than an oath: For us then to be forced to ſwear, is to make us do a needleſs thing, or to ſuſpect our own honeſty. The firſt we dare not, becauſe, as we have ſaid, it is to take God's name in vain; and we have no reaſon to diſtruſt ourſelves, being no ways conſcious of fraudulent purpoſes. Why then ſhould we ſwear? But much rather, why ſhould we be impoſed upon? It is a ſaying aſcribed to Solon, ‘That a good man ſhould have that repute, as not to need an oath; that it is a diminution ‘to his credit to be put to ſwear.’ It becomes not an evangelical man to ſwear, was a primitive axiom; but more of that anon. In the mean while pleaſe to remember, you have a practice among you to exempt your lords in ſeveral caſes, placing the value of an oath in their bare avouchment upon their Honour, ſuppoſing that men of thoſe titles ſhould have ſo much worth, as that their Word might be of equal force with a common man's Oath: And if you will pleaſe to underſtand *Honour* in the ſenſe of the moſt ancient and beſt philoſophers, to wit, *Virtue*, your own cuſtom gives authority to our

Biſh. Gauden of oaths p. 41.

reaſon, and makes you to ſay with us, 'That virtue need not ſwear, much leſs have 'oaths impoſed upon her, to tell the truth,' the only uſe of oaths. It was evangelically ſpoken of Clemens Alexandrinus, that 'a good life was a firm oath;' which was memorably verified by the judges of Athens, who, though Heathens, forbad the tendering of Xenocrates an oath, becauſe of their great opinion of his integrity; which was three hundred years before Chriſt came in the fleſh,

III. Our third reaſon for non-conformity to your cuſtom is, the fear we have, leſt by complying we ſhould be guilty of rebellion againſt the diſcoveries God hath made to our ſouls, of his ancient holy way of truth; and conſequently of concealing his goodneſs to us, and depriving him of that glory, and the world of that advantage, this honeſt teſtimony may bring to him and them. He has redeemed us from fraud; it is he only that hath begotten this conſcientiouſneſs in us, and we dare not put this light under a buſhel; neither can we deny his work, or him to have the honour of it. We intreat you, take this tenderneſs of ours into Chriſtian conſideration.

IV. Oaths have in great meaſure loſt of the reaſon of their primitive inſtitution, ſince they have not that awful influence, which was, and only can be, a pretence for uſing them; on the contrary, they are become the familiar parts of diſcourſe, and help to make up a great ſhare of the a-la-mode converſation; and thoſe who decline their company, or reprove their practice, are to go for a ſort of nice and ſqueamiſh-conſcienced men. Theſe ſwear without fear or wit, yet would be thought witty in ſwearing; fearleſs, they cannot. Some are curious in their impiety; *old* oaths are too dull for men of their invention, who almoſt ſhift oaths with their faſhions: Nay, the moſt judicial oaths are commonly adminiſtred and taken with ſo little reverence and devotion, (to ſay nothing of the perjuries, that through ignorance or deſign are ſo frequently committed) that we cannot but cry out, O the great depravity that is in the world! How low is man fallen from the primitive rule of life? Well may the prophet's complaint be ours; for if ever land mourned becauſe of oaths, with great ſadneſs we ſay it, this doth. And what more effectual remedy can any people propoſe againſt the notorious abuſe and evil conſequence of Swearing, than Truth-ſpeaking? For thoſe that dare not Lye, need not Swear; and they that make no conſcience of lying, do not much fear an oath, at leaſt their conſciences are very crazy in taking it. This only reaſon, were we deſtitute of all other allegations, would be a ſtrong diſſuaſive from ſwearing; for we hold God's honour, and our profeſſion, greatly concerned to prove to ſo falſe an age, that there is a people who are ſo far from *vain* and *falſe* ſwearing, that they dare not ſwear the *truth*, but whoſe Yea and Nay ſhall weigh againſt other mens Oaths, and that with a free offer of ſuſtaining double puniſhment in caſe of a miſcarriage. Expedients may laſt a while, but Truth only ſhall have the honour of conquering Falſhood, and Virtue will, and muſt, be greater than an Oath.

V. The Omnipreſence of God, rightly underſtood, ſhows the uſeleſneſs of an oath, and is with us a good argument againſt Swearing: For what need is there of that man's being awed into a true evidence by ſuch ſort of atteſtations and imprecations as make up the common form of oaths, who knows God to be always *preſent* to reſide and preſide in his *ſoul*, according to that new and everlaſting covenant which he hath made, "that his people "ſhould be his Temple, that he would dwell in them, and walk in them." Did the Acts xvii. 28.
children of men know the power, glory and majeſty of God, whom the apoſtle preached nigh to the Athenians, and declared to the Epheſians to be "Father of all, and above all, Eph. iv. 6.
"through all, and in them all," there would be *no Oaths*, and but *few Words*, and thoſe uttered with reverence and truth.

VI. We do not find that oaths anſwer this part of the end, for which they are impoſed, viz. To convince thoſe for whoſe ſake they are taken, of the weight and truth of a man's teſtimony, by force of God's witneſs joined therewith: For they do not behold God's concurring witneſs by ſuch an aſſiſtance or avenge of the party, as the truth or falſehood of his teſtimony deſerveth; for the judgments of God are ſecret, and rarely ſo publicly ſeen to men, perhaps once in an age, that he ſhould give any memorable diſcovery of his good will or diſpleaſure in ſuch a caſe; but whenever he doth it, it is not at man's appointment: And it is an evident ſign that God approveth not of that ſort of invocation, becauſe he doth not anſwer them that invoke him, according to their wiſh; as neither did he, in the old law and cuſtom of Combating, appear on his ſide that had the better title or cauſe, as he promiſed in the law of Jealouſies, that their thigh ſhould rot, and their belly ſwell, &c. Numb. v. 21, 22.

VII. We look upon it to be no leſs than a preſumptuous tempting of God, to ſummon him as a witneſs, not only to our terrene, but trivial buſineſſes; ſuch as we ſhould doubtleſs account it an high indignity, always to ſolicit an earthly prince to give his attendance about. What! make God, the great God of heaven and earth, our Caution in worldly controverſies, as if we would bind him to obtain our own ends? It is to make too bold with him, and to carry an undue diſtance in our minds towards him that made us: An irreverence we can by no means away with, and upon which Chryſoſtom is moſt ſharp, as will be ſeen anon. Beſides it is vain and inſolent, to think that a man, when he pleaſeth,

ſeth, can make the great God of heaven a witneſs or judge in any matter, to appear by ſome ſignal approbation or judgment, to help or forſake him, as the truth or falſeneſs of his oath requires, when he ſaith, *So help me God.*

VIII. Beſides what we have hitherto urged in defence of ourſelves againſt the Subſtance of the oath, we juſtly except againſt the Form of it (which farther adds to its unlawfulneſs, and conſequently to our vindication) as by the Contents and Kiſſing of the Book; ſwearing by a Sign, being Heatheniſh or Jewiſh. For the Romans held a ſtone, and ſaid, 'If I deceive wittingly, then let Dieſpiter caſt me out of my goods, as I this 'ſtone:' The Heroes ſwore by lifting up of the Sceptre: Cæſar ſwore by his Head, his Houſe, that is, devoted them to the wrath of God, if he wittingly deceived, &c. The manner of the Jews is from Gen. xiv. 22. "that Abraham lift up his hand to God, אם "If, &c. putting the hand under the thigh; on the head; paſſing betwixt beaſts divided," as God did to Abraham, &c. See more in *Lapid. Sophoc. in antiq. v.* 270. *Scoliaſt. Baptiſt. Hanſen,* of paſſing through fire, ſwearing by the right hand, &c.

Feſt. ad. Lap. Polyb. l. 3. c. 25. Alex. ab. Alex. l. 5. gen. dier. 10. Cic. l. 5. Ep. 1. Ariſt. 3. Pol. 10. Plin. in pan. ad. Trajan. c. 64.

The uſe of *So help me God,* we find from the law of the Almains, of king Clotharius: The laying on of the three fingers above the book, is to ſignify the *Trinity;* the thumb and the little finger under the book, are to ſignify the *Damnation to Body and Soul,* if they forſwear, *So help me God.*

Lindenbro. cap. 3. §. 7.

Farther, be pleaſed to conſider that the Engliſh Cuſtom has very much overgone Engliſh Law in this buſineſs of Oaths; they were anciently but ſolemn Atteſtations, "As the Lord liveth, &c." which are now improved to Imprecations, *So help me God, and the Contents of this Book;* though it was ſo of old at Combat; but that concerns not our caſe. For the kiſſing of the book, that is alſo novel; indeed after they roſe from ſolemn Atteſtations to Imprecations, the law required a Sight and Touch of the book; the Saxon jurors were *Sacra tenentes;* in the firſt Norman times it was *Sacris tactis;* and in later writs, *Evangeliis tactis;* nay, the prieſt's hand was on his Breaſt (in Matthew Paris) not upon the Book. However Jew and Gentile, Superſtition and Ceremony, have made up the preſent Form of Oaths, which the True Chriſtian Man neither wants, nor, we conceive, ought to perform; much leſs impoſe, where tenderneſs by ſober conſciences is pleaded, and equal caution offered to the law, for the integrity of Yea and Nay.

IX. But were we alſo deſtitute of this plea, and the uſual oaths of our country the moſt inoffenſively formed, and beſt penned that ever any were, we have both the Example and Precept of our Lord and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, to oppoſe to any ſuch practice; for in all that hiſtory delivered to us by the Four Evangeliſts, we never read him to have uſed any farther aſſeveration, than what in Engliſh amounts to "Verily, Verily, or "Truly, I ſay unto you." Thus by his example, exciting us the more readily to obey his expreſs prohibition of ſwearing, Mat. v. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, which runs thus, "Again, ye have heard that it has been ſaid by them of old time, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf, but ſhalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I ſay unto you, *ſwear not at all;* neither by Heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the Earth, for it is his footſtool; neither by Jeruſalem, for it is the city of the Great King; neither ſhalt thou ſwear by thy Head, becauſe thou canſt not make one hair white or black; but let your "* Word be Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay; for whatſoever is *more* than theſe cometh of "Evil."

He here prohibits even the *Leſſer Oaths,* as they thought them that reverenced ſwearing by the Name of the Lord, which in old time he ſuffered, by reaſon of the falſeneſs of their hearts, and great proneneſs to idols; even as Moſes permitted them to put away their Wives, which in the precedent verſe alſo is diſallowed by Chriſt, though with the exception of Fornication; but Swearing without any Exception: He doth not ſay, "Swear not, *except* before a magiſtrate (though he ſays, Put not away thy Wife, except for the cauſe of Fornication) but, "Swear not at all:" Why, "becauſe it is of "Evil;" which reaſon reaches the oaths taken before magiſtrates, as well as other oaths; for diſtruſt and unfaithfulneſs are the cauſe of one as well as the other: And there is equal reaſon in that reſpect, that a maſter ſhould ſwear in private to his ſervant at his entrance, that he will pay him his wages, as that the ſervant ſhould ſwear in public to a magiſtrate, that at his departure his maſter would not pay him his wages; both which oaths the certainty of their words, their *Yea* being *Yea,* and their *Nay* being *Nay,* makes vain and ſuperfluous.

Obj. We are not inſenſible of the common objection that is made againſt this allegation of our Maſter's command, 'That he only prohibited Vain oaths in communication:' But if the words of the text and context be conſidered, every oath will be proved vain and unlawful; for Chriſt's prohibition was not a mere repetition of what was forbidden under the Law, but what the Law allowed, as * Biſhop Sanderſon well obſerveth; 'It 'was not needful that Chriſt ſhould forbid what was forbidden in itſelf, or was always 'unlawful; which Vain ſwearing was, and is, by the Third Commandment, "Thou "ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;" therefore Chriſt exceeded the 'prohibition of the Law.' And the whole chapter is a demonſtration of a more excellent righteouſneſs than that which either needed or uſed oaths; for Chriſt brings Adultery from the Act to the Thought; in lieu of Revenge, he commands Suffering, and extends Charity not only to Friends, but Enemies; ſo, in the place controverted, in the room of ſuch oaths and vows as ought to be performed unto the Lord, he introduces *Yea* and *Nay*, with a moſt abſolute "Swear not at all." This was the advance he made in his excellent ſermon upon the Mount; he wound up things to an higher pitch of ſanctity than under the Law, or the childiſh ſtate of the Jews could receive. "Again," ſaith he, "Ye have heard of old time, thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf, but ſhalt perform "unto the Lord thine oaths; but I ſay unto you, Swear not at all;" as plain, general, and emphatical a prohibition as can be found in holy ſcripture. However, perſons that uſually advocate for the continuance of oaths under the Goſpel, tell us, it is not a 'General prohibition, but is limited to ſwearing by Creatures, either by Heaven, Earth, Jeruſalem, or Head, &c.' Which is wholly inconſiſtent with the ſcope of the place, as we ſhall make appear from theſe four conſiderations:

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* Λόγος,

* Biſhop R. Sanderſ. de Jur. Oblig. p. 141.

Firſt, The prohibition reaches as well to ſerious as vain oaths, ſuch as men made, if they ſwore at all, and ought to make to God only; for to him alone ſhould they perform them, and are accountable for them: Theſe very allowed oaths of old time, are the firſt prohibited by Jeſus Chriſt; "It was ſaid of old, thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf; but I "ſay, Swear not at all." It is true, it is not particularized what oaths they were to keep of old; but in general terms, that they were not to "forſwear themſelves;" and it is clear that God enjoined them that would ſwear, that they ſhould only "ſwear by *his* "name." Now what can be hence inferred more evidently, than that men ought not to ſwear thoſe oaths under the Goſpel, which they might ſwear, and ought not to forſwear, but to perform unto the Lord, in the Law.

Secondly, Chriſt himſelf gives the explanation of his own words, chap. xxiii. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. where he teacheth us, that "he that ſwears by the Temple, "ſwears by it, and by him that dwells therein; and he that ſhall ſwear by Heaven, "ſwears by the throne of God, and by him that ſits thereon:" So that he that ſwears by the Head, ſwears by him that made it; and he that ſwears by the Earth, ſwears by him that created it; which leaves no room for the objection: For it is as if Chriſt ſhould have ſaid, "I not only command you not to *forſwear*, but to *perform*; as it was ſaid to "them of old time; but I charge you, *Not to ſwear at all.* I mean, not only that "you ſhould not ſwear by God, and thoſe oaths that the Phariſees account binding; "but alſo that you ſhould not ſo much as ſwear by thoſe leſſer oaths, as they eſteem them, "and which they are wont to ſwear by; for they are not leſs, nor more allowable, in "that they that ſwear by them, ſwear by him that is the Author and Maker of them: "Wherefore, being of the ſame nature with the other, I forbid you to ſwear by them, "as well as by thoſe oaths that were of old time made, and ought not to be broken, "but performed unto the Lord; for this is one of my great commandments, which "they muſt keep that will be my diſciples, that is to ſay, *Swear not at all.*"

Our third inducement to believe this to have been the intention of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is the concurrent teſtimony of the apoſtle James, which is not only a repetition of his Maſter's doctrine, but an addition and illuſtration, we hope ſufficient to determine the preſent queſtion with every unprejudiced reader; "But above all things, my brethren," ſaith he, "ſwear not;" which runs paralled with "Swear not at all." The negative is as general and forcible. He proceeds, "Neither by Heaven, neither by the Earth:" Words of equal import with the latter part of Chriſt's prohibition: And, as if he had foreſeen the cavils of our ſwearing adverſaries, he adds, "Neither by any *other* oath;" which though as clear as the ſun, if yet, for their laſt ſhift, they ſhould tell us, that he only meant any other oath of *that* kind, not that he prohibited ſwearing by the Name of the Lord, it will not do their buſineſs; for that Chriſt hath already aſſured us, "Whoſoever ſwears by Heaven, ſwears by Him that ſits thereon;" and the very next words ſhow, that it was not his deſign only to prohibit *vain*, but plainly to exclude *all* ſwearing, "But let your Yea be Yea; and your Nay, Nay, leſt ye fall into condemnation;" elſe why had he not ſaid, 'But you may ſwear by the Name of God before magiſtrates?' Why muſt "Neither by any *other* oath," be added after ſuch plain prohibition, as, "My "brethren, above all things ſwear not?" And why muſt *Yea* and *Nay* be ſubſtituted in the room of an *Oath*, if it was yet intended by the apoſtle that Chriſtians might riſe higher in their evidence than a bare *Affirming* or *Denying?* That is, though their *Yea* be never ſo truly *Yea*, and their *Nay* never ſo ſincerely *Nay*, or the very Truth of the Matter be ſpoken, which is the import of the words; yet that they ought *to ſwear*. What is this but to contradict the natural tendency of the command of Chriſt and his apoſtles? Which is plainly this; 'If your Yea be Yea, it is enough; if your Nay be 'Nay, it is ſufficient; for Chriſtians ought not to ſwear; if they do, they fall into 'condemnation,' in that they break their maſter's command, who hath told them, that "Whatſoever is more than Yea and Nay, cometh of Evil," which is the ground of all oaths; for they ought to mean ſo ſimply and honeſtly in what they ſay, as that they ſhould never need to ſwear in order to tell the truth.

1675. Our Fourth and laſt conſideration, and that which to us ſeemeth of great moment to clear up our Lord and Saviour's ſenſe, and reſcue the paſſage from the violence of objectors, is this clauſe, "For whatſoever is *more* than Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, cometh of Evil." This cannot be intended of more words than Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, provided they are not of an higher ſtrain, but of the ſame degree of ſpeech, importing a plain aſſertion or denial of a thing; for it is not the Number, but Nature of the words ſpoken, that is here prohibited: Nor can it be only underſtood of perjury; for every body knows that to be Evil in itſelf, which is more than that which cometh of, or becauſe of, Evil: Therefore it muſt be underſtood as well of Swearing, as of Forſwearing, which is not Evil itſelf, yet cometh of, or by reaſon of, Evil in the world. Nor is there any thing more than Yea and Nay beſides Perjury, which can be intended, but an Oath; and therefore that was intended. Chriſt doth not only prohibit Evil itſelf, but that which is evil by ſuperfluity to evangelical ſincerity, and that Swearing is (be it of what ſort it will) where-ever Yea is Yea, and Nay is Nay. In ſhort, if what is *more* than Yea and Nay cometh of Evil, then, becauſe *any* Swearing, as well as Forſwearing, is *more* than Yea and Nay, it follows, that any Swearing cometh of Evil, and therefore ought to be rejected of Chriſtians.

Nor will our Engliſh tranſlation of λόγος ſhelter our objectors; for *Communication* doth not exclude thoſe many caſes that require evidences among men, no, nor any the leaſt action of man's life; on the contrary, they have a great place in human Communication, which is comprehenſive of the various diſcourſes and tranſactions of a man's life, as 2 Kings ix. 11. 2 Sam. iii. 17. Eph. iv. 29. Col. iii. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 33. It is a word of the ſame extent with *Converſation*, which takes in all that can happen between man and man in this world. Thus the Pſalmiſt, "To him that ordereth his Converſation aright," Pſalm l. 23. So the apoſtle, "Let your Converſation be as becomes the Goſpel." Phil. i. 27. Beſides, λόγος may be rendered Word, as in John i. 1. and the Italian and French tranſlations have it, "Let your Word be Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay;" as much as if Chriſt had ſaid, 'As I do not only condemn the Act of Adultery, which the Law did, but alſo the Conception of the Mind, and not only Murder, but Revenge likewiſe; ſo I do not only condemn Forſwearing, which is done to my hand in the Law of God, but prohibit *Swearing at all*; for I make that to be Unlawful, which the Law doth not call Unlawful: Therefore when your evidence is called for, *Swear not at all*, but let your word be *Yea, Yea*, and *Nay, Nay*; that is, Do not ſpeak Untruth; for that is Evil: Do not Swear; for that comes of Evil.' To conclude; people ſwear, to the end they may ſpeak Truth; Chriſt would have men ſpeak Truth, to the end they might not ſwear; he would not have his followers upon ſuch baſe reſerves, but their Word to carry the weight of an Oath in it; that as others ought not to be guilty of Perjury, Chriſtians ought not to be guilty of Lying: For ſuch is the advance from Moſes to Chriſt, Jew to Chriſtian, that as the Chriſtian needs not the Jew's curb, ſo his Lye is greater than the Jew's Perjury, becauſe his Yea or Nay ought to be of more value than the other's Oath.

X. And laſtly; beſides theſe prohibitions, ſwearing is forbidden by the very nature of Chriſtianity, and unworthy of him that is the author of it; who came not to implant ſo imperfect a religion, as that which needed oaths, or ſhould leave fraud, the ground of ſwearing, unextirpated; but to promulgate that Goſpel which retrieves ancient ſincerity, builds up waſte places, reſtores thoſe breaches oaths entered at, and leads into the ancient holy paths of integrity they never trod in. He is that powerful Lord, who cureth the diſeaſes of them that come unto him, and the Myſtical Serpent exalted, that relieves all that believingly look up to him: His office is to make an end of Sin, that made way for Swearing, and introduce that everlaſting righteouſneſs which never needs it; the religion he taught, is no leſs than Regeneration and Perfection, ſuch veracity as hath not the leaſt wavering; ſincerity throughout, that it might not only exceed the righteouſneſs of the *Swearing Jews*, but that Law which permitted it till the times of Reſtitution, which he brought to the degenerated world, who ſaid, "Swear not at all:" For the 'Law, that *permitted* Oaths, was given by Moſes; but Grace and Truth, that *ends* them, came by Jeſus Chriſt, who therefore prohibits them.' And not only is this Goſpel of Chriſt, or the Holy Religion he taught, of ſo pure and excellent a nature, but thoſe who will be his diſciples, are obliged to obey it; inſomuch that he himſelf hath
John xiv. 15. ſaid, "If ye love me, keep my Commandments; and if ye keep my Commandments,
" ye ſhall abide in my Love." Again, "Ye are my Friends, if ye do whatſoever I com-
and xv. 10, 14. " mand you: If any man will come after me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his
Mat. xvi. 24. " Croſs, and follow me: For I ſay unto you, that except your righteouſneſs ſhall ex-
Mat. v. 20. 48. " ceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall in no caſe enter the king-
" dom of heaven: Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is
ver. 19. " perfect." Theſe are the weighty ſayings of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and certainly, he who breaks not the leaſt commandment, who can ſuffer rather than revenge, love enemies, and be perfect as his heavenly Father is perfect, is above the obligation of an Oath unto truth-ſpeaking. His diſciples preached not another Goſpel

than their Maſter's, who prayed, "that thoſe who believed, might be ſanctified throughout, in body, ſoul, and ſpirit," which is a perfect removal of the ground of ſwearing: And they were exhorted to "preſs after the mark of the prize of this high and holy calling, until they ſhould all come unto a Perfect Man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt Jeſus: For even hereunto," ſaith Peter, "were we called; becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example," that ye ſhould follow his ſteps, "who did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth." And ſaith John, "As he is, ſo are we in this world." If no Guile be found in our mouths, then no Oaths; for they came becauſe of guile: And if we ought to reſemble him in this world, then muſt our communication be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay; that is, we muſt live the Life of Truth, and ſpeak the Words of Truth, which ought to be of greater force than Oaths, that come of Evil. If the righteouſneſs of the Law ought to be fulfilled in us, we ought not to ſwear, becauſe we ought to be ſo righteous as not to lye. This is evangelical; for as he that conceives not a foul or revengeful Thought, needs not to purge himſelf of Adultery and Murder; neither is there any reaſon that man ſhould purge himſelf of Lying by Swearing, that doth not ſo much as countenance an untrue Thought.

1 Theſ. v. 23.
Phil. iii. 14.
Eph. iv. 13.
1 Pet. ii. 21, 22.
1 John iv. 17.

The language of the ſame apoſtle to the Epheſians farther explains this Evangelical evidence; "But ye have not ſo learned Chriſt, if ſo be that ye have heard him, and have been taught by him, as the Truth is in Jeſus; that ye put off, concerning the former converſation, the Old Man, which is corrupt, according to the deceitful luſts; and be renewed in the ſpirit of your mind; and that you put on the New Man, which, after God, is created in righteouſneſs and true holineſs: Wherefore, putting away lying, ſpeak every man truth with his neighbour:" beyond which, there can be no aſſurance given or deſired. And if Chriſtians ought never to Lye, it is moſt certain they need never to Swear; for Swearing is built upon Lying: Take away Lying, and there remains no more ground for Swearing; truth-ſpeaking comes in the room thereof. And this not only the Chriſtian doctrine teaches and requires; but Chriſt, the bleſſed author of it, is ready to work in the hearts of the children of men, would they but come and learn of him, who is meek, lowly, filled with Grace and Truth. And we muſt needs ſay, it is a ſhameful thing, and very diſhonourable to the Chriſtian religion, that thoſe who pretend themſelves to be the followers of Chriſt, (for ſo true Chriſtians ought to be) ſhould ſo degenerate from his example and doctrine, as to want and uſe ſcaring aſſeverations, diſpenſed with in ſome of the weakeſt times of knowledge, and ſuch horrible Imprecations (never known to ancient Jews and Chriſtians) to aſcertain one another of their Faith and Truth: Religion muſt needs have ſuffered a great ebb, and Chriſtianity a fearful eclipſe, ſince thoſe brighter ages of its profeſſion: For biſhop Gauden himſelf, in his Diſcourſe of Oaths, confeſſes, 'That the ancient Chriſtians were ſo ſtrict and exact, that there was no need of an Oath among them; yea, they ſo kept up the ſanctity and credit of their profeſſion among unbelievers, that it was ſecurity enough, in all caſes, to ſay, *Chriſtianus ſum*, I am a Chriſtian.'

Ephef. iv. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 23.

But to fortify what we have hitherto urged, in defence of our judgment and practice; and to the end it may more fully appear, that our tenderneſs in this great caſe of Oaths, comes not from any ſour, ſullen, or ſuperſtitious humour, or that we would trouble the world with any new-fangled opinion; we ſhall produce the concurrent teſtimonies of ſeveral famous and good men, for above theſe two thouſand years, among Gentiles, Jews and Chriſtians, enough to make an *Oecumenical Council:* We ſhall cite them out of the beſt editions we have been able to procure, and as truly and punctually as we can render them digeſted in order of time.

MEMORABLE

TESTIMONIES

AGAINST

SWEARING.

Collected out of the Writings of GENTILES, JEWS, and CHRISTIANS: Some of which were delivered to the World ſeveral Ages before *Swear not at all* was written by MATTHEW, or ſpoken by CHRIST. Which makes Swearing, among Chriſtians, ſo much the more diſallowable.

The whole publiſhed not only in Favour of our Cauſe, but for the Inſtruction of the World, and to their juſt Honour that ſaid and writ them, as durable Monuments of their Virtue.

I.

The Sayings of the Gentiles or Heathens, in diſlike of Oaths.

OUR two firſt teſtimonies ſhall be the practice of Two Great People, the Perſians and Scythians*.

*These nations were many hundred years before Chriſt.

Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 16.

I. 'Among the Perſians,' ſaith Diodorus Siculus, 'giving the right hand was the 'token of truth-ſpeaking: He that did it deceitfully, was counted more deteſtable than 'if he had ſworn.' Which plainly implies, that ſwearing was deteſted among them, as well as that they needed not to ſwear, who ſo much uſed truth-ſpeaking.

Quint. Curt. in vit. *Alex.*

II. The Scythians, as it is reported by Q. Curtius, in their conference with Alexander, upon occaſion of an unexpected ſecurity, told him, 'Think not that the Scythians 'confirm their friendſhip by Oath: They ſwear by keeping their word.' Which is not only a proof of their diſuſe of common oaths, but ſwearing at all, even in matters of greateſt importance.

Plutarch, Rom. Queſt. 28.

Lived before Chriſt about 1280 years, being in the days of Gideon, Judg. viii.

III. 'So religious was Hercules,' ſaith Plutarch, 'that he never ſwore but once.' If it was religiouſly done to ſwear but once in a man's life, it had been more religiouſly done not to ſwear at all. How juſt and ſevere a cenſure is this out of an Heathen's mouth, upon the practice of diſſolute Chriſtians?

Heſiod, Theogon. p. 88.

Before Chriſt, 800 years, in the days of Hoſea, Joel and Amos.

IV. Heſiod, in his Theogonia, places an oath amongſt the brood of contention. 'An 'oath,' ſaith he, 'greatly hurts men.' Again preſently, 'An oath goes with corrupt 'judgment;' or an oath flies away together with corrupt judgments; that is, when juſtice appears among men, oaths vaniſh; as his ſcope in that place ſhews.

Sociad. in Stob. 28.

Before Chriſt 620 years, in the days of Joſiah.

V. It was one part of the doctrine of the Seven Sages, ſo famous in Greece, 'That 'men ought not to ſwear.'

Stobæus, Serm. 3.

VI. Solon, the famous law-giver of Athens, and one of thoſe Seven Sages, exhorteth the people 'to obſerve Honeſty more ſtrictly than an Oath.' As if he had ſaid, 'Ho'neſty is to be preferred before ſwearing;' as another ſaying of his imports, 'A good 'man ſhould have that repute, as not to need an oath; it is a diminution to his credit to 'be put to ſwear.' Biſhop Gaud. of Oaths, p. 41.

Theognis, ver. 660.

Before Chriſt 593 years.

VII. Theognis, the Greek poet, writing of a perſon ſwearing, ſaith, 'Neither ought 'he

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‘ he to ſwear this or any thing: This thing, (or ſwearing itſelf) ſhall not be.’ What is this leſs than ſwear not at all?

Valer. Max. lib. 8. cap. 18. *Laert. Hermip.* & *Orig.* contr. *Celſ.*

VIII. Pythagoras, a grave and virtuous perſon, being earneſtly intreated of the Crotonian ſenators for his advice in things relating to the government, did in his Oration, among other excellent ſentences, with more than ordinary emphaſis, lay this down in the nature of a maxim, ‘ Let no man atteſt God by an Oath, though in courts of Judi- ‘ cature; but uſe to ſpeak ſuch things, as that he may be credited without an oath.’

Before Chriſt 590 years. Theſe three perſons lived in the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

H. Grot. on *Mat.* v. 34.

IX. Clineas, a juſt Greek, and follower of Pythagoras, out of love to truth, and the reſpect he bore to his maſter's doctrine, that enjoined him to fear and ſhun an Oath, ‘ choſe to pay three talents,’ which amount to about three hundred pounds, ‘ rather than ‘ take any Oath:’ Whoſe example Baſilius Magnus upbraided the Chriſtians of his time with, that were learning to ſwear.

Before Chriſt 560 years.

Hierocles Comment. in Carm. *Pythag.* p. 28.

X. Hierocles teſtifies, ‘ That Pythagoras, in enjoining them to revere an Oath, not ‘ only prohibits Forſwearing, but requires them alſo to abſtain from Swearing.’

And Æſhilus makes a ſincere Beckon to a matter, a firm Oath.

Before Chriſt 422 years, in the time of Ahaſuerus, Ezra iv.

Stobæus, Serm. 114.

XI. Socrates, that worthy Gentile, and great promoter of virtue among the Athenians, among many excellent ſentences delivered this, ‘ That good men muſt let the world ‘ ſee that their Manners or Dealings are more than an Oath.’ Which both proves, that he ſaw a more excellent righteouſneſs than ſwearing, Truth itſelf, and believed it attainable; for he manifeſtly exhorts good men to that integrity, which is a greater caution than an oath. He was put to death for teſtifying againſt the Heathen idols, acknowledging One only God.

Before Chriſt 422 years, in the days of Haggai and Zachariah.

Plut. in Lacon. Apoph.

XII. Lyſander, the great Spartan captain, thought an oath of ſo little value, in compariſon of truth, that he beſtowed this contemptuous ſaying upon ſwearing, ‘ Children ‘ are to be deceived with Toys, and Men with Oaths.’ Implying, that ſincerity is a greater ſecurity than an oath.

Before Chriſt 400 years.

Iſocr. ad *Demon.*

XIII. Iſocrates, a Greek orator, in his Oration to Demonicus, adviſes, ‘ Not to take ‘ an Oath for money matters.’ Alſo he teaches, ‘ That good men ſhow themſelves more ‘ credible than an Oath.’

Before Chriſt 394 years. Theſe two lived in the days of Malachi.

Plat. de Leg. 12.

XIV. Plato (called divine) forbids ſwearing in ſolemn caſes, ‘ That none ſwear him- ‘ ſelf; that none require an Oath of another.’ He ſpeaks there how Rhadamanthus brought in ſwearing by the gods; but that his art therein was not agreeable to that time (it ſeems he accounted it an art of policy); but that in all actions or cauſes, laws which are made with underſtanding, ſhould take away Swearing from both adverſaries. ‘ For,’ ſaith he, ‘ it is an horrible thing, that when many judgments are done in a city, well ‘ near half the people are forſworn in them.---Therefore let the preſidents of judgments ‘ not permit any to ſwear in actions, not even for perſuaſion's ſake; but that he perſevere ‘ in that which is juſt, with a fitting ſpeech,’ &c.

Before Chriſt 166 years.

Valer. Max. 10. *Cic.* pro *Corn. Balb. Diog. Laert.* in vit. *Xenocr.*

XV. Xenocrates was ſo renowned at Athens for his virtuous life and great integrity, that being called to give his evidence by Oath, ‘ all the judges ſtood up and forbad the ‘ tender;’ becauſe they would not have it thought that truth depended more upon an Oath, than the Word of an honeſt man.

Before Chriſt 337 years.

Menander.

XVI. Menander, the Greek poet, ſaith, ‘ Flee an Oath, though thou ſhouldeſt ſwear ‘ juſtly.’

Before Chriſt 336 years.

Cherillus in Perſeid.

XVII. Cherillus ſaith, ‘ Oaths bring not credit to the Man, but the Man muſt bring ‘ credit to the Oaths.’ What ſerve they for then? To deceive? It ſeems by this, that Credit is better than an Oath; for it is the Credit that is the ſecurity, not the Oath.

Stobæus in jur. c. 27.

XVIII. Alexides in Olynth ſaith, ‘ A wiſe man ought always to give credit, not to ‘ ſwearers, but to the things themſelves.’ Then oaths are vain; for it is not the mere oath, but the likelihood of the truth of the evidence from the conſideration and comparing of the circumſtances, that turns the ſcale.

Simocat. Epiſt. 33. F.

XIX. Simocatus ſays, ‘ Perfidiouſneſs appears ſecurer than Faithfulneſs; and an Oath ‘ impoſed is a fit engine for Deceit.’ Strange! that faithful Yea and Nay is ſtopt, when

1675. ‘ Perfidiouſneſs with an Oath can paſs all Guards, Courts and Offices.’ He manifeſtly links Oaths and Perfidiouſneſs, and gives the praiſe to Faithfulneſs.

H. Grot. on *Mat.* v.

XX. Epictetus, a famous and grave Stoick, counſelled, ‘ to refuſe an Oath altogether.’

Quint. l. 8.

XXI. Quintilian ſaith, ‘ That in time paſt it was a kind of infamy for grave and approved men to ſwear; as if their Authority ſhould ſuffice for Credit. Therefore the Prieſts, or *Flamens*, were not compelled to it; for then to compel a nobleman to ſwear, were like putting him upon the rack.’ Which ſhows an oath to be an unnatural and extorting way of evidence, and that they preferred virtue and truth before an oath.

Plutarch, Rom. Queſt. 44.

XXII. Plutarch, in his 44th Rom. Qu. upon the Cuſtom of the Romans, holding it unlawful for the *Flamen dialis*, or Chief Prieſt, to ſwear, puts the queſtion, ‘ Why is it not lawful for Jupiter's prieſt to ſwear? Is it becauſe an Oath miniſtred unto freemen, is as it were a rack and torture tendered unto them? For certain it is, that the ſoul, as well as the body of the Prieſt, ought to continue free, and not to be forced by any torture whatſoever; or for that it is not meet to diſtruſt or diſcredit him in ſmall matters, who is believed in great and divine things? Or rather, becauſe every oath endeth with deteſtation and malediction of perjury? And conſidering that all maledictions be odious and abominable, therefore it is not thought good, that any other Prieſts whatſoever ſhould curſe, or pronounce any malediction: And in this reſpect was the Prieſteſs of Minerva, in Athens, highly commended, for that ſhe would never curſe Alcibiades, notwithſtanding the people commanded her ſo to do: For I am, quoth ſhe, ordained a prieſteſs to pray for men, and not to curſe them. Or laſt of all, was it becauſe the peril of perjury would reach in common to the whole common-wealth, if a wicked goddeſs, and forſworn perſon, ſhould have the charge and ſuperintendence of the prayers, vows and ſacrifices, made in the behalf of the city?’ Thus far Plutarch, whoſe Morals have the praiſe among all the writings of philoſophers; who is alſo commended himſelf, very highly, for his virtue and wiſdom. See his life.

M. Aur. Ant. in Deſcript. bon. vir.

XXIII. M. Aurelius Antoninus, that philoſophical Roman emperor, in his deſcription of a good man, ſays, ‘ That the integrity of a truly good man is ſuch, that there is no need of an Oath for him.’ Certainly then, he was far from impoſing oaths upon his people, who both by his example and precept, preferred integrity before an oath.

Libanius.

XXIV. Libanius, a Greek Orator, though otherwiſe no admirer of Chriſtians, reckons this amongſt the praiſes of a Chriſtian emperor. ‘ He is,’ ſays he, ‘ ſo far from being blacked with Perjury, that he is even afraid to ſwear the Truth.’ It ſeems, then, they ſwore not in his time; and that Libanius, an enemy to Chriſtians, preferred and admired this precept, “ Swear not at all.”

Auſon. Epiſt. 2.

XXV. We ſhall conclude with Auſonius, whoſe ſayings ſeem to be all contracted, or thoſe other teſtimonies digeſted into one axiom, that is, ‘ To ſwear, or ſpeak falſely, is one and the ſame thing.’

Theſe are the reflections upon oaths we receive from Heathens, who, by the Light they had, both diſcerned the ſcope of the evangelical doctrine, “ Swear not at all,” preceptively laid down by Chriſt our Lord, Mat. v. 34. and preſſed it earneſtly: And, which is more to their honour, but to the Chriſtian's ſhame, ſeveral of them lived it ſincerely.

II.

Teſtimonies from the Jews, in diſlike of All Swearing.

H. Grot. Com. on *Mat.* v. 34.

XXVI. Maimonides, out of the moſt ancient of the Jewiſh rabbies, extracts this memorable axiom, ‘ It is beſt for a man not to ſwear at all.’

Raimund. p. 135.

XXVII. Raimundus quotes him thus, Maimonides in tract. de juramentis; ‘ It is a great good for a man not to ſwear at all: The ancient and lawful doctrine of the ſynagogue.*’

Joſeph. de bello *Judaico*, l. 2. c. 7.

XXVIII. ‘ The Eſſeni, or Eſſeans,’ ſaith Joſephus, ‘ keep their promiſe, and account every word they ſpeak, of more force than if they had bound it with an Oath; and they ſhun Oaths worſe than Perjury; for they eſteem him condemned for a lyar, who is not believed without calling God to witneſs.’

* If it be a great good, not to ſwear at all; what is it to impoſe an oath ?

Theſe Eſſeans were the moſt religious of the Jewiſh people, though the Phariſees made the greateſt noiſe amongſt the rabble.

Philo de decalogo, p. 583.

XXIX. Philo, that excellent Jew, relates thus much concerning the ſame Eſſeans, ‘ That whatſoever they ſaid, was firmer than an Oath; and that to ſwear, was counted ‘ amongſt them a thing ſuperfluous.

Philo Judæus on Com. 3.

XXX. The ſame Philo himſelf thus taught, in his Treatiſe on the Ten Commandments: Commandment 3. Thou ſhalt not take the Name of God in vain. ‘ Many ‘ ways,’ ſaith he, ‘ do men ſin againſt this commandment; ſo that it is better not to ‘ ſwear at all; but ſo well accuſtom thyſelf to ſpeak truth always, that thy bare Word Page 583.
‘ ſhall have the force and virtue of an Oath. It is become a proverb, That to ſwear ‘ well and holily, is a ſecond virtue; for he that ſweareth, is ſuſpected of lying and perjury. It is,’ ſaith he, ‘ moſt profitable and agreeable to the reaſonable nature, to Page 515.
‘ abſtain altogether from ſwearing. Whatſoever a godly man ſpeaks, let it go for an ‘ Oath.’

The wiſdom and moderation of this worthy perſon, reflect juſt blame upon thoſe that pillage their neighbours, becauſe they conſcientiouſly refuſe an oath: But that men, who pretend to be the diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt, ſhould commit theſe cruelties, aggravates their evils, and doubtleſs their guilt. How can they ever hope to look their Lord with comfort in the face, who ſo ſeverely treat their fellow-ſervants? Certainly Jews and Heathens will one day riſe up in judgment againſt ſuch Chriſtians, for their unnatural carriage towards their brethren; this is not to love Enemies, but injure Friends. Jews and Heathens are become names of reproach; yet, to the rebuke of Chriſtians, as they call themſelves, they not only diſcerned the Riſe and Ground of Oaths, but the Evil of uſing them, even while they were tolerated; and both avoided them, and exhorted others to that integrity which had no need of them.

Theſe teſtimonies, though they are of weight with us, and we hope they will have a due impreſs upon the minds of many of our readers; yet becauſe nothing produced out of Jews and Gentiles may advance our cauſe with ſome, or render it ever the more acceptable, we ſhall next betake ourſelves to the more Chriſtian ages of the world, for approbation of our judgment, who, we are ſure, will kindly entertain us, their liberality being extraordinary to our cauſe; and from whom we ſhall never want votes for “ Swear “ not at all,” while their works are in the world: May our ſuperiors join theirs with them, and we have reaſon to believe, that our deliverance from the yoke of Oaths, will be the happy iſſue of this neceſſary addreſs.

III.

Teſtimonies from CHRISTIANS, both Fathers, Doctors, Confeſſors and Martyrs, in diſlike of All Swearing.

Polycarpus.

XXXI. The firſt teſtimony recorded againſt ſwearing, after the apoſtles times, was that of Polycarpus, who had lived with the apoſtles, and was ſaid to have been diſciple to John, not the leaſt of the apoſtles; for at his death, when the governor bid him ‘ Swear, defy Chriſt,’ &c. he ſaid, ‘ Fourſcore and ſix years have I ſerved him, yet hath ‘ he never offended me in any thing.’ The Proconſul ſtill urged and ſaid, ‘ Swear by ‘ the Fortune of Cæſar;’ to whom Polycarpus anſwered, ‘ If thou requireſt this vain-glory, ‘ That I proteſt the Fortune of Cæſar, as thou ſayeſt, feigning thou knoweſt not who I ‘ am, hear freely, I AM A CHRISTIAN:’ This good man began his fourſcore and ſixth Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 4 cap. 15.
year, about twenty years after James wrote “ Above all things, my brethren, ſwear not:” and ſeveral years before John the apoſtle deceaſed, for he is called his diſciple. See his hiſtory and commendation in Euſebius.

We know it is objected by ſome, that he refuſed to ſwear only becauſe he could not ſwear by that oath; which is a gueſs, and no confutation of what we alledge: But if that had been Polycarpus's reaſon, why did he not rather ſay, ‘ The Law of God forbids ‘ ſwearing by Idols?’ It is certain, the firſt Chriſtians would not ſwear, but thought Polycarpus's anſwer ſecurity enough to them that demanded their Oath: He refuſed all oaths as a *Chriſtian*; therefore ſaying, he was a *Chriſtian*, was reaſon ſufficient why he would not take that oath.

Juſtin Martyr, Apol. 2. pro *Chriſtianis*, ad *Anton. Pium*, oper. p. 63.

XXXII. It was ſome time before his ſuffering, that Juſtin Martyr, who is the firſt we find writing of it, publiſhed an Apology for the Chriſtians in the year 150, as himſelf ſaith; and a ſecond after that, wherein he tells us, after the doctrine of his maſter, ‘ That we ſhould not ſwear at all, but always ſpeak the truth. He, that is Chriſt, hath ‘ thus commanded, “ Swear not at all; but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay;

"and what is more than theſe is of evil." See his praiſe and martyrdom in Euſebius, ſoon after Polycarpus.

Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 5. c. 1.

XXXIII. 'Under the ſame emperor,' ſays Euſebius, 'ſuffered alſo Ponticus, of fifteen years of age, and Blandina, a virgin, with all kind of bitter torments; the tormentors now and then urging them to ſwear, which they conſtantly refuſed.'

Euſeb. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4.

XXXIV. And in the next emperor's reign, Baſilides, a ſoldier of authority amongſt the hoſt, being appointed to lead Potamiena to execution, and by her convinced of the Truth in Chriſt, was after a while required to ſwear; but he affirmed, plainly, 'It was not lawful for him to ſwear; for,' ſaid he, 'I am a CHRISTIAN.' He did not lay the unlawfulneſs upon that oath, but upon *ſwearing at all.* The hiſtory only ſays, His companions would have him ſwear, upon ſome occaſion or other, not mentioning by what: His anſwer was, 'It is unlawful for me to ſwear;' and why? 'becauſe,' ſaith he, 'I am a *Chriſtian*.' The conſequence is plain, Chriſtians took *no* oaths; therefore not *their* oaths.

Tert. Apol. pro *Chriſtianis* adverſ. Gent. cap. 32.

Tertullian was a lawyer, ſon to a Centurion of proconſular dignity. See his life.

XXXV. In the ſame emperor's reign lived Tertullian, a ſtrict and learned man, who wrote a very notable Apology for the Chriſtians, wherein he anſwers the objections of the Heathens, who accuſed them of not being well-wiſhers to the emperor, not Cæſar's friends, in that they refuſed to ſacrifice and ſwear by the Genius, Fortune and Health of the Emperor (we begin with this, becauſe it is urged by ſome againſt us:) Saith he, 'We do ſwear as not by the Genius of the Cæſars, ſo by or for their Safety, which is more auguſt then all Genius's or Petty Gods: For we reverently look up unto the Judgment of God in the Emperors, who hath ſet them over the nations; and we know that to be in them which God wills; and what God wills, that we will to be ſafe (that God ſave it) *hoc ſalvum eſſe volumus, et pro magno id juramento habemus*; i. e. And that we account for a great Oath, or that we have inſtead of a great Oath; namely, our Well-wiſhing to Cæſar:' The thing that was deſired, the ſubſtance of the oath; that oath which the Pythagoreans ſaid was in all reaſonable creatures, viz. 'a full reſolution of mind not to tranſgreſs the law of God,' which Tertullian ſaith here they had reſpect to; 'That oath which a juſt man ſweareth by his deeds,' as Clemens Alexandrinus ſpeaketh. In like manner Tertullian ſays to Scapula, 'We do ſacrifice for the health of the emperor; but that way that God pleaſes, by pure Prayer: 'So,' ſays he, 'here we do ſwear by the health of the emperor, by willing his health; and I do work for the health of the emperor; for I commend him to God.*' Otherwiſe, if we take the words of this doctor ſtrictly and properly, who in the writing is difficult, as Scultetus notes; and obſcure, as Lactantius ſays; we ſhall both croſs the ſcope of the place, and accuſe him, and the primitive Chriſtians and Martyrs of his time, not only of Swearing, but Sacrificing for the Health of the Emperor; neither of which do we ever read they did, nor ſo much as offered to do; had they, doubtleſs we ſhould have heard of ſome releaſe or favour ſhown them on that condeſcenſion: Beſides, we ſhall alſo make him to contradict himſelf (which Scultetus accuſes him not of, in this) for in his book *de idololatriâ*, he ſpeaks without any obſcurity; ſaying, 'I ſpeak not of Perjury, ſeeing it is not lawful *to ſwear*.' And in chap. 23. he proves, 'That he which ſigns a Bill of Security containing and confirmed by an Oath, is guilty of Swearing, as if he had ſpoken it, and tranſgreſſes Chriſt's command, who hath preſcribed not to ſwear.' He is before ſpeaking of the idolatry Chriſtians are obnoxious to in regard of employments as ſchool-maſters, by reaſon of Heatheniſh Books and Cuſtoms; and Merchants or Traffickers, of Covetouſneſs and Lying; 'Not to ſpeak of Forſwearing,' ſaith he, 'ſeeing it is NOT LAWFUL ſo much as TO SWEAR; which if any ſhould do, he ſhould ſurely be the ſervant of Covetouſneſs, in undertaking an unlawful practice for gain,' as he ſays Lying was: 'But if he ſhould alſo forſwear, ſo adding Swearing to Lying, that then he ſhould be a Servant of Servants to Covetouſneſs, which is Idolatry.' Which if Chriſtians had committed indeed, it is unlikely that Tertullian would have made ſuch a ſlight and ſhort preterition with a ſentence of eight words. And farther obſerve, that both Tertullian and the Martyrs make uſe of the moſt univerſal proof, to make their teſtimony for God full and complete. And though their enemies trial of them were ſhort of proving them Chriſtians, and diſtinguiſhing them from Jews; yet, in the wiſdom of God, their anſwer and argument being general and Chriſtian, including the ſpecial and Jewiſh, proves them not only true Jews, who were forbidden by God to forſwear, or to ſwear by idols; but true Chriſtians, 'not to ſwear, becauſe it was unlawful; for Chriſt had forbidden it.' And as his argument, in the Apology aforeſaid, was, 'It is unlawful to ſwear, much more to forſwear;' ſo here, 'Chriſt,' ſaith he, 'hath preſcribed not to ſwear;' then ſure not to ſwear and ſubſcribe Gentile oaths. So Baſilides, 'Becauſe I am a Chriſtian, it is not lawful for me to ſwear;' then not *your* oath: This is the juſt ſenſe and conſequence of it. And ſaid Polycarp, 'I would have thee to know, that I am a Chriſtian; and the doctrine thereof, if thou wilt appoint a time, I ſhall teach thee, (that is, not to ſwear); 'therefore

Rigaltius adds, I will ſpeak plainly, that the emperor is Lord, but after the common manner.

Tertul. ad Scap. c. 1, 2. Apol. c. 33.

* I do offer ſacrifice by prayer, c. 30.

Tertul. de Idololatria. cap. 11.

therefore it is in vain for thee to bid me ſwear, and defy Chriſt.’ So Blandina and Ponticus were urged to ſwear (by what, it is not ſaid, and it matters not) but in vain; for they were Chriſtians. We do not read that any uſed the Jewiſh argument, the Old Commandment, “ Thou ſhalt not ſwear by Idols;” but the Chriſtian argument, the New Commandment, “ It is not lawful to ſwear; Chriſt forbad it; I am a Chriſtian,” &c.

And to this purpoſe ſpeaks Le Prieur on this place of Tertullian, in his Annotations (which the Publiſhers deſired becauſe of his obſcurity; ſee their Preface) ‘ Although,’ ſays he, ‘ the Chriſtians did believe that * All Swearing was forbidden them, they before all oaths were wary of ſwearing by the Genius or Fortune of the Prince.’ Here he confeſſes they were wary of All Swearing, much more that which was never lawful, to wit, ſwearing by Idols. And thereupon he brings the example of Polycarpus: But if All oaths, then of ſwearing by the Health of the emperor; for that was an Oath. And this African writer's intricate ſenſe (as the publiſher's terms are) muſt needs be in this, as in the other, all along myſtical: And as he ſays a little before, ‘ I offer a Sacrifice (*oratione*) by Prayer;’ ſo going along he ſays, ‘ We Swear, *juramus*, (i. e. *jure oramus*; for ſo Bruno and Caſſiodorus derive the word, *jurare dictum eſt, quaſi juſtè orare; hoc eſt, juſtè loqui.*

* It is confeſt by Le Prieur, that the Chriſtians did deny *all ſwearing.*

Bruno and Caſſiodorus on Pſalm xiv. and Pſalm lxi. This Caſſiodorus was a Roman ſenator and counſellor of Theodoricus, about the year 490.

Again, Pſal. lxi. ‘ They ſwear in God, or to God, who promiſe an inviolable obedience of mind to him. ‘ *Jurare* to ſwear (ſaith he) ‘ is *jure orare*, to ſpeak equity, that he will not decline to another party, from what he hath promiſed.’ Again, ‘ Here ſwearing is firmly in mind to reſolve to fulfil the good purpoſe.’ And that this muſt be Tertullian's ſenſe, not only the ſcope (for which ſee Scultetus on the place) but his explanation of it, by ‘ willing what God wills, and that to be to them for a great oath;’ plainly declares to ſagacious readers; and ſuch Tertullian's African ſpeech requires, as Rigaltius ſays of his writings, which have been * altered by them that could not comprehend them. But is it likely that a man ſo ſevere, who condemned the very ſubſcribing of a Writing wherein an Oath was contained, and for this reaſon, ‘ becauſe Chriſt forbad to ſwear at all;’ and thought it needleſs to ſpeak of Perjury, ‘ becauſe it was not lawful to ſwear;’ ſhould yet allow it in himſelf and others to ſwear even by that which was not God? Beſides, Suarez reckons him amongſt thoſe fathers who were more eſpecially againſt ſwearing.

* There are about 2000 corrections in Tertullian's works.

Suarez, de Juram. c. 2.

Thus are the conſpirators againſt this part of the doctrine of Chriſt, and his apoſtles, primitive Fathers and Martyrs, forced out of that ſanctuary they betook themſelves to, in the ſentence of this intricate doctor.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7.

XXXVI. Clemens Alexandrinus, his cotemporary, famous for learning and ſtrict living, to help him in his myſtical meaning of an Oath, ſays, ‘ He who is once a Believer, why ſhall he make himſelf an * Unbeliever, as that he hath alſo need to Swear, and doth not ſo lead his Life, that the ſame (to wit, his Life) be a firm and definite Oath, and ſhew the Faithfulneſs of Confeſſion in a conſtant and ſtable Speech.---Far be it, that he who is approved and diſcerned in ſuch piety, ſhould be propenſe to Lye or to Swear.----He who liveth juſtly, tranſgreſſing in nothing of theſe things that ſhould be done, the ſame ſweareth truly and holily by his Deeds and Works (mark how this agrees with Tertullian's Improper Swearing) the teſtimony of the tongue is ſuperfluous to him.----It ſufficeth to add unto his affirming or denying, this, viz. I SPEAK TRULY, that he beget faith in them who perceive not the ſtability of his anſwer: For it behoveth him, as I judge (ſaith he) to have a life worthy of credit (or faith) among thoſe that are without, that an Oath be not ſought from him.---Neither doth he Swear, as being one who hath determined to put for his Affirming YEA, for his Denying NAY.

* Infidelity keeps company with ſwearing: And for a Chriſtian to ſwear, is with Clem. Alex. to turn Infidel again.

‘ Where is there any need of an Oath to him that ſo lives, as one that is attained to the Height of Truth? He therefore that doth not Swear, is far from Forſwearing: He that tranſgreſſeth in nothing that is covenanted and agreed, HE MAY NEVER SWEAR.

‘ Seeing he is fully perſuaded that God is every-where, and is aſhamed not to ſpeak truth, and profeſſeth that it is a thing unbeſeeming, and unworthy for him to ſpeak falſe; he is content with this, that God and his own conſcience know it, and therefore he doth not lye, nor do any thing beſides or againſt what is covenanted and agreed: By that means he neither *ſweareth*, if he be aſked; nor denies, ſo as to ſpeak falſe, tho' he die upon the rack for it.’

Likewiſe in his 5th, 7th and 8th books of Strom. alſo in his 3d book of his Pædagogue with Gentianus Hervetus's notes on it, ‘ Where he forbids to ſet two prices, and commands but one ſingle one, and to ſpeak truth without an Oath,’ &c.

Origen. in *Matth.* Tract. 25.

XXXVII. Origen, his ſucceſſor, a man of equal fame for learning and piety, ſucceeds him alſo in this teſtimony concerning ſwearing: ‘ Becauſe,’ ſaith he, ‘ the Jews have a cuſtom to ſwear by Heaven; to the foregoing (prohibition) Chriſt added this alſo to reprove them, becauſe they more eaſily ſwore by Heaven than by God; becauſe he deals

* He makes two prohibitions, as we do: 1. Swear not by God; 2. by no creatures. Ibid. Tract. 3.

‘ alike unreaſonably, who ſweareth by HEAVEN, as he that ſwears by the TEMPLE, or ‘ by the ALTAR, in that he who ſweareth by Heaven, ſeemeth to ſwear by Him that ‘ ſitteth in that Throne; and doth not eſcape danger, as he thinks, becauſe he ſweareth not by God himſelf, but by the Throne of God. And theſe things he ſpeaks to ‘ the Jews, forbidding them to give heed to the traditions of the Phariſees; * otherwiſe, before, he manifeſtly forbad to ſwear AT ALL.’

Mat. xxvi. Numb. v. 19. 1 Kings xxii. 16.

‘ The chief prieſt ſaid unto him, “ I adjure thee by the Living God, that thou tell “ us if thou be the Chriſt the Son of God.”

‘ In the Law we find the uſe of Adjuring; “ The prieſt ſhall adjure the woman with “ the adjurations of this curſe.”

‘ Alſo Ahab ſaid unto Micaiah, “ I adjure thee that thou tell me the truth in the Name “ of the Lord.” The king adjured the prophet, not by command of the Law, but by ‘ his own Will. And now the prieſt adjures Jeſus by the Living God. But I account, ‘ that a man that will live according to the Goſpel, *muſt not adjure another:* For it is ‘ even like that which the Lord himſelf forbids in the goſpel, “ But I ſay unto you, Swear “ not at all.” For if it be not lawful to *ſwear*, as to the goſpel command of Chriſt, it ‘ is alſo true, that it is not lawful to *adjure* another, or *compel* him to ſwear.’

Orig. againſt all ſwearing with us; and compelling.

Huetius, upon him, addeth, that Athanaſius, Chryſoſtom, Epiphanius, Hilary, and many more, were of the ſame mind with him: And if ſo, we may without offence add, upon that reſpect our ſuperiors ſeem to carry to their names, that it muſt needs be very remote from the doctrine of the ancient church, to fine, impriſon, and bitterly treat thoſe who for conſcience of that goſpel-command, do ſcruple an Oath in this age.

Orig. on Jer. iv. 1, 2.

“ If thou wilt return, O Iſrael, ſaith the Lord, and put away thy abominations, then “ ſhalt thou not remove. And thou ſhalt ſwear the Lord liveth in truth, and judgment, and righteouſneſs.” Origen here tells us, ‘ That this is a reproof of them ‘ that did not ſwear in judgment, but without judgment: Howbeit, we know,’ ſaith he, ‘ that the Lord ſaid unto his diſciples, “ But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all.” Perhaps ‘ formerly it behoved them to ſwear in truth, judgment and righteouſneſs; that after any ‘ had given proof of his integrity, he might be thought worthy of being believed without any Oath at all. But once having YEA, he needs no witneſs that it is YEA; and ‘ having NAY, he needs no other evidence to prove that it is NAY.’

Thus doth Origen prefer and extol evangelical verity, wrapt up in ſolemn *Yea* or *Nay*, above the ſwearing that was in truth, judgment and righteouſneſs under the diſpenſation of the Law.

Socrates Scholaſt. lib. 4. cap. 22. of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

XXXVIII. Gregory Thaumaturgus, ſo called from his working of miracles, on Eccleſ. lib. 46. cap. 8. ſaith, ‘ It is meet to give a diligent heed to the words of the king, and ‘ to flee an Oath by all means, eſpecially that which is taken in the name of God.’ See his great praiſe, his works and miracles.

Cyprian lib. 3. Teſtim. ad *Quirin.*

XXXIX. Cyprian, a famous father, and faithful martyr (who lived about the middle of the age, in the beginning of which Origen flouriſhed) in his third book of Teſtimonies to Quirinus ſaith, ‘ Who hath deſired me to draw out of the holy ſcriptures certain ‘ heads, belonging to the religious diſcipline of our ſect (for ſo he called his own, the ‘ Chriſtian religion).’ His 12th head amongſt them is, *Not to Swear.*

Cypr. Epiſt. ad Corn. n. 5.

Again, writing of paſtors and teachers, he biddeth them ‘ remember what the Lord ‘ taught, and ſaid, “ Let your ſayings be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay.”

Cyprian de Mortal.

In another place he ſaith, ‘ It is unlawful for any man to compel another to take an ‘ Oath.’

Hitherto the Chriſtians, being under moſt cruel ſufferings, generally kept faithfully to the command of Chriſt in this point; and we find very little in their writings about it, beſides a ſimple and bare aſſerting of it, as the doctrine of Chriſt, “ not to ſwear at all,” as well as it was of Moſes, “ not to ſwear falſly or vainly,” for more was no way needful, in that it was not conteſted, but univerſally ſo received. But after that Chriſtian emperors had engaged themſelves in parties, then, it ſeems, many out of flattery, and to engage them to their ſect, took liberty to ſwear, even by the Health of the Emperor, as is objected againſt us by ſome, out of Euſebius: But ſuch he did not account religious; neither that a religious part ſo to do, much leſs an Auguſt Act; and leaſt of all, a Moſt Auguſt Act of Divine Worſhip, as ſome would have it; ſeeing Stobæus obſerves from him, ‘ that whereas many exhorted that they be honeſt and faithful in an Oath, he, for ‘ his part, eſteemed it not the part of a religious man, not to avoid even Swearing itſelf.’

Euſeb. apud. Stob. de Jurejur. c. 27.

And we believe it will be an hard matter to find any in the Greek Church, eſpecially for the firſt three hundred years, that would allow ſwearing ſo large a place in ſacred things; yea, or in latter ages either, even in the Latin Church; nay, of thoſe who have allowed it in ſome caſes, many, or moſt of them, have denied it any place at all in the worſhip of God, as of itſelf; accounting it an Abatement, rather than an Advancement to Chriſtianity; which no part of the true worſhip of God can be. But ſome, perhaps, taking Tertullian's Word *auguſtior*, or more auguſt, (which, he ſays, the Safety of the Emperor is, in compariſon of all the Genius's) to be the higheſt act of God's worſhip, they would have us ſwear by that, after the example of thoſe mentioned in ſome Chriſtian Emperors times. Tertullian's ſenſe we ſhall eaſily grant; for it is ſo, and we do ſo, in that we commend our prince and governors to God, to God only, with earneſt and ſincere deſires for his and their ſafety; above all ſuch genius's as Tertullian calls *Dæmonia*. But we juſtly deny, upon the ſcore of what we have made appear to the contrary, even from Tertullian himſelf and others, that he, or the Chriſtians in his time, or for two hundred years before, or an hundred years after, did *ſwear*, as ſome would have it; ‘leaſt of all, as a moſt auguſt act of the worſhip of God, without which all others are unacceptable;” or that thoſe who did ſwear afterwards, were the moſt religious; ſeeing Euſebius eſteems otherwiſe, and not he only, but alſo thoſe very devout men that we have already produced, beſides many which might and may be mentioned: For all that we have yet met with, in thoſe times, that ſpeak of it, ſpeak againſt it; and of the following times, men of greateſt renown and authority laboured with all earneſtneſs to expel oaths the ſociety of Chriſtians, and cure them of that diſtemper, by inculcating the doctrine of Integrity, that needs no oath; proving by holy ſcripture, that it was the plain and abſolute law of Chriſt, that “Chriſtians ought not to ſwear at all;” and, by other arguments, that the original of oaths was neither from God, nor good men; but they crept into uſe through the corruption of times, and mere careleſsneſs of governments; for when they could not truſt one another, they called their gods to witneſs; but God, ſeparating Abraham and his poſterity from among them, to himſelf, the better to draw them from Idols, commanded them to ſwear by Him only: As much as if he would have ſaid; ‘If you will ſwear, let it be by my Name, rather than the Idols, that ſo you may, though it be after a mean manner, acknowledge a real Deity, the only Lord of all.’ But how long was this condeſcenſion to laſt? Only till the Fulneſs of Time came; which, with other permiſſions, removed all Swearing; Chriſt bringing men to the Truth in the inward parts, as in the Beginning, before Swearing was in being; “for from the beginning it was not ſo.”

But to ſhew what other Fathers reaſons and teſtimonies againſt this Heatheniſh and Jewiſh Uſage, indeed Bondage, were at the coming in of the apoſtacy, we ſhall begin with Athanaſius, a man that was in great renown in the days of Conſtantine the Great, and whoſe Creed is the Faith and Teſt of Chriſtendom at this day.

Athanaſius *on the Paſſion of* Chriſt.

XL. ‘The evangelical ſentence of the Lord is, “Let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay.” Thus far we, who are in Chriſt, may confirm our words with Aſſeverations; and with no farther progreſs let us flee to or approach Oaths, that we alledge not God for witneſs, for corruptible money's ſake; eſpecially ſince Moſes ſets down the Law, “Thou ſhalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in a vain thing.” For if any is plainly worthy to name God, he is alſo worthy of belief: For, whoſoever is meet for greater things, he will be much more fit for leſs: On the contrary, if he be not worthy Belief, that he may be credited without an Oath, ſurely he is not one that is worthy to name God. If he be not faithful in Word, how will God by any means be the witneſs of an Oath for him, who is deſtitute of Faith, to which God hath reſpect?” Again, “The Lord is nigh to all, that call upon him in truth,” in which alone the Lord can be called upon. Wherefore, why do they ſwear by God, who are not truſted even in ſmall matters? Otherwiſe an oath is a teſtimony of truth, and not a judge of buſineſſes; ſuch men do ſwear, not that they may ſignify buſineſſes, but that they may confirm the truth, and that theſe may ſhew, that thoſe things which they produce, are without lying. If, therefore, he that ſwears hath both Faith and Truth, what uſe is there of an Oath? But if he hath no faith nor truth, why do we undertake ſuch an impiety, that for poor ſilly men, and thoſe mortal too, we call to witneſs God, that is above men? For if it be a baſe part, to call to witneſs an earthly king to the loweſt judicatures, as one that is greater than both actors and judges, why do we cite Him, that is uncreated, to created things, and make God to be deſpiſed of men? Fie! that exceeds all iniquity and audaciouſneſs. What then is to be done? No more but that our *Yea* be *Yea*, and our *Nay* be *Nay*, and in ſhort that we do not *lye*. But if we ſhall ſeem to ſpeak truth, and imitate the true God, ſome, perchance may thus contradict;

Athanaſ. his abhorrence and deriſion of oaths.

Athanaſius his reaſon and diſlike of oaths.

Object. ‘If an Oath be forbidden to men, and a man imitates God in not ſwearing, how is it that God is related in the Holy Scripture *to ſwear*? For he ſwore to Abraham, as Moſes witneſſeth: And it is written in the Pſalms, “The Lord ſwore, and will not repent,” &c. For theſe things ſeem to be repugnant to the former, and that thereby there is permitted to men a liberty of ſwearing.’

Anſwer. ‘But this is not ſo, nor can any think ſo: For God ſweareth by none; for how can he, ſeeing he is Lord and Maker of all things? But, if any thing, this muſt be ſaid, that his WORD is an Oath, inducing the hearers, by a ſure Faithfulneſs, that what he promiſeth and ſpeaketh, ſhall certainly be effected; ſith God ſweareth not as Man;

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Athanaſius will not have it that God ever ſwore, properly and ſtrictly taken; only in a way of ſpeaking, having the truth, and immutability of the trueſt and greateſt oath.

but his *Word* to us is as an Oath for Verity. And ſpeaking to men, he is ſaid to ſwear: And this alſo the ſaints do utter after the manner of men; that as they themſelves ſpeaking would have credit to be given them, ſo likewiſe they themſelves ſhould give credit to God: For, as a man's word confirmeth an oath, ſo alſo thoſe things that God ſpeaketh, becauſe of the firmneſs and immutability of his will, are to be reputed Oaths. The ſame alſo, that is there written, confirmeth my ſaying, "for the Lord hath ſworn, and will not repent;" as a thing not to be retracted by repenting, but certainly to be effected, according to the Engagement of an Oath. This alſo God doth declare in Geneſis, ſaying; "I have ſworn by myſelf:" But that is not an Oath; for he ſwore not by *another*, which is proper for an Oath, but by *Himſelf*, which contains not the eſtimation of an oath: But this is done that the Sureneſs of his promiſe may appear, and how confidently that ought to be believed, which is ſpoken, that ſweet Pſalmiſt will witneſs for me in his Pſalm, calling God to mind, when he ſaith, "Where are thy ancient mercies, O Lord, which thou ſwareſt to David thy ſervant, in (or by) thy Truth?" For God ſweareth not by his Truth: But becauſe He, who is true ſpeaketh in his Word, that, to Men, is for an Oath unto Belief. So God doth not ſwear after the Mannner of Men; neither muſt we be induced thereby to take Oaths: But let us ſo ſay, and ſo do, and ſo approve ourſelves in ſaying and doing, that we need not an Oath for the hearer, and that our Words, of themſelves, may have the teſtimony of truth: For by that way we ſhall plainly imitate God.'

Hilary, on *Mat*. v. 34.

XLI. Hilary, a Father, very famous in the days of Conſtantius, ſon to Conſtantine (but an Arrian; and, which was worſe, a Perſecutor, ſo that this Hilary was baniſhed) in his commentary on thoſe words in Matthew, "Ye have heard that it was ſaid to them of old, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf," &c. thus expreſſeth himſelf, 'The Law ſet a penalty for perjury, that the conſcience of religion, or fear of an oath, might reſtrain the deceitfulneſs of minds; for the rude and inſolent people made frequent mention of their God by a familiar courſe of ſwearing: But faith doth remove the cuſtom of an oath, making the buſineſſes of our life to be determined in truth, and laying aſide the affecting to deceive; preſcribing the ſimplicity of ſpeaking and hearing, that what *was*, *was*; what *was not*, *was not*; that the buſineſs of deceiving might be apparent between *it is*, and *it is not*; and what is more, is all of evil: For what *is*, it is its property always that *ſo* it is; and what *is not*, it is its nature that it *is not*: Therefore to them that live in the ſimplicity of the faith, there is no *need* of the religion (or ſuperſtition) of an oath; with whom always what is, *is*; what is not, *is not*: And by theſe both all their words and deeds are in truth.' "Neither by heaven." God not only ſuffers us not to make *Oaths* to God, becauſe all the truth of God is to be held in the ſimplicity of *word* and *deed*; but alſo condemneth the ſuperſtition of old diſobedience,' &c.

Suarez, de Juram. l. 1. c. 1. 2.

This, if that Clemens, ſhould have been firſt, becauſe he lived in Paul's time, but we were not willing to begin our teſtimonies with a ſuſpicion; howbeit it is an ancient writing. l. 6. c. 23.

XLII. The next teſtimony we ſhall pitch upon in confirmation of our reaſons, and the ſenſe we take our Maſter's precept in, "ſwear not at all," is afforded us out of the Apoſtolical Inſtitutions aſcribed to Clemens Romanus, reported by Suarez, in his book *de juramentis*. "Our Maſter,' ſaith Clemens 'hath commanded, that we ſhould *not ſwear*; no, not by the True God; but that our Word ſhould be more credible than an Oath itſelf.' Which is a plain indication of the apoſtolical doctrine to have been the abſolute prohibition of oaths, in that ſenſe wherein they were only reputed *lawful*; for if men ought not to ſwear, no, not by the True God, then, conſequently, by no other oath, as his following words not only imply, but expreſs, viz. 'That the Word of a Chriſtian ſhould be more credible than an Oath itſelf.' Again, 'He that in the Law eſtabliſhed to ſwear *well*, and forbad *falſe* ſwearing, commanded alſo, *not to ſwear at all*.'

Orthodoxographia, p. 11.

XLIII. There is a tract called, "The Goſpel of Nicodemus:" We know it is reputed ſpurious, but that makes nothing againſt us; that diſputes the Author, and not the Matter; for though Nicodemus never wrote ſuch a book, certain it is that ſuch a book was written, which is in favour of Chriſtianity, as then received. In the place cited, Pilate is made to ſay, "I adjure you by the Health of Cæſar, that theſe things that you ſay," &c. They anſwered, "We have a law, *not to ſwear*, becauſe it is a Sin." Whoever wrote it, this benefit cometh to our argument, that the Chriſtians at that time thought an Oath a Sin: For it is not to be doubted, but he that gave that anſwer, knew it to be the doctrine and practice of Chriſtians; for he was therein to repreſent them.

Baſilius Magnus, on Pſalm 14.

Socrat. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 21.

XLV. Baſil, called the Great, another champion of the like fame, and in the ſame time of Valens, the Perſecuting Arrian Emperor, by whom he ſuffered impriſonment and cruel threatnings (ſee their praiſes in Socrates Scholaſticus) on the 14th Pſalm, with us the 15th, "He that ſweareth, and deceiveth not his neighbour:" So Baſil hath it, and upon it theſe words:

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‘Here he ſeemeth to allow an oath to a perfect man, which in the Goſpel is altogether forbidden; “But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all.”

‘What ſhall we ſay then?’

‘That every-where the Lord, as well in the Old as in the New Law, hath the ſame conſideration of commanding: For, deſiring to anticipate the effects of ſins, and prevent them by diligence, and to extinguiſh iniquity at the firſt beginnings, as the old Law ſaith, “Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery,” the Lord ſaith, “Thou ſhalt not Luſt.” The old Law ſaith, “Thou ſhalt not Kill;” the Lord, ordaining perfection, ſaith, “Thou ſhalt not be Angry.” So alſo in this place, the prophet indeed ſeemeth to aſſent to an Oath; but the Lord, to take away all occaſion of Perjury, and willing to prevent the dangers of ſwearers, takes away ſwearing *altogether*: For he names an Oath, in many places, the immutable and firm Conſtancy of any Thing or Purpoſe. “I have ſworn, and have ſtedfaſtly purpoſed, to keep the judgments of thy righteouſneſs:” Alſo, “The Lord hath ſworn, and will not repent.” Not that David brought the Lord for a witneſs of his ſayings, and to get belief to his doubting; but that he confirmed the grace of his profeſſion by an immutable and firm decree: So alſo he could have ſaid here, that is, “He that ſweareth, and deceiveth not his neighbour,” that it may agree with the ſaying of our Saviour, “Let your Word be Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay.” To things that are, thou mayeſt affirm and aſſent; but of things that are not, altho' all men urge thee, yet thou mayeſt never be drawn by any means to affirm againſt the nature of the Truth. Is the thing not done? let there be a Denial: Is it done? let it be affirmed by Word. And he that ſhall not aſſent to him ſo affirming, * Let him look to it, and feel the harm of his unbelief. It is a baſe and a very fooliſh thing to accuſe one's ſelf, as one unworthy of being believed, and to betake and refer one's ſelf to the ſecurity of an Oath. Now, there are ſome ſpeeches which have the Forms of Oaths, and yet are no Oaths at all, but rather Remedies to perſuade; as Joſeph, to make the Ægyptian familiar with him, ſwore by the Health of Pharaoh (חי מרעה *live Pharaoh*). And the apoſtle, willing to ſhow his love to the Corinthians, ſaid, “By the glorying of you, which I have in Chriſt Jeſus, our Lord.” For he did not depart from the doctrine of the Goſpel, who, by a thing before all moſt dear unto him, ſimply ſought belief to the truth.’

* Pray mark where Baſil layeth the blame, if a *word* go not for an oath.

Joſeph ſwore not.

Paul ſwore not.

Baſil refuſed to ſwear at the Council of Chalcedon. Speaking of Clineas, a Pythagorean, who might have avoided a mulct of * three talents, if he would have ſworn, which he rather ſuffered, ſaith, ‘In keeping theſe things, he ſeems to have heard that command concerning an Oath, that is forbidden Us.’ And he upbraided the Chriſtians of his time with it that would ſwear.

Ad Nepotes.

* above 300 l.

This Baſil the Great, in his 29th Canon to Amphilochius, writes thus: ‘Becauſe an Oath is *altogether forbidden*, ſuch an one as is taken to an evil purpoſe is much more to be condemned.----Again, ‘If an Oath, ſimply as ſuch, be prohibited, of greater reaſon when it is to effect ſome miſchievous end.----The cure conſiſteth in a twofold admonition; 1. Not to ſwear. 2. To ſuppreſs the Form of Oaths.’

Baſil. Mag. can. 29.

Baſil's expedient to remove oaths.

Blaſtaris Syntagma, Tit. E. c. 32.

XLV. There was an ancient law made to this effect, ‘It is forbidden to *all*, from the biſhop and clergy-men to the readers, to take *any oath at all*.’

Blaſtaris alſo brings in this objection, ‘But ſince thoſe are puniſhed who ſwear falſely, and thoſe are paſſed by who ſwear well, ſome may ſay, Therefore it is *permitted* to ſwear.’ To which he anſwers, ‘But where ſhall we diſpoſe, or how ſhall we diſpenſe with, the evangelical precept in the Goſpel, that forbids taking any oath *at all?*’ Adding, ‘But I believe that the Goſpel endeavoured to root out that Wicked Stem (as I may ſay) which is in ſinful men, and for that cauſe prohibited an *oath*, which is as the door or inlet to Perjury.’

The reaſon of prohibiting Oaths.

Gregor. Nyſſenus, on Cant. Orat. 13.

XLVI. Gregory Nyſſenus, brother to Baſil, ſpoken of by Socrates Scholaſticus in the ſame place, and in lib. v. cap. 9. his works are famous. In his Explanation on the Canticles, he beſtows this teſtimony upon us: ‘He, who by Moſes eſtabliſhed the beginnings of the Law, by himſelf fulfilled all the law and the prophets, as he ſaith in the evangeliſts: “I came not to deſtroy the Law, but fulfil it;” who taking away Anger, aboliſheth Killing alſo; and together with Luſt, took away Adultery. He alſo caſts out of mens lives accurſed Perjuries, whilſt, by the prohibition of an Oath, he has put in his Sith as it were to Security. For it cannot be, that any ſhould break an oath, when there is *no* oath: Therefore, ſaith he, “You have heard that it was ſaid to them of old time, Thou ſhalt not forſwear, but ſhalt render to the Lord thy oaths; but I ſay unto you, Swear not at all, neither by heaven, &c, but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay; for whatſoever is more is of the devil.” Thus do they moſtly end; which ſhows how they underſtood Chriſt's words.

——*Greg. Nazianz.* in his Dialogue againſt Swearing, Jamb. 20.

XLVII. Gregory Nazianzen, a great man in the church, alſo ſpeaketh to the ſame purpoſe, in his Dialogue againſt Swearing, ſaying,

B. What Oath doſt thou leave to us?

A. I wiſh I might leave none, and that there were never any more. But thou ſayeſt, We have heard that God himſelf ſometimes ſwore: The holy ſcriptures record that: But is there any thing better than God? Surely nothing is found better than he: If therefore nothing be better than he, it ſhould follow that he never ſwears.

God ſwears not.

B. Why therefore do they record that he ſwore?

A. When God ſaith any thing, that is the Oath of God.

B. And how doth he ſwear by himſelf?

A. How! he ſhould not at all be God, if he ſhould lye.

B. Thou ſpeakeſt ſtrangely.

A. No wonder; that is the nature of God peculiarly, that he cannot lye: There is none that can deny this.

B. But what wilt thou ſay to me of the Old Covenant? Surely, it doth not prohibit an oath, but requires a true one?

A. No wonder: At that time only it was preſcribed in the Law concerning Murder; but now it is not lawful for any cauſe, ſo much as to ſmite or beat: Then the End of an evil deed only came into judgment; but now that alſo which moveth to the end. This is my judgment: For now we have made a long progreſs; wherefore a wiſe man will abſtain from oaths.

B. What then? Doſt thou give to ſome, as infants, a kind of firſt food, that they may at length receive a ſucceeding kind of meat?

A. Thou judgeſt right and wiſely.

B. But Paul alſo ſwore, as they ſay?

Paul did not ſwear.

A. Who ſaid ſo? O what a vain jangler was he that ſaid it! Quoth he, "God is my "witneſs," and "God knoweth:" Thoſe words are not an Oath, but a certain Aſſeveration in ſuch great things, conſtant and inviolable.

B. Wilt thou allow the ſame alſo to me?

A. I wiſh that to thy power thou wouldeſt plainly become a Paul, and ſo thou wouldeſt have a right rule of thine actions.

B. What if I uſe an Oath unwillingly, but to free me from danger?

See Tertullian before, to whom this agrees.

A. Let another allow thee that.

B. What if an oath be written, and not pronounced with the voice?

A. And what is the meaning of a writing? Surely, amongſt all other obligations, a writing doth more bind and oblige us.

B. What if we be drawn by neceſſity to give an oath?

A. Why didſt thou not rather die? For ſurely, thou ſhouldeſt rather die than do that.

* B. What if the books of the holy ſcripture be not uſed?

A. What! is religion placed in a * Leaf? Is God abſent by this means? It is evident, that thou feareſt (Paper or) Parchment, and I fear God more: This is a frequent diſeaſe to many, and uſual; neither is it otherwiſe than as if a man beat the Maſter, and diſgrace him, and make his Servant a Free Man, and do him honour, (what a notable reproach that ſhould be?) or as if a man ſhould preſerve the king's Image, and in the mean time deſtroy the King.

B. It is even as thou ſayeſt: But I would have thee ſay, what is more to be ſhewn.

A. Many uſe to ſay, 'I ſwore with my Tongue, but my Mind is free from ſwearing.' Any thing may be more cunningly excuſed than an Oath: Let him not ſuffer any Colour to be made for himſelf; for this is an Oath: And much miſchief comes from deceit itſelf? Let us ſee what an Oath is: Nothing elſe but the very meaning (or mind) of thoſe things which we ſet down.----Thou wouldeſt have me add what remains: Surely an Oath is nothing elſe but a certain conſummation, as it were, of miſchiefs: O dangerous flame!

Greg. Naz. his account of an oath.

B. But Plato doth ſome ſuch thing: He is religiouſly aware that he ſwore not by any God.

A. Truly I know what thou art about to ſay: There was a certain plane-tree, by which alone he made oath: But he did not ſwear rightly neither by that; for he had an underſtanding in ſomething; but what a juſt and religious oath ſhould be, that he could not underſtand. And what was this, tell me now? A certain ſhadow of an Oath, a declaration without a name; an Oath, no Oath, as the philoſophers ſwore by a ſtrange and unknown God. Laſtly, it is nothing elſe, but to make oath by any thing. Here let our ſpeech be at an end. Thou threateneſt that thou wilt leave me athirſt ſooner than I would.

A. If an oath ſeem a ſmall thing to thee, truly I cannot condemn thee: But if it is in the number of horrible things, I will alſo dare to produce a mighty thing: I do adjure, by a very Oath itſelf, that thou abſtain from, and beware of, Oaths, and thou haſt the victory.

B. I

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* Mark how Gregory Naz. ſpeaks of the Scripture, in compariſon of God's omnipreſence with the mind and ſenſe, and regard men ought to have of it.

B. I wiſh I had. What fruit gets he that often ſweareth? Laughter. What more? That when he ſpeaks truth, he ſhall not be believed.

In another place he ſaith, that to ſwear by Creatures, is to ſwear with regard to God himſelf: So Chriſt himſelf ſaith, Mat. v. 25. and chap. xxiii. 16. 23.

Greg. Naz. on Cant. Hom. 18.

Cæſarius, Num. 43.

XLVIII. Cæſarius, brother to Gregory Nazianzen, in his Spiritual Sentences, hath this ſentence, ‘ Flee all ſwearing, or every Oath:’ How then ſhall we get belief? As well by ſpeech, as by virtuous actions and carriages, that gain belief to our ſpeech. Perjury is a denying of God: What need of God in this matter? Interpoſe and put in ure thy Actions.

Epiphan. adv. Hereſ. lib. 1. Ord. 19. §. 6.

XLIX. Epiphanius, whom Socrates Scholaſticus, lib. 6. cap. 9. calls a man of great fame and renown, and a virtuous and godly perſon, in his firſt book againſt Hereſies (not accounting denying to ſwear an hereſy, but rather the contrary, as may appear by his words, which are theſe) ‘ In the Law, as well as the Goſpel, it is commanded not to ‘ uſe another name in ſwearing: But in the Goſpel he commandeth not to ſwear, neither ‘ by Heaven nor Earth, nor other Oaths; but let Yea Yea, and Nay Nay, be *as* an ‘ oath, (as Petavius tranſlates it) for what is more than theſe is of Evil. Therefore I ‘ ſuppoſe that the Lord ordained concerning this, becauſe of ſome mens allegations, ‘ that would ſwear by other names; and firſt, that we muſt *not* ſwear, no, not by the ‘ Lord himſelf, nor by any other Oath; for it is an evil thing to ſwear at all. Therefore ‘ he is evil that compels not only to ſwear by God, but by other things,’ &c.

Ambroſ. de Virgin. lib. 3.

L. Ambroſe, ſoon after, being a lay-man, or citizen of Milan, was by the people, againſt his will, choſen Biſhop of that city, for his great worth and godlineſs, whoſe writings are of great account; and ſpeaking of the inconveniency occaſioned by an Oath, ſaith, ‘ Wherefore not without cauſe doth the Lord in the goſpel command *not* to ſwear, ‘ that there may be no cauſe of *forſwearing*, that there may be no neceſſity of offend‘ ing.’

‘ He that ſweareth not, certainly he never forſweareth; but he that ſweareth, ſome‘ times he muſt needs fall into perjury, becauſe all men are ſubject to lye. Do not ‘ therefore Swear, leſt thou beginneſt to Forſwear.’

Exhortat. ad Virgin.

‘ Therefore the Lord, who came to teach the little ones, to * Inſpire novices, to con‘ firm the * Perfect, ſaith in the goſpel, “ Ye muſt not ſwear at all;” becauſe he ‘ ſpoke to the Weak.’

Ambroſe on Mat. v.

He was for * Inſpiration and perfection.

‘ Laſtly, he ſpoke not only to the Apoſtles, but to the Multitude; for he would not ‘ have thee to Swear, leſt thou ſhouldeſt Forſwear.’

‘ And he added, “ *not* to ſwear, neither by Heaven, nor by the Earth,” &c. namely, by thoſe things that are not ſubject to thy Power.

“ The Lord ſware and ſhall not repent.” He *may* ſwear, who cannot *repent* of his ‘ Oath. And what did the Lord ſwear? “ That Chriſt is a prieſt for ever:” Is that un‘ certain? Is that impoſſible? “ The Lord hath *ſworn*.” Can it any way be *changed*?’

Pſalm cix.

‘ Do not therefore uſe the example of an Oath, becauſe thou haſt not power to fulfil ‘ an Oath.’

Alſo, in his Commentary on the Hebrews, he ſaith, ‘ Becauſe mankind is incredu‘ lous, God ſo condeſcendeth to us, that he even *ſweareth* for us.’

So that he ſhews that not to be an argument for ſwearing to be deſired, ſeeing it is only in condeſcenſion to a Defect; not to be encouraged from it to ſwear, or to require it.

Ambr. Com. on Heb. c. 6.

Oaths founded on defect, not to be encouraged; then not to be impoſed.

Chryſoſt. on Gen. Hom. 15.

LI. Chryſoſtom, in thoſe days very famous in the church, and therefore ſtiled the Golden Doctor, in his 15th Homily on Geneſis, ſaith; ‘ A CHRISTIAN muſt flee Oaths ‘ by all means, hearing the ſentence of Chriſt, which ſaith, “ It was ſaid to them of “ old, You ſhall not forſwear; but I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all.” Let none ſay ‘ therefore, I ſwear in a juſt buſineſs. It is not lawful to ſwear; neither in a juſt, nor ‘ unjuſt thing.’

‘ To ſwear is of the devil; ſeeing Chriſt ſaith, “ for what is more, is Evil,” or of ‘ the evil one.’

Id. Hom. Pſal. v.

‘ Swearing took not its beginning from the Will, but from Negligence only. Thou ‘ haſt heard (ſaith he) the wiſdom of Chriſt, ſaying, That not only to *forſwear*, but ‘ alſo, in *any manner* to *ſwear*, is deviliſh, and all a device of the evil one.’

Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 19.

The reaſon of oaths.

‘ If to Swear is found to be deviliſh, how are they to be puniſhed who Forſwear.’

‘ If to *ſwear truly* be a crime, and a tranſgreſſing of the commandment, where ſhall ‘ we place *perjury*.’

Againſt the diſpraiſe of ſolitary life, l. 1.

Speaking of a *Chriſtian*, (ſo called; for he that dare do ſuch things, we cannot call a ſincere Chriſtian) whom he ſaw compelling a certain honeſt, ingenuous, modeſt, and faithful matron, to go into the *Jews Synagogue*, there to be ſworn about ſome buſineſs in controverſy betwixt them, ſhe deſiring help, and imploring to be freed from this wicked

Of compunction of heart, l. 1.

Againſt the Jews, Hom. 34.

Agreeing with Euſebius before. The Godly zeal of Chryſoſtom commendable. Much leſs to force others. Chryſ. calls ſwearing and compelling to ſwear at all, an error; then we are orthodox. See his great praiſe in Soc. Schol. l. 6. c. 3.

wicked force, &c. ‘ I (ſaith he) kindled with zeal, aroſe; and not ſuffering her to be farther drawn into this prevarication, reſcued her; and enquired of him that had drawn her to it, whether he were a *Chriſtian* or not? Who confeſſing he *was*, I ſeverely urged and upbraided him with his folly and extreme madneſs, to go about to draw any body, he profeſſing himſelf to be a worſhipper of *Chriſt*, to the Jews Dens, who had *crucified* him. And going on in ſpeaking, I taught him, out of the Holy Goſpel, that it is not lawful to ſwear *at all*, nor to *incite* any to ſwear, after that; not one that is a Believer, or initiated; no, nor one that is *not* initiated; to be drawn to that extremity. After I had ſpoken much, and a long time of it, I delivered his mind from the Error of opinion,’ &c.

Be pleaſed to obſerve how Chryſoſtom, a zealous and famous man, both for his books, and the perſecution that he ſuffered, being Patriarch, or prime overſeer of the church at Conſtantinople, one of the four of the chiefeſt in the world, uſes no diſtinction of *private* and *public* oaths, the common talk of our impoſers; for here he labours againſt drawing any to ſwear *at all*, even in Judicature, becauſe it was not lawful to ſwear ſo at all, no not as the Jews ſwore, much leſs as the Gentiles.

He was of the race of ſenators. Remember Tertullian's caſe by this. Homil. 28. Eclog. de Juram. Hom. 5. ad pop. Antioch.

Again, ‘ Let none ſay to me, What if any lay on me a Neceſſity of ſwearing? And what if he do not *believe*?’

‘ Certainly where the Law is violated, one muſt not make any mention of *neceſſity*; for there is one unavoidable neceſſity, not to offend God. Moreover, this I ſay, that in the mean time we may cut off ſuperfluous oaths, thoſe I mean, which are made raſhly, and without any neceſſity, amongſt friends and ſervants: And if thou take away theſe, in the other thou ſhalt need me no more: For that mouth which hath learned to fear and flee an Oath, if any would compel it ten thouſand times, it will never admit of falling into that cuſtom,’ &c.

Chryſoſt. againſt giving an oath. * Chryſoſt. exhorts to be right Quakers, by trembling, and not ſwearing.

‘ But if thou fear nothing elſe, at leaſt fear that Book, which thou takeſt in thy hands, bidding another to Swear; and when thou turneſt it, and markeſt what Chriſt hath there commanded concerning *Oaths*, * Quake, and Forbear.’

‘ What doth it ſay, then, of Oaths?

‘ Anſwer, “ But I ſay unto you Swear not at all.” Doſt thou make that *Law* an OATH, which *forbids* to ſwear? O injurious, O unjuſt thing! for thou doſt as if a man ſhould take for his companion, a Law-giver that forbids to KILL, and command him to be made a *Murderer*. As therefore, when a fight is begun, although we are often reviled, yet we endure it well, and we ſay to him that doth it, That patron of thine hath hurt me, he holds my hands; and this ſerves us for ſolace. After the ſame manner, if thou wilt exact an Oath of any, reſtrain thyſelf, and withhold; and ſay to him that is about to ſwear, What ſhall I do to thee, ſith God hath commanded neither to *ſwear*, nor to *compel* to ſwear; he now withholdeth me? This is enough for the lawgiver's honour, for thy ſecurity, and his fear who ſhould ſwear.’

Againſt compelling to ſwear, and ſhows how to avoid it. He differs much from thoſe that puniſh us for not ſwearing. On Mat. Homil. 17.

‘ Do thus much for me therefore, that they that come hither may ſay, That is not to be ſeen in any city, which is at Antioch; for they that inhabit that city, had rather their tongues ſhould be cut out, than an Oath ſhould proceed out of their mouth,’ &c.

‘ What is it? “ Thou ſhalt render unto the Lord thy oaths:” That is, in ſwearing thou ſhalt ſpeak true: “ But I ſay unto you, Not to ſwear at all:” And then, to put off the hearers, that they ſhould not ſwear by God, he ſaith, “ Neither by Heaven, for it is the Throne of God; nor by the Earth, for it is his Foot-ſtool,” &c. for he ſaid not, Becauſe the Heaven is Fair and Great, nor becauſe the Earth is Vile; but becauſe That is the Throne of God, and This his Foot-ſtool; by all which he drives them to the Fear of God.’

Object.

‘ Obj. What then, if any require an oath, and impoſe a neceſſity of ſwearing?

‘ Anſ. Let the fear of the Lord be more forcible to thee than all Neceſſity or Compulſion: For if thou wilt always object ſuch-like occaſions, thou wilt keep none of thoſe things which are commanded: For thou mighteſt alſo ſay it concerning thy Wife; What if ſhe be a Scold? What if ſhe be Nice and Curious? And of thy Right Eye; What if I have a Delight in it, and be inflamed with the Love of it, &c? and ſo thou wilt trample upon all things that are commanded. But in the laws which men command, thou dareſt alledge no ſuch thing; as, What if this or that, &c.? And if thou wilt keep the law of Chriſt, thou wilt not ſuffer any compulſion to hinder thee from the obſervation thereof; for he that heard the bleſſedneſs that is before, in the ſame ſermon, and ſhews himſelf ſuch an one as Chriſt commandeth, he ſhall ſuffer no ſuch compulſion from any, ſeeing he is venerable and admirable with all men.’

Conſtancy in not ſwearing geteth veneration.

Object.

‘ Obj. What then ſhall we ſay is beyond Yea and Nay?

‘ Anſw. Without doubt an *Oath*, not Perjury; ſith this is altogether manifeſt, and none needs be taught that it is of Evil; and not ſo much ſuperfluous, as altogether contrary. Now, that is ſuperfluous which is added needleſly, and too much; which ſurely is an Oath.’

Great reaſon

Object.

‘ Obj. Why then ſhall this be ſaid to be of Evil? And if it was of Evil, how was it commanded in the Law?’

‘ Anſw. Thou wilt ſay that alſo concerning thy Wife; how is it now *adultery*, which was ſometime ſuffered? What then ſhall we ſay to theſe things; but that many of thoſe things which were then ſpoken, the Weakneſs of them that received the Law required: For it is a thing very unmeet for God to be worſhipped with the Smell of Sacrifices, even as it is not congruent for a Philoſopher to ſtutter and babble: Therefore ſuch a Divorce is now called Adultery; and an Oath now comes of Evil, when the Increaſings of Virtues are come to their Perfection. But if theſe things had been the laws of the devil from the beginning, they had never come to ſuch proficiency; for unleſs thoſe things had gone before, thoſe other had never been ſo eaſily received. Do not therefore deſire the virtue of thoſe things, whoſe uſe is now paſt. They were available indeed then, when the time required, yea, if thou pleaſeſt, now alſo; For now their virtue is ſhewn in that ſame thing alſo, wherein we moſt accuſe: for that they now appear ſuch, is their great praiſe: For, unleſs they had nurſed us up well and profitably, and had made us fit for the receiving of greater things, they would not now ſeem to us to be ſuch. For as the nurſes teat, when it hath done all its office, and brought the child to the meaſure of the ſtronger age, ſeems to be unprofitable; and the parents, who formerly judged the teat to be neceſſary for their child, do afterwards purſue it with very many ſcorns, and uſually do not only make it uncomely in words, but alſo beſmear it with certain bitter juices of herbs, that when they cannot bridle the eager unſeaſonable deſire of the child about it, they may quench it at leaſt with thoſe things: So alſo Chriſt ſaid, “ It was of Evil,” not that he might ſhew the old Law to be of the devil, but that he might recall them more vehemently from the old Vileneſs: And theſe things he ſaid unto his Diſciples; but unto the ſtupid Jews, and them that perſiſt in the ſame impiety, as with a certain bitterneſs, he ſo compaſſed their city, they being captivated with fear, as that he made it inacceſſible: And becauſe he could not hereby reſtrain them, but that they again deſired to ſee it, as children running back to the teat, he took it quite away; deſtroying it, and ſcattering them, moſt of them, far away from it; as men uſually ſhut up calves from their dams, that they may gain them to be weaned from their accuſtomed food of milk.’

This is true Chriſtian doctrine.

With Chriſtians it ought to be ſo.

What evil is it then to hale men back again upon penalties?

‘ But if the old Teſtament were of the devil, he would not have forbidden * Images to be worſhipped; but on the contrary, have brought in and commanded ſuch a worſhip as this; for the devil would have ſuch a thing to be done. But now we ſee that the Law did the contrary: And for that cauſe alſo the way of Swearing was in times paſt permitted, † leſt men ſhould worſhip images, and ſwear by them; “ Swear,” ſaith he, “ by the true God.” So the Law brought not a mean good to men, but a very great one, if it ſought to bring them to ſolid meat.’

* A great enemy to images.

‘ Obj. What evil therefore hath Swearing?’

Object.

‘ Anſw. Much evil, without queſtion: But *now*, at *this* time, after ſo great Manifeſtations of Power; not *then*, by any means.’

His reaſon, our reaſon.

‘ Obj. Thou wilt ſay; How can it be, that the ſame is ſometimes good, ſometimes not?’

Object.

‘ Anſw. I will alſo produce againſt thee, How is it that the ſame thing is ſometimes good, ſometimes not good? Doth not all that is in the world proclaim the ſame; as, Educations, Arts, Fruits, and all other things?’

‘ Therefore firſt weigh that in our own nature: For to be carried in one's arms, is a good part in the firſt age; afterwards a very pitiful thing. To uſe chewed meats in the beginning of one's life is good; afterwards very full of indecency and loathſomeneſs: To be fed with milk, and to flee to the nouriſhment of the teats, at the firſt is profitable and wholſome; but afterwards hurtful and noiſome. Thou ſeeſt how the ſame things are ſometimes good, according to the times, and ſometimes appear to be of another nature: For it is a comely thing for a Child to wear a Child's Veſture, but ſhameful for a Man. Wouldeſt thou alſo learn on the contrary, how thoſe things are not fit for a Child, which are for a Man? Give a Man's veſture to a Child, and great laughter will follow thereupon, and greater danger in going, making him to reel this way and that way: Commit unto him the care of civil buſineſſes and affairs, either to traffick, or ſow or reap, and again it will be very ridiculous. But what do I ſpeak of theſe? Even Man-ſlaughter itſelf, which Chriſt calls evidently a work of the devil, ſometimes in due ſeaſon done, hath been praiſed; as Phineas killed a man, and it was reputed to him for righteouſneſs; Abraham alſo was not only an Homicide, but a Parricide, and Peter ſlew two, but it was a ſpiritual work: So we muſt not only conſider the Actions, but the Time, Cauſe, Will and Difference of Perſons, and all other Circumſtances.’

Again, in his *Imperfect* * *Work*, cap. 5.

‘ It hath been ſaid, “ Thou ſhalt not forſwear, but ſhalt perform to the Lord thy “ Oaths:

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† The reaſon why God admitted oaths. No ordinance of God or man originally, but corruption inſenſibly brought it; and God only ſuffered it by a true Deity till the times of reformation.

* Much regarded and obſerved by venerable antiquity, ſaid James on the Fathers, part 2. page 36. Act. Mon. v. 1. p. 701

A great truth; forſwearing ends in no ſwearing.

“Oaths: But I ſay unto you, Swear not all,” &c.] Behold the Fourth Command, which covetous men account the leaſt, becauſe they do not account it a ſin to ſwear; without which, the command of the Law cannot ſtand? For unleſs Swearing itſelf be forbidden, Falſe Oaths cannot be taken away, becauſe out of Swearing ſprings up Forſwearing; for whoſoever ſwears often, at one time or other ſwears falſely: For this reaſon Solomon gives that admonition, “Accuſtom not thy mouth to ſwearing; for there is much danger therein.” For as he that accuſtoms himſelf to talk much, muſt needs at one time or other utter unſeaſonable words; and he that uſeth frequently to ſtrike with his hand, cannot but ſometimes ſtrike unjuſtly; ſo he that accuſtoms himſelf to ſwear in things convenient, oftentimes forſwears himſelf, even againſt his will (cuſtom prevailing in him) in things ſuperfluous: For we can accuſtom ourſelves to any thing when we will; but we cannot turn off that cuſtom when we will. And what the judgment of God is againſt them that ſwear, Solomon teacheth; “A man,” ſaith he, “that ſwears much, a wound ſhall not depart from his houſe.” If then a wound depart not from them that ſwear, how ſhall it at length depart from them that forſwear? Tell me, my friend, what doſt thou get by ſwearing? For if thy adverſary did believe that thou wouldſt ſwear well, he would never force thee to ſwear at all; but becauſe he thinks thou wilt ſwear falſely, therefore it is that he compels thee to ſwear; and when thou haſt ſworn, he doth not ſit down as ſatisfied in the truth of thine oath, but goes away full of revenge, as it were in condemnation of thy perjury.’

Excellently diſtinguiſhed, and the ſordidneſs of oaths fully repreſented. According to Euſebius. The unhappineſs of ſwearing, eſpecially againſt conſcience. His advice about the matter, when drove to a pinch.

‘An Oath never has a good end; for ſome will judge thou haſt ſworn for Covetouſneſs; and ſome too, that thou haſt Forſworn: But they that are willing to ſuppoſe well of thee, although they do not believe thou haſt ſworn Falſely, yet they are not able to affirm thou haſt ſworn in Truth: But no man can maintain thou haſt done Religiouſly. By ſwearing therefore thou comeſt into reproach with thy enemies, and into ſuſpicion with thy friends. But thou wilt ſay perhaps,

‘Obj. What ſhall I do? he neither doth nor will believe me, unleſs I ſwear.

His caution to thoſe that impoſe oaths, and reflection upon the practice.

‘Anſw. Be content rather to loſe thy Money than thy Salvation; ſet more by thy Soul, than by thy Eſtate: If thou ſhouldſt loſe any part of thy eſtate, thou mayſt live notwithſtanding; but if thou loſeſt God, whereon wilt thou live? Doſt thou not know, that what thou parteſt ſelf-denyingly with for the fear of God, thou receiveſt a greater reward for it, than if thou hadſt given alms; becauſe, the more we bear the croſs, the more worthily are we crowned for it? Behold, my friend, I adviſe thee not to *force* any man to ſwear: If thou thinkeſt he will ſwear well, avoid it; or if thou thinkeſt he will ſwear amiſs, avoid it ſo much the rather: For although he ſwear well, yet thou, as far as relates to thy conſcience, art become the cauſe of his perjury, becauſe thou compelleſt him to take an oath with this intention, not barely that he ſhould ſwear, but that he ſhould forſwear; for if thou hadſt thought he would have ſworn honeſtly, thou wouldeſt not have forced him to ſwear at all. Oh fooliſh man, that compelleſt another to ſwear! thou knoweſt not what thou doſt: He, although he forſwear himſelf, yet does it with advantage; but thou, without any advantage, art found a partaker of his perjury. He that does not ſtick at lying, does not fear ſwearing; for he that tells a lye, goes beyond the Truth in his heart; and he that ſwears falſely, paſſes over God in his Words: What then is the difference between paſſing over God, and going beyond the truth, ſeeing God is Truth itſelf?’

Lying as bad as ſwearing, in his eſteem.

Admirably well urged.

His rebuke to the clergy for tendring the goſpel (or Bible) to ſwear on.

‘This is the only difference, That when we lye, we paſs over the Truth in our Heart; but when we Forſwear, we paſs over God in Words; for, to men we give ſatisfaction by Words; to God, by Conſcience. God himſelf, who forbad Forſwearing, even he afterwards commanded Not to Swear: He therefore that is not afraid to ſet light by the commands of God in Swearing, will not be afraid to do the like in Forſwearing. But what wouldſt thou have? Doth he fear God, or doth he not fear him? If he be one that fears God, he will not lye, though he be not ſworn; but if he be one that does not fear God, he cannot ſpeak truth, though he be ſworn. Hear, ye Clergymen, who bring the Holy Goſpels for men to ſwear upon; How can ye be ſecure from that Oath, who ſow the ſeed of perjury? He that brings the fire by which an houſe is burnt, is he a ſtranger to the burning? Or who reaches a ſword, whereby a man is ſlain, is not he an acceſſory to the ſlaughter? So he that gives the opportunity of forſwearing, is a partaker of the perjury: If it were well done to ſwear, ye ſaid rightly, that we gave them the Goſpel to Swear, not to Forſwear; but now ye know, that it is a ſin even to ſwear well, how can ye be acquitted that give the occaſion of ſinning againſt God? Let the fire ceaſe, and there is no burning; take away the ſword, and the man is not ſlain; ſo take away Swearing, and there is no Forſwearing. Be theſe things ſpoken of them that ſwear by God. But as for them that ſwear by the Elements, their iniquity is more deteſtable; for Heaven and Earth, and the reſt of the Elements God made for his own ſervice; not for men to ſwear by: for, behold, in the Law it is commanded, that they ſhould ſwear by none but God: He therefore that ſwears by Heaven, or by the Earth, or whatſoever it is he ſwears by, makes a God of it; Therefore every one commits Idolatry, who ſwears by any thing beſides God, if it were at all lawful to ſwear, becauſe he does not perform his oaths to the Lord his God, but to the Elements: And ſo he commits a double ſin; firſt, in that he Swears; and ſecondly, in making a God of that by which he ſwears,' &c.

Again, in chap. 23. Homil. 43. on theſe words "Wo unto you, blind guides, who ſay, Whoſoever ſhall ſwear by the Temple, it is nothing; but whoſoever, ſhall ſwear by the Gold of the temple, he is a debtor." Many Chriſtians,' ſaith he, 'now-adays do ſo unwiſely underſtand many things; for lo, if there ſhall be any cauſe, he ſeems to do a ſmall matter who ſwears by God; but he that ſwears by the Goſpel, ſeems to have done ſome greater thing. To whom it may be ſaid, Fools! The Holy Scriptures are for God, not God for the Scriptures; for God is *greater*, which ſanctifieth the Goſpel, than the Goſpel, which is ſanctified of God.'

Again, *Hom.* 9. *on Acts of the Apoſtles*, chap. 3.

'To this conduces not a little, *not to ſwear*, and *not to be angry*; for in not being Angry, we ſhall not have an Enemy; and caſt off a man's Oath, and withal thou ſhalt caſt off thoſe things that concern wrath, and ſhalt extinguiſh all anger. For Wrath and an Oath are like the Wind. We ſet forth ſail; but there is no benefit of the ſail, if there be no wind: So if we do not cry out, nor ſwear, we cut the ſinews of wrath. Come, tell me for what cauſe an Oath was introduced, and why it was allowed? Let us tell its Original, and whence it ſprung up again, and how, and by whom; and by our declaration we ſhall gratify your attention: For he that doth juſtly, muſt neceſſarily be alſo ſtudious of Wiſdom; and he that is not yet ſuch, is not worthy to hear a diſcourſe: For Abraham made covenants, and ſacrificed ſacrifices, and offered offerings; and as yet there was not an Oath. Whence then came in an Oath? When evils increaſed, when all things became topſy-turvy, when they inclined to Idolatry; then verily, when they appeared unfaithful, they called God to witneſs, as giving a Surety for Security of their words; for an Oath is a Suretiſhip, where their behaviours have no truſt or credit. Whereupon, firſt, he that ſwears is taxed, if he have no credit without an Oath, and the greateſt ſecurity: And becauſe men ſo little truſt one another, they ſeek GOD for a ſurety, not MAN. Secondly, He is in the ſame crime who receives an oath, if he draw God to be a ſurety for contracts, and ſay, "That he will not truſt except he have *him*." O monſtrous thing! O ſhameful diſgrace! thou! a worm, duſt and aſhes, and a vapour; dareſt thou ſnatch thy Lord, who art ſuch an one, for a Surety, and compelleſt to accept him? Tell me if a fellow-ſervant ſhould ſay to your children, ſtriving among themſelves, and not truſting one another, "Unleſs the common Maſter become a Surety, there is no truſting;" would not many ſtripes be inflicted, that he might learn that he ſhould make uſe of him as a Lord in other things, not in theſe? What do I ſpeak of a Fellow-ſervant? For if one would have a more venerable Man, would not the caſe have diſgrace in it? "But I ſhall," ſaith he, "therefore neither compel him, becauſe this is alſo amongſt Men." He may ſay thus, "Sometimes thou mayeſt not receive a ſurety to thine." What then? "And I ſhall loſe," ſaith he, "what is given." I would not ſay this; but do not thou endure that God be reproached. Therefore he who *compels*, hath a more unavoidable puniſhment than he who *ſwears*. Likewiſe he alſo who ſwears when none requires; this alſo is harder, that one ſwears for an half-penny, for a little commodity, for unrighteouſneſs. And theſe things are ſo dangerous, when there are no perjuries; but if perjuries are committed, then all things are confounded, and both he that ſwears, and he that receives an oath, are the cauſe.'

In the Original of an Oath; he concurs with us.

The definition of an oath.

A ſevere declamation againſt compelling people to ſwear.

Of the danger of *compelling* people to ſwear.

'Obj. But there are ſome things that are not known, ſay they.'

'Anſw. But foreſeeing theſe things, thou muſt do nothing raſhly; but if thou ſhalt do any thing negligently, take the penalty of the inconvenience in thy own hand: Better to ſuffer Loſs than otherwiſe. For, tell me, thou haleſt a man to an oath; what doſt thou ſeek? Wouldſt thou have him to forſwear? But this is extreme folly; for the loſs will turn upon thy own head: It were better to loſe thy Means, than that He ſhould be loſt: Wherefore thou doſt this to thy own damage, and to God's diſhonour: Such is the ſoul of a beaſt and of a wicked man!'

'Obj. But I expect that he may not Forſwear.'

'Anſw. Therefore believe him without an Oath alſo.'

'Obj. But there are many,' ſay they, 'who *without* an oath dare defraud, who *with* an oath do not do it.'

'Anſw. Thou deceiveſt thyſelf, O man! A man who hath learned to ſteal and to wrong a man, will alſo trample upon an Oath often: But if he hath a reverence in ſwearing, much more in doing unjuſtly.'

'Obj. But thou wilt ſay, "He ſuffers this unwillingly."'

'Anſw. Therefore he is worthy of excuſe. But what ſhall I ſay of Oaths of the Courts that are left? For there thou canſt ſay no ſuch thing; for there for Six Pence both

1675.

* An oath is a *binding of God* for our ſecurity.

A pathetical cenſure of oaths, and them that uſe them in *courts*.

With what tenderneſs God's name ſhould be uſed.

Chryſoſtom's boldneſs. He teſtifies our mind.

* Men never could plead Conſcience for not being believed without an oath; many have, to be credited without one. This was Chryſoſtom's exhortation. Now it is ſaid, How can we trade without an oath?

‘ Oaths and Perjuries are made: For becauſe a thunder-bolt doth not come down from above, and all things are not overturned, thou ſtandeſt, and wilt * *bind God:* Why? That thou mayeſt get Herbs and Shoes for a ſmall price, thou calleſt Him to witneſs. Do we therefore think we do not ſin, becauſe they are not puniſhed? This is the Lord's mercy, not our deſert. Swear by thy own Child; ſwear by thyſelf; ſay, “ So let the officer keep from my ſides:” But thou art afraid of thy Sides: Is God more vile, more contemptible, than thy Head? Say, “ So may I not be blind?” But Chriſt ſo ſpareth us, that he forbids us to ſwear even by our own Head. But we do ſo deſpiſe the glory of God, that He is drawn every where. Ye know not what God is, and with what a mouth he ought to be invocated. Moreover, when we ſpeak of any virtuous man, we ſay, “ Waſh thy mouth, that ſo thou mayeſt be heedful.” But now we vainly diſtract that honourable name, which is a Name above every name, which is wonderful in all the earth, which the Devils hearing do tremble at! O moſt contemptible cuſtom which hath done that! Laſtly, If thou ſhalt impoſe upon any a neceſſity of ſwearing in the holy houſe, how horrible an oath doſt thou enjoin, if thou doſt ſo? Ought not one even to dread when God is named? But even among the Jews this Name was ſo reverend, that it was written on the Plate of the Mitre; and none might bear thoſe Letters of the Name of God, but only the High Prieſt: And now alſo we ſo bear his name tenderly. If it was not lawful for all ſimply to *name* God, how great audaciouſneſs is it to call him to *witneſs?* Tell me now, how great madneſs is it? Behold, I ſay and teſtify to you, amend thoſe Court Oaths, and ſhew me all thoſe that do not obey. Behold, even in your preſence, I will command them that are ſet apart for the miniſtry, the houſe of prayer, and admoniſh and ſhew, that it is not lawful for any to ſwear. Let him therefore be brought to me, whoſoever he be, becauſe theſe things alſo ought to be done before us, becauſe ye are children. O ſhame! for it is confuſion that ye have need to be inſtructed in ſome things. Dareſt not thou, that art initiated, touch the Holy Table? But, what is yet worſe, thou which art initiated, dareſt thou touch the Holy Table, and that which it is not lawful for all the prieſts to touch, *and ſo ſwear?* But, being gone out, thou wouldeſt not touch the head of thy Child; but toucheſt thou the Table, and doſt not dread nor fear? Bring ſuch to me, I will inflict a juſt puniſhment; and with joy will ſend both away with this commandment, “ Do as you liſt; * I impoſe this law, Not to ſwear at all. What hope is there of ſalvation, when you ſo contemn and deſpiſe all things?” Haſt thou therefore received letters and badges that thou ſhouldeſt loſe thy Soul? What ſo great thing haſt thou gained, as that which thou haſt loſt? Hath he forſworn? Thou haſt loſt both thyſelf and him. But hath he not forſworn? even *thou* haſt loſt, who haſt driven him to tranſgreſs the commandment. Let us expel this diſeaſe from the ſoul: Let us drive it now from the Court, and from all Merchants and Tradeſmens ſhops. It was a greater labour to us, do not you think, that worldly things are corrected by the tranſgreſſings of divine laws. But he doth not believe,” ſaith he; for I have alſo heard this of ſome, “ Unleſs I ſwear many oaths they will not believe me:” Thou art the cauſe of theſe things, who ſweareſt ſo promptly and eaſily. But if this were not, but it were manifeſt to all that thou wouldeſt not ſwear, believe me, more credit would be given to thy very Beck, than thoſe who ſwear abundance of Oaths. Whom therefore do you more believe, me that do *not* ſwear, or them that *do* ſwear?’

‘ Obj. But,’ ſays he, ‘ Thou art a Prince and a Biſhop.’

Encouragement to ſuſtain the penalty.

Our doctrine made an Axiom by Chryſoſtom.

‘ Anſw. What then, if I ſhall ſhew thee that it is not this only? Anſwer me in truth now: If I had ſworn always, and at every ſeaſon, what privilege would my Principality have? No; thou ſeeſt that it is not for this. What gaineſt thou then? tell me now. Paul hungered; and do thou chuſe rather to hunger than to tranſgreſs any of God's Commandments. Why art thou ſo unbelieving? Shalt thou chuſe to do and to ſuffer all things, that thou mayeſt not Swear, and ſhall not he reward thee? But he feeds daily Forſwearers and great Swearers, and will he give Thee up to famiſh, becauſe thou hearkeneſt to him? Let all men know, That none may ſwear that are of this congregation; and hereby we may be aſſured, and by this ſign be diſtinguiſhed from the Greeks, and from all men, and not only by the Faith (or Chriſtian Profeſſion.) Let us have this mark from heavenly things, that we may ſhine with it every where, as the King's Flock. We are now known by the Mouth and the Tongue, as the Barbarians, and they that know to ſpeak Greek; for we are diſcerned from the Barbarians by the Tongue. Tell me now, how are Parrots known? Is it not that they ſpeak like Men? And we alſo may be known, if we ſpeak like the Apoſtles, and ſpeak as the Angels. For if any one ſay, “ Swear,” let him hear, that Chriſt hath commanded, “ even not to ſwear.” This ſufficeth to bring in all Virtue. It is a certain gate of godlineſs, a way bringing on unto the Love of Wiſdom (or Philoſophy.) It is a certain exerciſe (or maſtery.) Let us keep theſe things, that we may attain both preſent and future good things, by the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; with whom, to the Father, with the Holy Spirit, be glory, dominion, and honour, now, and for ever and ever. Amen.’

'These precepts were becauſe of the Jewiſh Depravation: But thoſe Perfect ones, to depiſe and relinquiſh riches, ſtand manfully, lay down thy life for preaching; deſpiſe all earthly things, have nothing to do with this preſent life; do good to them that unjuſtly afflict thee; if thou be defrauded, bleſs thou; if any ſlander thee, honour thou him; be over all things: It was fit to hear theſe, and ſuch like things; but now we diſcourſe concerning an Oath. And it is even as if when a man ſhould come to Philoſophy, he ſhould draw him away from thoſe his teachers, and make him ſpell with Letters and Syllables.

'Conſider now, what a confuſion it would be for a Man, that hath a weighty ſcrip, and a ſtaff, and a gown, to go to the Grammar School with Boys, and to learn the ſame things that they do! Would it not be a matter of much laughter? But more from You: For there is not ſo great a difference betwixt Philoſophy and the Elements of Speech, as between the Jewiſh matters, and Ours; even as much as is between Angels and Men. Tell me now, if any ſhould call down an Angel from heaven, and tell him, that he muſt ſtand and hear our ſermons, as if he muſt be thereby inſtructed, would it not be a ridiculous and confuſed thing? And if it were a ridiculous thing to be yet inſtructed by theſe, tell me now how great condemnation, and how great confuſion were it, not to give attention to thoſe former? And how then is it not confuſion, that a Chriſtian muſt be inſtructed that he muſt not ſwear? But let us repreſs our affections, that we be not more laughed at. Let us now diſcourſe concerning the Jewiſh Law to-day: What is that? will he ſay. "Do not uſe thy mouth to *ſwear*, nor be familiar with the Holy Name." Why? "For as a ſervant, if he be continually ſcourged, ſhall not be clear from marks, ſo neither he that ſweareth." Conſider the Wiſdom of that Wiſe Man: He ſaid not, Do not uſe thy Mind, but thy Mouth; becauſe he knew it to be all of the Mouth, and which is eaſily amended, &c. The puniſhment here that is oppoſed to it, tells us, that it is not Perjury, but Swearing, that is here to be removed; "Therefore to ſwear is a ſin." Verily the ſoul is full of ſuch wounds and ſcars. But if thou ſwear becauſe he doth not believe; ſay thou, Believe; or if thou wilt not, ſwear by thyſelf; and I do not ſay, that thou art contrary to the law-giver: Far be it; for, ſaith he, "Let your Word be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay," that herein I may condeſcend to you, and bring you to this, that I may free you from this tyrannical cuſtom. Will you learn why they allowed them of old to Swear, not to Forſwear? It was becauſe they ſwore by Idols. You muſt not be confounded in theſe laws, in which they that were weak were converſant. For if I now take a Greek, I do not forthwith enjoin him this; but now I admoniſh him, that Chriſt muſt be known: But a Believer, and one who hath learned him, and heard, if he ſhould uſe the ſame indulgence and liberty as the Greek, what profit and advantage would there be?'

'Chriſt hath made a law, that *None Swear*. Tell me now what is done about this law; leſt perchance, coming again, as the apoſtle ſaith, "I do not ſpear."

Hom. 10. p. 101.

We hope none will diſpute whether Chryſoſtom was againſt *All Swearing*, or that he underſtood Chriſt's doctrine as we do: Yet nobody can promiſe for them that endeavour to ſqueeze ſwearing out of Chriſt's *Swear not at all*. We have been the larger in this authority, partly becauſe he excellently diſputes it, and partly becauſe our caſe needs it; and laſtly, to ſhow Chriſtians their apoſtacy, that they may reform.

Jerom. Libr. Epiſtol. Part 3. Tract. 2. *Of Obedience, Knowledge, and Revenge.*

LII. 'Thou ſaidſt, if I miſtake not, That on this account thou mayeſt juſtly render evil for evil, and oughteſt to ſwear with them that ſwear, becauſe the Lord ſometimes ſwore, and rendered evil for evil.'

'Firſt, I know that all things are not fit for us, that are Servants, which are agreeable to the Maſter, &c. I know the Lord oftentimes ſwore, who hath forbidden *us* to ſwear. Nor muſt we raſhly ſpeak evil of, or blaſpheme in this, that he forbad another what he did himſelf; becauſe it may be ſaid, The Lord ſwore as *Lord*, whom none *forbad* to ſwear. It is not lawful for us as Servants to ſwear; becauſe we are forbidden by the law of our Lord to ſwear. But, leſt we ſhould ſuffer an offence by his example, ſince the time he forbad *us* to ſwear, neither did *he himſelf* ever ſwear,' &c.

God never ſwore properly.

Upon Zachary, Book 2. Chap. 8.

"And love ye not a falſe oath."]---As to the Lord's commanding in the Goſpel, "But I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all; but let your word be Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay;" he that ſhall never *ſwear*, can never *forſwear*: But he that ſweareth, let him hear that which is written, "Thou ſhall not take the name of the Lord thy God in a vain thing; for all theſe things I hate, ſaith the Lord," according to the words of Malachi, ſaying, "And ye did all that I hate." In precepts which belong to life, and are clear, we ought not to ſeek an allegory, leſt we ſeek a knot in a ruſh, as ſays the Comick.

On *Jeremy* 4. Book 1. Chap. 3.

"And thou ſhalt ſwear the Lord liveth in truth and righteouſneſs, and judgment," &c.

'And how doth the Goſpel forbid us to ſwear? But here it is ſaid, for a Confeſſion,

‘ thou ſhalt Swear, and for the condemnation of Idols, by which Iſrael ſwore. Laſtly, ‘ Offences are taken away, and he ſweareth by the Lord; and what is ſaid in the old ‘ teſtament, “ The Lord liveth,” is an oath to the condemning of all the Dead, by whom ‘ all Idolatry ſweareth. And it is alſo to be minded, that an Oath hath theſe compa- ‘ nions, truth, judgment and righteouſneſs: If theſe be wanting, it is not Swearing, ‘ but Forſwearing.’

An excellent reaſon why oaths were permitted.

Alſo on *Matth.* book 1. chap. 5.

“ But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all, neither by Heaven,” &c.

‘ The Jews had always this cuſtom of ſwearing by the Elements, as the prophet’s ‘ ſpeech often reproves them. He that ſweareth, either reverenceth or loveth him by ‘ whom he ſweareth. In the law it is commanded, that we muſt not ſwear but by the ‘ Lord our God.’

‘ The Jews, ſwearing by the Angels, and the City Jeruſalem, and the Temple, and ‘ the Elements, did worſhip the carnal Creatures with the honour and obſervance of ‘ God. * Laſtly, conſider, that here the Saviour forbad not to ſwear by God, but by ‘ Heaven, &c. * And this was allowed by the Law, as to little ones, that as they offer- ‘ ed Sacrifices to God, leſt they ſhould ſacrifice to Idols, ſo alſo they were ſuffered to ‘ Swear by God: Not that they did this *rightly*, but that it was better to yield that to ‘ God than to devils. But the Truth of the Goſpel doth not receive an Oath, ſince ‘ every Faithful Word is for an Oath.’

This between the two ſtars ſeems a ſelf-contradiction; but doubtleſs he intends it of the ſecond prohibition, as a farther reaſon why oaths were permitted.

Thoſe of after-times, that in ſome reſpect allow of an Oath, ground moſt upon the authority of Auguſtin; as he from the larger acceptation of the words *ſwear*, and *oath*, which he extends to that which Nazianzen (as before) calls but a firm Faithfulneſs joined to his Words; which yet he will not admit of, but to a ‘ Paul, a ‘ Planter of Churches, ſpeaking, by the Spirit of God, to them he had begotten in the ‘ Goſpel, in danger to be ſeduced by falſe apoſtles, and to ſlight him, and ſeek a proof ‘ of Chriſt ſpeaking in him; compelled by them to ſeem a Fool in glorying, and ſo ‘ driven, and no otherwiſe, to ſeem a Swearer too,’ yea, even to an Auguſtin, and ſo to compel him (even Auguſtin) to ſay, ‘ It is a hard queſtion; I have always avoided it.’ But though he durſt not condemn it altogether, out of reverence to the apoſtle, who he thought uſed it, becauſe of the Form of Speech; yet to ſhew that he did little encourage men to practiſe it, as any Act at all of the Worſhip of God, much leſs an *auguſt* act, he ſaith ‘ That Falſe Swearing is Deadly; True Swearing, Dangerous; No Swearing, ‘ Safe: God only ſwears ſafely, who cannot be deceived.’

Auguſtin de Sermone Domini, Serm. 28.

LIII. And Auguſtin himſelf confeſſeth, ‘ that it was uſual to alledge Chriſtianity for ‘ not ſwearing;’ bringing in one ſaying, ‘ It is not lawful for a Chriſtian to ſwear when ‘ an Oath is required of him: I am a Chriſtian; it is not lawful to ſwear.’ And on Pſalm lxxxviii, as allowing the unlawfulneſs, he ſaith, ‘ It is well that God hath *for- ‘ bidden* men to ſwear, leſt by cuſtom of it (inaſmuch as we are apt to miſtake) we com- ‘ mit Perjury. There is none but God can * ſafely ſwear,’ &c.

* If men cannot ſwear ſafely, then it is more dangerous to ſwear than not to ſwear; and it is better for people, nay, they are bound, to refuſe it.

And in that very book, which is alledged for it, he ſaith, ‘ I ſay unto you, Swear not ‘ at all, leſt by Swearing ye come to a Facility of ſwearing; from a facility to a Cuſtom; ‘ and from a cuſtom ye fall into Perjury.’ But if any think that book makes moſt for them, let them conſider the author hath retracted it; for what cauſe, let himſelf ſpeak in the end of his book of “ Retractions:” For ſurely, that which we have here cited out of it, agreeth with his other works, which contain much more to this purpoſe.

De mendac. It is obſcure and intricate.

‘ Where,’ ſays he, ‘ wouldeſt thou chuſe to walk? Upon the brink of a precipice, or ‘ far from it? I think far from it. So he which ſwears, walks in the border, and walk- ‘ eth with unſure feet, becauſe human: If thou ſtumbleſt, down thou goeſt; if thou ‘ falleſt, down thou goeſt.’

De Verb. Jacobi, Ante omnia nolite jurare, ſerm. 21.

We would fain know, if a moſt Auguſt Act of God’s Worſhip be nigheſt the pit’s brink, or fartheſt from it? For there all ought to chuſe to walk; in whoſe way they that walk, walk ſafely; their place is ſure, and their foot-ſteps ſhall not ſlide; but the wicked’s feet are “ in ſlippery places,” where, Auguſtin ſays, ‘ Swearers walk.’

Conſider what he ſaith on thoſe words of Chriſt in Matt. v. ‘ It is the righteouſneſs ‘ of the Phariſees, not to Forſwear: This he confirmeth, who forbiddeth to *ſwear*, * ‘ which belongeth to the righteouſneſs of the kingdom of heaven: For, as he who doth ‘ not ſpeak, cannot ſpeak a lye, ſo he cannot forſwear, who doth not *ſwear*.’ He goes on to excuſe Paul, and ſays, ‘ That an oath is not among *good* things, but among ‘ † *evil* things, and uſed for the Infirmity of others, which is Evil, from which we pray, ‘ that we may be daily delivered.’

But

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* If it belongs to the righteouſneſs of the kingdom of heaven, Not to ſwear, then what will become of thoſe that not only break that commandment of, *Swear not at all*, but teach men ſo to do; nay puniſh men for not obeying ſuch anti-evangelical doctrine?

† Then certainly they are to be rejected of true Chriſtians.

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But there is this to be ſaid for Auguſtin, and ſome others after him, that he and they write not clearer in a point ſo conſtantly maintained: His horizon then was overcaſting apace. Apoſtacy, as a mighty torrent, did not only ſwell and beat againſt the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian doctrine and diſcipline; but, like an unruly and impetuous ſea, broke down the banks of primitive ſociety, and made way for all ſorts of ſuperſtition, worldly intereſt and fraud; that, to ſay no more than he did, was to incur, perhaps, the cenſure of the Grandees of his age, who had joined earthly Policy to Chriſtian religion, and caſt off the bleſſed yoke of their ſelf-denying Lord, to ſwim in the delicious liberty of the world: A time full of ſuch circumſtances as ſeemed to conſpire the return of Oaths, that were not dead, but retired only: For as men grew falſe and diſtruſtful, Truth became burdenſome, and Yea and Nay no ſecurity with them; and therefore they diſclaimed, or rather exiled them their government; old Judaiſm or Gentiliſm pleaſed them better. It was harder living that watchful life that was ſufficient to credit a Yea or a Nay, than to take an Oath, that dependeth upon the ſaying of ſo many words only: This was conſiderable, and made ſwearing then, and continues it grateful to our very times. But ſad it is, that Oaths rode thus in ſtate, while Integrity went barefoot, and evangelical Yea and Nay were turned off for non-ſufficient, and that too not without fines, priſons, and a great deal of reproach. However, we muſt acknowledge, that the gravity and Chriſtian care of this perſon, and other his contemporaries, appeared in not only diſſuading, but deterring thoſe ages from the Brink (for ſo he calls "Swearing at all"), and turning their faces after the Woman, now on her flight into the Wilderneſs: During all which time, the Witneſſes, tho' feweſt in number, and myſtically clothed in ſack-cloth, forbore not to *propheſy*, even in this particular.

And we hope, having no certain knowledge to the contrary, that moſt of them were at leaſt men fearing God, and ſerving him according to what they knew, and in that manner they were perſuaded was moſt acceptable to him. And, as Irenæus ſaid of the Poets and Philoſophers, 'Theſe men, every one ſeeing that which was connatural, from 'part of the Divine-ſown Reaſon, ſpoke excellently, and were right and conſiſtent with 'themſelves; they are ours.' Iren. lib. 5. cap. 18. So we ſincerely declare of men differing from us, that as we deſire the *good of all*, ſo we can own the *good in all*, and the *truth* in all, and receive it from them, tho' in other reſpects our adverſaries; and would have all to do the like with us and each other: And howbeit our adverſaries may have hard thoughts of ſome of the perſons our matter leads us to inſtance, as men intereſted in the doctrine and practices of thoſe darker times they lived in, and of us for making uſe of ſuch for authorities; yet we hope they would alſo judge it an hard and very cruel thing to repute them utter caſtaways. And tho' we know that men differ within themſelves, and all of them more or leſs from the Truth, yet ſince there may be ſome Truth and Sincerity, we cannot but acknowledge and embrace it: And we hope, the reaſons and authorities of others they bring, and the conceſſions and confeſſions of others they make, may, and indeed ought to be, of weight in that point, at leaſt to ſhew that it is no new, ſtrange or unreaſonable thing for us to refuſe Oaths. And tho' ſome might, with a mixture of Superſtition and Will-worſhip, undertake and maintain that ſtrictneſs and preciſeneſs, which ſome of the holy ancients by the Spirit of Truth were led to practiſe (the ancient hiſtories of whom, from eye-witneſſes, as the word ſignifies, of ſome of them, we in a great part believe); and ſome later more enlightened and zealous men, taking offence thereat, but eſpecially at the hypocriſy and abomination palliated by ſuch fair pretences, have ſtrained much in oppoſition to that evangelical doctrine; yet is the doctrine nevertheleſs a truth in itſelf. Nor can we believe that all that were accounted Hereticks, were out of the Catholick or Univerſal Church; for the word CATHOLICK ſignifies UNIVERSAL, containing all that are in the Church (that is, in God, the Father of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt) in all times; and thoſe were not all of the ſame mind in all things, as may be read in the Holy Scriptures, and alſo in Euſebius and other eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, where men are commended for holineſs and virtue, yet at much difference in ſome things. Syneſius, tho' he believed not the Reſurrection, was choſen to miniſter, and afterward was made a Biſhop; the Charity of Chriſtians was ſo great in that age. And ſome accounted Hereticks, ſuffered martyrdom, that are commended or excuſed by Euſebius; one in particular that died with Polycarpus, and another called Aſclepius, both Marcionites. See alſo the beginning of his eighth book concerning the diviſions among them that afterward ſuffered for the teſtimony of the Univerſal or Catholick Truth: Nor can we receive their judgment, that branded thoſe with the name of Hereticks, Pelagians, &c. who denied Swearing in thoſe declining ages, and ſuppreſſed their works under that name and aſperſion only; not allowing them to ſpeak for themſelves to us of latter times.

Euſeb. Pam. Socr. Schol. Evagr. &c.

1 Theſ. i. 1. Phil. iii. 15. Soc. l. 6. c. 13. Evagr. l. 1. c. 11. Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 8. c. 28. l. 4. c. 15.

Pelagius, a Britain, Anno 400, wrote notable books, ſaith Gonnadius, who lived ſoon after him.

We ſee how unjuſtly we ourſelves are aſperſed in almoſt every doctrine we hold, and that under pretence of ſerving God; particularly, with ſeeking to work our ſalvation by our own Power; and when they have made us this belief, they beſtow Pelagianiſm upon it, (for fathers have right to name their own children); whereas, of all other people, we eſpecially diſclaim our own Ability, and wait to be renewed and guided by the Spirit of

Chriſt, and to be found in his righteouſneſs; and therefore, on the other hand, reputed Phanaticks, Enthuſiaſts, &c. and mocked for being *moved by the ſpirit*, following *the light*, &c. But let their example or authority be as it will, or however they were in other reſpects, the doctrine of the ancient Primitive Fathers, and Practice of that Church, as alſo the doctrine of famous men among themſelves, neither of which ſort dare they condemn for Hereticks, do ſufficiently defend them from the aſperſion of Hereſy in that particular: And ſo we ſhall come to our remaining teſtimonies, it being not our buſineſs to maintain every one of their principles we cite, but to prove this doctrine of "ſwear not at all," to have had the voice of ſeveral ages to confirm it.

The ancient Waldenſes, reputed to have continued uncorrupted with the groſſneſs of the apoſtacy, ever ſince the Apoſtles times, (ſee their hiſtory in P. Perin, S. Moreland and Bp. Uſher de Succeſ.) we have good cauſe to ſay, denied the taking of any oath in what ſenſe the Primitive Chriſtians and Fathers refuſed, and that was *altogether*. Sure it is, their enemies charged them with it for above three hundred years, and we cannot find they then denied the Charge: We ſuppoſe none will attempt to prove they did: Though one of our adverſaries joins with theirs, traducing them for Perjurers, and with them abuſes that worthy and learned man Bp. Uſher, who defends them from that improbable and contradictory aſperſion, of Lying and Forſwearing, and yet of Denying to *ſwear*; who ſays, 'that they were as far from Lying and Forſwearing, as their enemies were 'from modeſty and truth, which did appear, in that they were charged by them, *not to* '*ſwear at all*:' Peruſe that part of his book *de Succeſſione*, where he treats of them; and where alſo you may read of their ſucceſſion, how that the Syrians and Armenians came out of the eaſt into Thracia, thence in proceſs of time into Bulgaria and Sclavonia, thence into Italy and Lombardy, and were called by ſeveral names, of ſeveral people, or at ſeveral times, as Manichees, Waldenſes, Albigenſes, Cathari or Puritans, Patrins, Publicans, Humiliati, &c. who were charged with denying *ſwearing*; and how that ſeveral of the better ſort of the Clergy, and of the nobler Laity (who refuſed the preſent uſe of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper) were burnt, under the name of Manichees. Suarez alſo reckons up the Cathariſts, Alba, Bagnald, and others which Prateolus and Caſtro relate, the Waldenſes, the Anabaptiſts, &c. And which Janſenius alſo, out of Auguſtin, Epiſt. 89, the Pelagians out of Hilary Syracuſanus, Epiſt. 88. Bernard, Homil. 69, on Cant. 'The Fathers,' ſays he, 'ſeem to favour this opinion, eſpecially Baſil, Hom. 'in Pſal. 14. Chryſoſtom, Hom. 19. 78. ad popul. and 17 on Mat. And Theophy'lact on Mat. v. Origen Tract 35. Mat. Tertullian de Idololat. Clem. Rom. l. 6. Con'ſtitut. Apoſt.' Maldonat, on Mat. v. 34 ſaith, 'The Anabaptiſts, the Wickliffites, 'ſome Syracuſans, a kind of Pelagians, denied Swearing; and that Origen was not far 'off that opinion.' Here the Hereticks, as accounted, and the Fathers, are reckoned up together, as holding the ſame opinions: Sure in this they were not Hereticks; for then the Fathers ſhould be condemned with them, and called Hereticks too, as well as they; or elſe theſe men are partial and contradictory.

See Baronius, Ann. 1310.

Joh. Walden againſt John Wickliff and Waldenſes. Reiner, Rub. Capitan. W. Widford, Gui. Carmel. Voſſ. hiſtor. Pelag. l. 5. p. 2. Bp. Uſher, de Succeſſ. De Juramentis, l. 1. c. 1. 2.

Auguſtin, on Jam. v. of the words of the apoſtle, thus, Serm. 30. 'Perhaps it is 'meet for the Lord *alone* to ſwear, who cannot forſwear.' And ſo he goes on to ſhew how hard it is for men to avoid Perjury.

In ſerm. 3. *ad competentes*: 'Let them not only abſtain from Perjury, but from 'Swearing; becauſe he doth not lye who ſaith, "A man ſwearing much, ſhall not de"part from iniquity, and the plague ſhall not depart from his houſe." Eccleſ. xxiii.

But if it were an Auguſt Act of the Worſhip of God, he would, on the contrary, have exhorted at leaſt, if not commanded them, to *ſwear*; which we never read any Command for, but in oppoſition to Idols, even in the time of the Old Teſtament Writings, as the teſtimonies before alledged declare; and in the time of the New, no Command at all; but, on the contrary, a Prohibition by the Lord himſelf, and another by his apoſtle; nor any Example; for that of Paul's was but an Aſſeveration, as by the teſtimonies already produced, and to be alledged, appears: For beſides thoſe of the Fathers and other Doctors, of late Bp. Ro. Sanderſon, in his "Oxford Lectures," ſhows, this is ſometimes uſed in the Form of an Oath which is *no* Oath; and ſo he defendeth Joſeph from breaking God's command, that is, not to have ſworn *ſo*; and therefore not to have ſinned, but to have uſed an Aſſeveration; as if he had ſaid, "As ſure as Pharaoh liveth, ye are ſpies:" So may Paul be defended againſt the breaking Chriſt's command; as if he had ſaid, "As "ſure as ye," or, as ſome Greek Copies have it, "We, rejoice in Chriſt Jeſus:" For νὴ, which they tranſlate, *I proteſt by*, hath ſometimes the ſame ſignification that ναὶ, *yea*, hath, as may be ſeen in Scapula; for he ſays, νὴ (tranſlated, *I proteſt by*) is a particle, ſometimes of *granting* and *affirming*; ſometimes it is put for *verily, indeed*; and he interprets ναὶ by the ſame word, which is tranſlated *yea*, which Scapula ſaith is alſo ſometimes uſed in ſwearing, and cites Ariſtophanes and Xenophon for it: And that νὴ is uſed alſo in compoſition for *affirming*, as in νήχυτος, *profuſus*, laviſhing; which cannot ſignify ſwearing.

And how eaſily might the tranſcriber, thro' that common uſe, alter a Letter, being of the ſame ſignification; ſeeing in that very verſe, in ſome Copies, there is not only in another

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another word an alteration of a Letter, ἡμετέραν & ὑμετέραν, *our* and *your*, but in another word *five* Letters, ἀποθνήσκω & ἀποθνήσκοντες, referring to the verſe before; yea, a whole Word of *ſeven* letters added, ἀδελφοί. And of about Thirty Greek Copies there are not two of them that agree, but they interfere, ſome in one place, ſome in another; inſomuch that there are thouſands of various readings, which many of the ancient Fathers diverſly follow, ſome one, ſome another. See the (various lections) *variæ lectiones græc. nov. teſt.* in Bp. Walton's Polyglot, vol 6. alſo the Preface, and Beza's Epiſtle therein: And conſider how hard a thing it is to conſtrue, limit, and lay the interpretation of the ſayings of Chriſt and his apoſtles, and the weight of a doctrine, and that as men would avoid penalties too, upon a Letter (which yet alters not the ſignification) upon the credit of the Tranſcribers, eſpecially in Paul's Epiſtles, wherein Peter ſays, "many things are hard to be "underſtood, and wreſted by the unlearned," which he muſt needs intend in ſuch Learning as he himſelf had; and that was not of worldly Academies, but from the Holy Spirit. And theſe words, which are joined with that particle, are not ſuch words as men uſe in Swearing, but for a ground of his Fidelity, and a remedy againſt their Incredulity, and queſtioning of the weight of his aſſertions, amongſt whom other teachers were preferred, and who compelled him to ſpeak "as a fool," he ſays, "even to commend him"ſelf." So that it is not ſtrange, if to them, and not to other churches, he uſed ſuch forcible Aſſeverations, from the teſtimony that they had of him, of the truth and work of Chriſt in him, and the record thereof upon his ſoul, and his joy therein, that he ſpoke the truth to them, and did not lye: So that he brings his perſecutions againſt their imperfections, to gain belief; which cannot amount to more than a voluntary condeſcenſion for the time being, and cannot prove or countenance a compulſory, promiſſory, formal, ceremonial Oath to be exacted or taken up for the future.

But mark, that the word *Oath*, or *Swear*, uſed both by Chriſt and the apoſtle James in their Prohibition, is never uſed by Paul in his Aſſeverations, neither doth he ever apply it to the brethren; but ſpeaking to them of the Oath that was in old time, and of Men (indefinitely) that uſe to ſwear, he ſaith, "Men ſwear; and to them an Oath is for con"firmation;" that is, as among the Jews and Heathen; he doth not ſay to Us, or to You; or We, or Ye ſwear, who are not in ſtrife; which, if it had been true, it might have ſtood the preſent Oath-Advocates in ſtead. So that ſuch as will have it that Paul ſwore, muſt bring the word *ſwear*, or *oath*, to prove it: But if they could, his example *then* were not enough to invalidate to us *now* the Commandment of Chriſt for the aboliſhing of ſwearing; no more than his ſhaving his head at Cenchrea, becauſe he had a vow; or his purifying himſelf in the temple, and offering with the Four Jews that had a vow; or his circumciſing of Timothy, becauſe of the Jews; can warrant us to the obſervation of thoſe legal rites and ceremonies, which ſo long ſince are not only dead, but deadly, as the Fathers and Bp. Saunderſon diſtinguiſh about them. And thoſe that would therefore bring in Swearing and Vows, might, under the ſame colour, bring in Sacrificing and Circumciſing too.

LIV. Iſidorus Peluſiota, who, as Evagrius Schol. writes, lived at the ſame time with Cyril, and that the fame of his ſayings and doings was ſpread far and near, and riſe in every man's mouth, that he led on earth the life of an Angel, and wrote many notable works, amongſt which are his Epiſtles, in one whereof he writeth againſt Swearing thus; 'If thou art of our flock, and art ordered under a good Shepherd, deny the nature of 'wild beaſts, and obey his voice, that forbiddeth to ſwear *at all*. Moreover, not to 'ſwear, is not to require an Oath of *another*. Now, if thou wilt not ſwear, neither 'require thou an oath of another, for two cauſes; either becauſe he who is aſked loves 'truth, or, on the contrary, to lye: If the man ſpeaks truth uſually, he will *always* 'ſpeak truth without an *Oath*; but if he is a lyar, he will lye, though he *ſwear*: 'Therefore, for both theſe cauſes, one ought not to require an Oath.'

L. 1. c. 15.
Ep. lib. 1.
Epiſt. 155.

Not to require an oath by any means of another man.
On Mat. v.

LV. Chromatius, biſhop of Aquileia, about or not long after that time, upon theſe words, "But I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all," paraphraſeth thus; 'The Law (ſaith 'he) given by Moſes, received a growth, proficiency, or perfection, by the grace of 'the doctrine of the Goſpel. In the Law it was commanded, not to *forſwear*; but in 'the Goſpel not to *ſwear*: Which very thing heretofore the Holy Ghoſt did premeditate that Solomon ſhould command or teach, ſaying, "Let not thy mouth uſe to "ſwear." And again, "As a ſervant beaten continually, is not leſſened from the pale"neſs of his ſtripes, ſo every one that ſweareth, ſhall not be purged from ſin." Wherefore it is not to meet for us to ſwear *at all*: For what need is there for any of us to 'ſwear, ſeeing that it is not at all lawful for us to lye; whoſe words ought always to be 'ſo true, ſo very faithful, that they may be accounted for Oaths. And therefore the 'Lord not only forbids us to forſwear, but even to *ſwear*; that we may not ſeem to ſpeak 'truth *only* when we ſwear; that we may not think that thoſe whom he hath appointed 'to be true in all their ſpeech, may have liberty to lye without an Oath: For this is the 'cauſe of an oath, becauſe that every one who ſweareth, doth not ſwear to this end, that 'he will ſpeak that which is true, and therefore the Lord would have no difference to 'be between their Oath and their Word: Becauſe as in an Oath there ought to be no

Suſpicion the cauſe of an oath.

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‘ Perfidiouſneſs, ſo in our Words there ought to be no Lye, in that both perjury and lying are condemned by the puniſhment of the judgment of God, ſeeing the ſcripture ſaith, “ The mouth which lyeth, killeth the ſoul :” Therefore whoſoever ſpeaketh Truth, ſweareth ; becauſe it is written, “ A faithful witneſs doth not lye.” And therefore holy ſcripture (not without cauſe) often relates, that God hath ſworn,” becauſe whatſoever is *ſpoken* of God, who is true, and cannot lye, is counted for an Oath, becauſe all which he ſpeaks is true. Now we find God ſometimes ſwearing ; but it is for the perfidiouſneſs of the Jewiſh infidelity, who think that all truth conſiſts in the credit of an Oath ; therefore alſo God would ſwear, that they who would not truſt God *ſpeaking*, might truſt him when he *ſwore* : Therefore our Lord ſaith, “ Ye have heard it ſaid of old, Thou ſhalt not forſwear : But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all,” &c.

On Deut. vi. A ſmart and true anſwer.

LVI. Theodoret, on Deut. vi. pag. 57, ‘ Why doth the Law command, that they ſhould ſwear by God ?’ Leſt they ſhould ſwear by *falſe* Gods : For he ſaid the ſame by the prophets, “ If thou takeſt the names of Baalim out of thy mouth, and ſhalt ſwear, The Lord liveth with Truth :” And here when he had ſaid, “ Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve, and ſhalt cleave to him, and ſhalt ſwear by his Name,” he ſubjoined, “ Ye ſhall not walk after other, or ſtrange Gods, which are of the Gods of the nations, which are round about you.” Lyra ſaith the ſame.

Rubanus.

LVII. Ordinary Gloſs on Mat. v. 37. hath this ſentence, ‘ A faithful Speech ought to be accounted for an Oath.’

LVIII. Johannes Damaſcenus, Parallel. lib. 3. cap. 16. bringeth a teſtimony of one Nilus againſt ſwearing. There was one named Nilus in Egypt, a martyr, mentioned by Euſebius. Another, biſhop of Conſtantinople, ſpoken of by Socrates, both very famous ; the words are theſe : ‘ It is not profitable to ſwear, but very pernicious, and execrable and abominable : Wherefore hereafter make an end of ſwearing ; nor commit ſuch a thing, as that thy tongue uſe Oaths.’ In the ſame place he alledgeth teſtimonies out of J. Chryſoſtom, Hom. 13. ad populum Antiochenum.

Nilus forbids oaths.

On Jer. iv.

LIX. Cyril, whom Evagrius Scholaſt. ſtiles Renowned, in his Commentary on Jeremy the ivth, “ And ſhall ſwear, the Lord liveth, in truth, and in judgment, and in righteouſneſs,” ſaith, ‘ let us look, who ſwear, how we do not ſwear in judgment, but without judgment ; ſo that our oaths are by cuſtom, rather than judgment : We are laſhed therefore ; and the Word, reproving that ſame thing, ſaith, “ And if he ſhall ſwear, the Lord liveth, in truth, in righteouſneſs and judgment :” For we know it is ſaid in the Goſpel by the Lord unto his diſciples, “ But I ſay unto you, that you ſwear not at all.’ But let us conſider alſo this ſaying ; and, if God grant, both ſhall be rewarded. For perhaps, it firſt behoveth to ſwear in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteouſneſs ; and after one hath made proficiency, he may be made worthy not to ſwear *at all*, but may have Yea, not needing witneſſes that it *is* ſo ; and may have Nay, not needing witneſſes that it is verily *not* ſo.’

Cyril. See Catena 65. Græc. Patr. on Luke i. p. 23.

And ſays Cyril farther, ‘ Let none, becauſe he hears that God ſwore to Abraham, uſe to ſwear : For as that which is called *Wrath* in God, is not *wrath*, nor doth it ſignify a Paſſion, but a Puniſhing Power, or ſome ſuch-like motion ; ſo neither is Swearing, *ſwearing* : For God doth *not* ſwear ; but ſhews the Certainty, that what he ſaith ſhall come to paſs, certainly : For the Oath of God is his own Word, filling the hearers, and making every one believe, that what he hath promiſed and ſaid, ſhall ſurely come to paſs.’

On Pſal. xciv. agreeth with Auguſtin.

LX. Caſſiodorus on Pſalm xciv. ſaith, ‘ Hence it is, that men are forbidden to ſwear, becauſe by their *own power* they cannot perform their *promiſes*.’ This Caſſiodorus was famous about the year five hundred.

On Eccleſ. viii.

LXI. Olympiodorus was alſo famous about the ſame time, who on Eccleſ. viii. ſaith thus, “ Keep the mouth of the King, and do not ſtudy concerning the Word of the Oath of God, but go far from the face of it,” viz. ‘ of an Oath ; that is, Refrain and depart from it, and do not at all endure to take an Oath into thy mouth.’

LXII. Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis was famous about that time, and lived with him they called St. Gregory, who diſliked the bringing in the title of Univerſal Biſhop, and alſo the uſe of Swearing : His words are theſe, ‘ Many are ſlow to believe, which are moved at the belief of the Word : But they do grievouſly offend, who compel them to ſwear that ſpeak to them.’

Chap. 31.

LXIII. Antiochus, ſaid to be a man famous for holineſs and learning, living in Paleſtine about the time of Heraclius the emperor, which was about the year ſix hundred and fourteen, in his Pandects of Scripture, Hom. 62, concerning Swearing, ſaith thus in the Greek (which ſee, for the Latin Tranſlation is in ſome things imperfect) ‘ The old Law, as giving laws to Children, which for their age were not capable of more holy doctrine, not unſeaſonably commands, to ſwear nothing to their neighbour in deceit : But us our Lord and Saviour commandeth, not to ſwear *at all*, neither out of ſeaſon, 'nor in ſeaſon; for he ſaith unto us, "Let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay; for whatſoever is more, is of Evil."

'And ſaith he to the firſt people of a ſtiff neck, "I commanded, thou ſhalt not forſwear, but ſhalt perform thy vows unto the Lord, as to them that were hard-hearted and diſobedient to me: But to you that believe in me, to whom I have given power to become the ſons of God, that are born again of the Holy Spirit, I command, *not to ſwear at all*, neither little, nor great oaths; that a difference may plainly appear, who are baſtards, and who true ſons." Let us therefore, dear friends, fear him, who hath vouchſafed us ſo much honour, even the Lord and Father, with all fear; as ſincere ingenuous ſervants let us keep his commandments, not to ſwear *at all*, leſt he ſay, as in Iſa. i. "I have nouriſhed and brought up children, and they have rebelled againſt me:" Let us not be ſlighters and deſpiſers of this commandment of the Lord; for thoſe things that are ſaid and done without an Oath, are more credited by men, and more pleaſing to God.'

Beda in Ep. Jam. c. 5.

LXIV. In the next century, Beda, an Engliſhman, the moſt famous of thoſe days, and ſtiled Venerable, in his expoſition upon theſe words, "Before all things, my brethren ſwear not," &c. ſaith, 'Becauſe he deſires entirely to draw out the deadly poiſon of the tongue in his hearers, he, who forbad to grieve in adverſities, forbad to detract or ſlander any man, or to judge his neighbour, which are open ſins; he adds this alſo (ſeeming light to ſome) that he may take away the Cuſtom of Swearing. For that this alſo is not to be eſteemed a light matter, plainly appears to them that carefully conſider that ſentence of the Lord, where he ſaith, "Of every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give account in the day of judgment."

["That ye fall not into condemnation."] 'Therefore,' ſaith he, 'I reſtrain you from the fault of ſwearing, leſt by ſwearing frequently true things, ye fall ſometimes alſo into forſwearing; but ſtand ſo far from the vice of forſwearing, that you will not *ſwear* neither, but by the greateſt neceſſity. But he alſo falls under the judgment of guilt, who, although he never forſwear, yet ſweareth true oftner than there is need; namely, he offends in the very idleneſs of ſuperfluous ſpeech; and he offendeth the Judge, which forbad both every unprofitable word and oath.'

Spelm. Brit. Council, p. 260.

From this chief man among the Engliſh of that time, it is manifeſt that this was the doctrine they then held, as farther appears from H. Spelman, that learned Engliſh knight, in his book of Britiſh Councils, Canons, &c. in the Exceptions, or Select Collections of Egbert, archbiſhop of York, article 19. 'That no prieſt whatſoever may ſwear an Oath; but let him ſpeak all things ſimply, in purity and truth.' And in the ſame Author and Council, article 18, the chief of monaſteries, prieſts and deacons, ſhould ſay (without Swearing) when they were to purge and clear themſelves, only thus, "I ſpeak the truth in Chriſt, I lye not."

And in page 259, in England, at the Council of Berghamſted, about the year Seven hundred and fifty, Article 17, 'that a Biſhop's or a King's Word or Affirmation, without an Oath, is irrefragable.'

This agrees with Blaſtaris's Canons afore-mentioned: And at this day, in ſome countries, as in Germany, the Electoral Archbiſhops of Cologn, Mentz, and Triers, and many noblemen in their ſtation, ſpeak without an Oath, upon their Honour, &c.

Certainly, then, it is much below the nobility of true Chriſtians, in their ſpiritual ſtation, to ſwear; as Chryſoſtom and the ancients have well obſerved.

LXV. Haimo lived about Eight hundred and forty, who on the Revelations ſaith, 'That it is lawful only for God and Angels to ſwear; but to men it is forbidden.'

LXVI. Ambroſius Anſbertus, Gallus Preſbyter: 'Seeing the Lord prohibits the faithful from every Oath, ſaying, "Swear not at all, neither by Heaven, &c. but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay;" what abounds more than them is from the Evil one. Men are often deceived by an oath; but He, who is the Truth, never is deceived; for he would not have prohibited men from an oath, if he had not known ſin to be in it.'

LXVII. Theophylact, Archbiſhop of the Bulgarians, whom ſome place in the ninth century, others after; to be ſure very famous, being as it were their Apoſtle; in his Comment on Matth. v. ſaith, 'To ſwear, or adjure more to Yea or Nay, is of the Devil. Moreover,' ſays he 'if thou ſhouldſt ſay, That the Law alſo given to Moſes was evil, becauſe it commandeth to Swear; Learn, that *then* it was *not* evil to ſwear; but *after Chriſt*, it *is* evil; as alſo to be circumciſed; and, in brief, whatſoever is * Jewiſh: For it is convenient for a Child to ſuck, but not at all for a Man.'

* He makes oaths Jewiſh, at leaſt in oppoſition to evangelical; becauſe imperfect, and permitted to the Jews, in condeſcenſion.

LXVIII. Bernard: 'The truth needs not an Oath.' *De modo bene vivendi*, Ser. 32. *De perjurio*: 'A faithful Word holds the place of an Oath: As he cannot lye who doth not ſpeak, ſo he cannot forſwear who doth not undertake to ſwear:' Grounded on Matthew the vth.

LXIX. Paſchatius Ratbertus, on Mat. v. "Ye have heard," &c. 'In this place, as alſo every-where in thoſe things, the perfection in righteouſneſs is renewed; for what every one ſwears by, he either worſhips, loveth, or fears it: Therefore, by the Law,

1675. it was lawful for that carnal people to ſwear by God; and this was allowed as to little Ones, that as they offered Sacrifices to God, leſt they ſhould offer them to Idols, ſo alſo it was permitted to them to Swear by God: Not that they did this well, but becauſe it was better to give it to God than to Devils.'

LXX. Otho Brunfelſius on Mat. v. " But let your word be Yea," &c. 'That it is the Duty of a Chriſtian man to be ſure in his Words; that, being unſworn, he ſurpaſs any Jew or Heathen ſwearing by all his holy things; namely in theſe bare words only *Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay*. Such faithfulneſs and conſtancy is commended in good men by prophane authors. Read Seneca, Cicero, Valerius Maximus.

'But thou wilt ſay, "I ſhall not be truſted, unleſs I ſwear:" Even ſo it is permitted by the Popes, to ſwear good words in a good cauſe. But ſuch diſtruſt ought not to reign in the faithful: But if we truſt not Words, what ſhould an Oath do? It is a proverb, "None is leſs truſted than he which ſhall often Swear." Moreover, who gave power to Popes to break the command of God?'

LXXI. Druthmarus on Math. v. 'Leſt the Jews ſhould ſwear by Idols names, the Lord ſuffered them to ſwear by his *own* name.'

'The Lord taught us Perfection, that ſuch truſt is to be among Chriſtians, that there ſhould be no need to interpoſe the Name of God for witneſs.'

LXXII. Janſeniu[illegible] on Math. v. 'If all Chriſtians were ſuch as they ought to be, it would certainly be needleſs both to require and take an Oath.'-----I think this more Chriſtian; and not to ſwear *at all*, nor *compel* to ſwear, more Spiritual.-----Yea and Amen are the ſame, 2 Cor. 1. not Swearing, but Affirming: So Chriſt ſwore not.' See Bernard, Hom. 69. in Cant. *de more bene vivendi*, Serm. 32.

LXXIII. Albertus Magnus on Mat. v. 'Swearing is by Indulgence.' Thomas Aquinas cites Rabanus on Mat. v.

LXXIV. Alex. de Ales citeth Hug. Cardinal, ſaying, 'The Lord forbad ſwearing, leſt any ſhould deſire to ſwear as a good thing; alſo that none might fall into Perjury.'

P. 3. q. 59. LXXV. Remigius on Rom. i. 'Who never Swears, never Forſwears.'

LXXVI. Ruffinus on Pſal. xiv. 'Not to ſwear at all, is of perfect men." See alſo Smaragdus on Mat. v. Titelmannus on Pſal. xiv. Brugenſis on Mat. v. Ludolphus Carthuſianus, Vita Chriſti, part 2. cap. 12. Rupertus, de Operibus Spiritus Sancti, Fol. 453. Baptiſta Folengius, on Pſal. xv. Nic. Lyra, and Ordinary Gloſs on Mat. v.

See Bibliotheca veter. patrum. LXXVII. Euthymius Zigabenus, on Mat. v. p. 43. ſaith thus, "Again, ye have heard, that it hath been ſaid to them of old time, Thou ſhalt not forſwear, &c. But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all, &c."] Now the old law ſaith, "Thou ſhalt not forſwear, but ſhalt offer to the Lord thine oaths;" which he added, that he might put fear into the ſwearer, that he ſhall not forſwear, knowing that God, which knows all things, undertakes the oath. ["But I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all."] For he that eaſily ſweareth, ſometimes perchance may forſwear, by the cuſtom of ſwearing; but he that ſwears by no means, will never forſwear. Beſides, thou that ſweareſt, ſo be thou do not forſwear, thou obſerveſt the worſhip of God; but ſwearing, by no means, thou doſt promote it: And the other is the part of mean and imperfect philoſophy; but this of that which is the higheſt and perfect. The other, "Thou ſhalt not forſwear," is written in the book of Exodus; but this, "Thou ſhalt reſtore to the Lord thine oaths," in the book of Deuteronomy; but in other words. Now he commanded this, leſt they ſhould ſwear by gods of a falſe name.' Again,

'Not to ſwear, and not to require an oath, come to the ſame thing. For, how canſt thou induce thy brother unto that which thou avoideſt thyſelf, if ſo be that thou art a lover of thy brother, and not rather of money?'

"Nor by Heaven, for it is the Throne of God," &c.

'Leſt they ſhould think, that he forbad to ſwear by God only, in ſaying, by God, he adds alſo other kind of oaths, by which the Jews did then ſwear; for he that ſweareth by theſe things, ſweareth again by God, who fills theſe things, and rules them; for they have theſe things in honour for Him, and not for themſelves: For he ſaith by the prophet, "Heaven is my Throne, and Earth is my Foot-ſtool;" the prophet manifeſting by this, that God filleth all things: "Do not I fill Heaven and Earth?" David alſo ſaith, "The City of the Great King."

"Neither by thy Head."

'Therefore thou ſhouldſt not ſwear the *meaneſt* oath; I ſay even by thy own Head, leſt thou proceed to greater, or by any other manner; for the Creature is alſo the poſſeſſion of God.' And again, 'The Oath is made by God, who hath it (the Creature) in his Power: For although it (the Head) be made thine, yet it is not thy Work; which is manifeſt from this, that thou canſt not make one hair white or black.'

"But let your words be Yea Yea, and Nay Nay," &c.

'Let your ſpeech be, when ye affirm, *Yea*, and when you deny, *Nay*; and uſe only theſe for, or inſtead of, Oaths to confirmation, and no other than Yea and Nay. What are adjoined beſides theſe, he calleth an Oath.'

Queſt. ‘ But if an oath be of the Devil, how did the old Law permit it?’

Anſw. ‘ Becauſe the ſacrifices of living creatures were alſo of evil, and by the deceit ‘ of Idols, yet the Law permitted them, becauſe of the *infirmity* of the Hebrews. For ‘ whereas they were gluttons, and ſmell-feaſts, they loved the ſacrifices of Idols; and ‘ whereas alſo they were unbelieving, they alſo loved an Oath: And that they ſhould not ‘ afterwards either ſacrifice to Idols, or ſwear by Idols, the Law permitted them to ‘ ſacrifice and to ſwear, and if there were any thing elſe of that kind, they transferred ‘ all unto God. Now it was come to paſs, that in proceſs of time he would cut off ‘ theſe things alſo, by a more ſublime law, to be brought in; becauſe it is good for Infants to be ſuckled; but for Men it is very unfit: There we allow this to them that ‘ live after the manner of Infants; but we withdraw or prohibit them that are Manly ‘ from it.’

* They all agree in the reaſon of ſuffering Oaths under the Law, viz. the Jews Weakneſs.

Queſt. ‘ What then is to be done, if any require an Oath; yea, *compel* to ſwear?’

Anſw. ‘ Let the Fear of God be more forcible than this compulſion or neceſſity; and ‘ chuſe rather to ſuffer all things, than to tranſgreſs the Command, ſith in every precept, ‘ force and violent danger will often meet with thee: And unleſs thou eſteemeſt the ‘ command of God every-where more forcible, all things will depart from thee void ‘ and unperformed. In the following paſſages, the Lord ſaith, “ The kingdom of hea-“ ven ſuffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.”

LXXVIII. Oecumenius, a famous Greek writer, about Ann. one thouſand and ſeven-‘ ty, writes on Jam. v. 12. thus, ‘ But ſome will ſay, “ If any be *forced* to ſwear, what “ is to be done?” We ſay, that the fear of God ſhall be ſtronger than the force of him ‘ that compels. But ſome may doubt, how it comes to paſs, that Grace doth not com-‘ mand this, as did the old Law, affording praiſe to him that did ſwear by the Name of ‘ the Lord? We ſay, The old Law, leading the Jews not to ſwear by Devils, appoint-‘ ed to ſwear by God, as it commanded them to ſacrifice, drawing them from the ſacri-‘ fice of Idols, or Devils. But when it had ſufficiently taught them to have a religious ‘ reſpect to God, then it rejected Sacrifices, as unprofitable; ſeeking not a ſacrifice by ‘ Beaſts, but a broken Spirit; that is, a ſweet whole Burnt-ſacrifice, inflamed by the ‘ Fire of Love.’

“ That ye fall not into Hypocriſy,” (ſo ſome Copies have it; for the words in Greek are ſometimes alike). ‘ Hypocriſy,’ he ſaith, ‘ or Condemnation, which follows them ‘ that ſwear without ſparing; and, through the cuſtoms of oaths, are carried out to ‘ forſwear. The word Hypocriſy ſignifies thus much,” That which being one thing, “ appears another.” How then falleth he into hypocriſy that ſweareth? *Anſwer*. When ‘ he that is believed for the Oath's ſake to be true, and yet tranſgreſſion following, is ‘ declared to be a Lyar, inſtead of a true man, not producing Yea in certainty. He ‘ forbids to ſwear by God, becauſe of Perjury; but by Heaven, and other oaths, that ‘ men ſhould not bring theſe things into the Honour of God; for all that ſwear, do ‘ ſwear by the Greater.’

LXXIX. Anſelmus, biſhop of Canterbury, about Ann. one thouſand and ninety, on that place of Mat. v. thus, page 38. “ Thou ſhalt not forſwear,” &c.] ‘ Moſes, ſeeing ‘ that he could not take away Swearing, takes away Perjury.’ And again, ‘ Becauſe ‘ men have in great reverence thoſe things by which they ſwear, leſt they ſhould make ‘ the Creatures gods themſelves, he commands them to render their oaths to *God*, and ‘ not to ſwear by *Creatures*. But the Lord removes them more perfectly from Perjury, ‘ when he forbids them to *ſwear at all*.’

LXXX. The ancient Waldenſes, we have good cauſe to ſay, denied the taking of *any* oath, in what ſenſe the primitive Chriſtians and Fathers refuſed, and that was *altogether*: To be ſure their enemies charged them with it, for above three hundred years; and we cannot find that they then denied the charge: We ſuppoſe none will attempt to prove they did; for they were well known in the world as to this particular.

LXXXI. And Bp. Uſher pleads for them, againſt the Papiſts, who were Swearers.

LXXXII. Likewiſe a people of Albi in France, Ann. one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſix. held it was *unlawful* to ſwear.

Vide Baron. Anno 1310. John Walden adv. Wickliff and Waldenſ. Reiner. Rub. Capitan. W. Woodford, De Succeſſ. l. 6. Bar. Anno 1310, n. 3.

LXXXIII. The “ Plowman's Complaint,” containing, as abundance of mournful applications to God, ſo many notable and ſerious reprehenſions of the lapſed, erroneous and cruel nature of men: Among others it hath this notable paſſage to our purpoſe, ‘ Lord, thou ‘ giveſt us a command of truth, in bidding us, Yea Yea, and ſwear for nothing; but, ‘ Lord, he (Pope) that calls himſelf thy Vicar on Earth, hath broken the Command-‘ ment, *ſo* makes a law to compel men to ſwear.’ Who was the author of this, is not certainly known; but to be ſure it was embraced of the Wickliffians, as worthy of their patronage; and remembred and recorded by John Fox, as not unworthy to keep company with Proteſtant Martyrs.

J. Fox Mart. v. 1. p. 527.

Men honoured by Proteſtants.

LXXXIV. John Wickliff, our countryman, and, in his time, Divinity Profeſſor of Oxford, (famous for his learning and godly courage, in oppugning the doctrines and practices of Rome, in the time of Edward the Third, and Richard the Second, about the

J. Fox Mart. v. 1. p. 554, to 558. Geff. Chanc. works fol. 86.

the year one thouſand three hundred and ſeventy) was accuſed, among other things, 'for maintaining, that all Oaths, which be made for any Contract or civil Bargain, betwixt man and man, are unlawful.'

LXXXV. We will bring in here a paſſage out of the "Plowman's Tale," as it lies in Geoffry Chaucer's Works, not impertinent to our purpoſe, whoſe learning, honour and wit, were great in the time he lived, which was about one thouſand three hundred and ſixty, John Wickliff's contemporary.

> These wollen make men to ſwear,
>   againſt Chriſt's commandment;
> And Chriſt's members all to tear,
>   on rood as he was new yrent;
> Such laws they make by common aſſent,
>   each one it throweth as a ball;
> Thus the poor be full ſhent;
>   but ever falſhood foul it befal.

He hath expreſſions not leſs diſliking Oaths, in his "Parſon's Tale," where he makes the parſon to ſay, 'After thoſe then cometh Swearing, expreſly againſt the Commandment of God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaith, by St. Matthew's words, "Ne ſhall ye not ſwear in all manner," or on no account.

J. Fox, Mart. v. 1. p. 614, 618.

LXXXVI. William Swinderby, Prieſt, and a zealous follower of John Wickliff, alſo lived in the time of Richard the Second, as appears by his Appeal to that king from the unjuſt ſentence of the biſhop of Hereford, in which, to this part of the charge exhibited, "That no man ought to *ſwear* for any thing; but ſimply, without an Oath, to affirm or deny," he anſwers thus, 'Whereas Chriſt's law *forbids* ſwearing, the Pope's law *juſtifieth* ſwearing, and *compels* men thereunto. Methinks, ſaith he, 'there is no need to comfort or encourage the people in ſwearing.'

J. Fox, Mart. v. 1. p. 623, 359.

LXXXVII. Walter Brute, alſo an early Diſſenter from the Roman Church, and intimate of William Swinderby, being charged, among other things, with ſaying, 'that it is not lawful for Chriſtians, for any cauſe, to ſwear by the Creator, neither by the Creature;' thus anſwered for himſelf, and indeed it comprehends much of our belief in this matter: 'As concerning Oaths, I believe and obey the doctrine of Almighty God, and my maſter Jeſus Chriſt; which teacheth, that Chriſtian-men, in affirmation of a truth, ſhould paſs the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, the Old Teſtament, or elſe he excludes them from the kingdom of God: For Chriſt ſays, "Unleſs your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven;" and as concerning Oaths, Chriſt ſaith, "It hath been ſaid by them of old time, thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf, but ſhalt perform unto the Lord thoſe things that thou knoweſt: But I ſay unto you, thou ſhalt not ſwear at all, neither by heaven, nor yet by the earth, &c. but let your communication be Yea, Yea; and Nay, Nay; for whatſoever ſhall be more than this, proceedeth of evil:" Therefore as the perfection of the ancient men of the Old Teſtament was, not to *forſwear* themſelves, ſo the perfection of Chriſtian-men is, not to *ſwear at all*, becauſe we are ſo commanded of Chriſt, whoſe commandment muſt in no caſe be broken.' Thus much of W. Brute.

J. Fox, Mart. v. 1. p. 587.

LXXXVIII. John Purrey, John Edward, John Becket, John Clements, Richard Herbert, and Emmot Willie, with many more in the time of Henry the Fourth, through fears and hopes deſerted their profeſſion, and revolted, as John Fox tells us, from their faith, which was the religion then profeſſed of thoſe called Wickliffians or Lollards, the true, poor, perſecuted Chriſtians of that time: And of the fifteen articles by them abjured, this was one; 'Item, That neither the * Pope, nor the Prelate, neither any Ordinary, can compel any man to ſwear by any Creature of God, or by the Bible Book.'

* If they could not, it was then held none could; ſo that then it was denying all tenders.

Ibid. p. 701, 702.

LXXXIX. William Thorp, whom John Fox calls, 'the conſtant and bleſſed ſervant of God, and good man and ſervant of Chriſt,' &c. refuſed to ſwear upon a Bible, when the Archbiſhop tendered the Oath to him; for he thought it not lawful to take or give an oath thereon. 'A book is nothing elſe,' ſays he 'but divers Creatures, of which it is made; and ſuch ſwearing is ever unlawful, as witneſſeth Chryſoſtom plainly, blaming them greatly, that bring out a Book to ſwear upon; charging clerks, that in no wiſe they conſtrain any body to ſwear well, when that thing is ſooth (or true) that they ſwear for. And alſo full many men and women now ſay, That it is well done to ſwear by God, and by our Lady, and by other Saints, to have them in mind: Others ſay, That they may not ſwear, when they may otherwiſe be believed: But ſince all theſe ſayings are excuſes, and ſin, methinks, Sir,' ſaith he 'that this ſenſe of Chryſoſtom may be alledged well againſt all ſuch Swearers.'

XC. Elizabeth Young, who was brought to examination in the Marian days, before the ‘ Catholick Inquiſitors of Heretical Pravity,’ as they then called themſelves, and commanded to ſwear, this language was uſed to her.

Dr. Martin, ‘ Thou ſhalt be racked inch-meal, thou traitorly whore and heretick, ‘ but thou ſhalt ſwear before a judge, before thou go.’ J. Fox Marr. v. 3. p. 190. 911.

Eliz. Young. ‘ Sir, I underſtand not what an Oath is, and therefore I will take no ſuch ‘ thing upon me.’

Dr. Martin. ‘ She refuſeth to ſwear upon the Four Evangeliſts, before a judge: For I myſelf, and Mr. Huſſey, have had her before us four times, but we can not bring her to ſwear.’

Then ſaid the Biſhop, ‘ Wilt thou not ſwear before a judge?’ &c.

Eliz. Young. ‘ My lord, I will not ſwear that this hand is mine.’

‘ No,’ ſaid the Biſhop! ‘ And why?’

Eliz. Young. ‘ Chriſt ſaith, That whatſoever is more than Yea, Yea; or Nay, Nay; ‘ cometh of Evil.’

Then Dr. Cook brought her to a Book, commanding her to lay her hand thereon.

Eliz. Young. ‘ No, my lord, I will not ſwear.’ And ſo ſhe perſiſted, till God delivered her out of their hands.

John Huſs, Jerom of Prague, Walter Brute, William Swinderby, William Sawtry, William White, William Thorpe, &c. are recorded by thoſe of other nations, both High and Low Dutch, ‘ to have refuſed *all* ſwearing, as well by God, as by Creatures, ‘ in any caſe, private or public.’ Though ſuch as admit of oaths in ſome caſes, labour, as John Fox in England, and the Calviniſts abroad, to eclipſe and mutilate their teſtimony; as if they were one while only againſt Book-Swearing, as being a Creature; another while only againſt ſwearing in Private Caſes; another while, as J. Fox relates in John Burrell, ‘ That it is not lawful to ſwear, but in caſe of Life and Death,’ &c. But moſt evident it is, that they were againſt *all ſwearing*, or *ſwearing at all*; elſe why ſhould they ſo frequently alledge Chryſoſtom? Who though he accounted ſwearing by Creatures a more execrable ſin than to ſwear by God, yet conſtantly counted ſwearing *at all* a ſin in Chriſtians, as cleaving to that which Chriſt had abrogated, being only permitted to the Jews for the hardneſs and blindneſs of their hearts, their unbelief, and propenſity to follow the courſe of the Heathens, and ſwear by their gods. Let it not be forgotten, that Chryſoſtom not only inveighs againſt them that bring forth the Book to ſwear by, becauſe it is a Creature, but that he alſo upbraided them with impudence and audacioușneſs, that dare make uſe of that Law to adminiſter an Oath by, that ſo ſtrictly *forbids* an Oath.

Ridiculous it is, to make them deny Swearing only in *private* caſes, and to be ready to ſwear in caſe of life and death: For where is there any ſhadow of ſuch a Law? And how ſhould thoſe honeſt men invent one? Chriſt's law we read, Mat. v. The doctors Chryſoſtom and Jerom's judgment, whom they had moſtly in their mouths, we have repeated here at large, in which is not the leaſt reſtriction. Theſe good men then muſt needs be underſtood to take the law of Chriſt either to have forbidden ſwearing in *any* caſe, and then not to ſwear in caſe of *life*; or not to forbid ſwearing *at all*, and then they not only might ſwear to ſave their Lives, but Liberties and Eſtates, and ought ſo to do. But we hope there can be no room left for this objection.

XCI. The Lollards of Kille in Scotland were againſt *all ſwearing*, as both Spotſwood in his Chronicle doth relate, and the book called, ‘ The Hiſtory of the Reformation of ‘ the Kirk of Scotland.’ Spotſ. Hiſt. pag. 61.

XCII. Michael Sadler (an eminent man, called a lord) was cruelly tortured and put to death by ſome Papiſts, under the Emperor of Germany: His brethren were alſo executed with the ſword, and his wife and ſiſters drowned, An. 1527. One article alledged againſt him was, that he had ſaid, ‘ That men ſhould not ſwear to, or before, a ‘ Magiſtrate.’ W. C. Albrid. p. 193, 194, 195.

XCIII. The Chriſtian Proteſtants in the valley of Piedmont, who were cruelly tortured to death by the Papiſts, about An. 1655. One article alledged againſt them was, ‘ That they believed it was not lawful to ſwear any thing, be it true or falſe.’ Marl. Hiſt. p. 217, 218.

XCIV. Gerard Sagareld of Parma, and his followers, ‘ denied all oaths and vows.’ So did ſeveral in Germany, mentioned by biſhop Uſher, in his book *de Succeſſione*: In Germany, ſwearing is well nigh excluded, and need not much to be required. J. Fox Mart. v. 2. p. 420.

XCV. Eraſmus. ‘ Now ye ſhall hear another thing: Commandment was given unto ‘ your elders, none otherwiſe, but if they had made an oath, they ſhould perform it, ‘ and not be forſworn; for now they are bound to God, and not to Man only: Wherefore among the Jews, only Perjury is puniſhable; but he that deceives his neighbour ‘ without any Oath made, he goes unpuniſhed; but yet the Law of the Goſpel condemneth him; the which, that ye may be the more remote from perjury, doth utterly condemn all manner of Oaths; that it is not lawful to *ſwear*, neither by God, ‘ nor by thoſe things which ſeem to the common ſort to be things of leſs religion, that ‘ is, “ neither by Heaven, becauſe it is the Seat of God; nor by the Earth, becauſe it “ is his Footſtool; nor by Jeruſalem, becauſe it is the City of the Great King;” that ‘ is to ſay, “ of him that hath made all things.” Neither as the Heathen ſwear, by the ‘ Head of another man, whereof thou haſt no authority; but it is conſecrated to God, Comm. on Mat. v.

that hath made all things as he would; for thou canſt not make one white hair black, nor the contrary: And becauſe all things are conſecrated to God, the Maker, thou oughteſt to be fearful to ſwear by any thing. And what needeth any oath among Them, where no man, becauſe of their Simplicity, can diſtruſt; nor no man can deſire to deceive, though they might do it? Such is their ſincerity and perfectneſs, ſpecially in thoſe things of the which they declare themſelves to be deſpiſers. Therefore among you, Plain and Simple Speech ought to be more Holy and more Sure, than the Devout and Solemn Oath among the Jews: For among you, whoſe hearts and mouths ought to agree, there is no other uſe of ſpeech, but to expreſs your minds each to other. In your bargains, ye need no Oath, ye need no Execration, or Curſing, or ſuch like, to bind the promiſer, or to aſſure him to whom the promiſe is made: Two Words be ſufficient, *Nay* and *Yea*, whereby thou denieſt that which thou doſt not promiſe, and whereby thou doſt perform that which thou didſt promiſe, by plain Word, that thou wouldſt do: For there is no man leſs bound by his ſimple and bare Word, than the Jew Swearing by all Holy Things; and he whom thou makeſt thy promiſe unto, doth truſt thee as much as if thou hadſt made a ſolemn Oath. If there be any more beſides theſe, it muſt needs come of Evil and Sin: For he that ſweareth, either he thinketh evil of him to whom he ſweareth; or elſe, he that requireth the oath, doth diſtruſt: But none of theſe ought to be in you, whom I would have perfect in all points. Therefore when I utterly forbid Swearing, I do not aboliſh the Law which doth utterly prohibit Perjury; but I make the Law more full, and I withdraw men farther from that, which the Law doth puniſh.’

Eraſmus here plainly forbiddeth all ſwearing on any account.

Comm. on Jam. v.

‘Let your mind be pure and plain, and let your heart and your mouth go both together. “Let no man with feigned words deceive his neighbour: But eſpecially, my brethren, Swear Not, leſt by little and little you accuſtom yourſelves to Forſwear. Among Jews and Heathens, for fidelity's ſake, there is an Oath put; but among Chriſtians, which ought neither to diſtruſt any man, nor to deceive, it is a vain thing to ſwear. Whoſoever is accuſtomed to ſwear, is couſin-german to the peril of forſwearing. Be you afraid not only to ſwear by God in human affairs, and light matters, but alſo abſtain from All Kind of ſwearing, that you ſwear neither by Heaven, neither by Earth, or any other thing, that the common people eſteem for * Holy and Religious. Whoſoever dare be bold to lye without ſwearing, he dare do the ſame alſo when he ſweareth, if he liſt. To be brief: He that is a Good man, will believe a man without Swearing; and he that is Naught, will not truſt a man though he Swear: But among you that are furniſhed with evangelical plainneſs, there is neither place to diſtruſt, nor to imagine deceit: But let your plain communication be regarded for no leſs true and ſtedfaſt, than any manner of Oath of the Jews or Pagans, how holy ſoever it be. As often as you confirm any thing, confirm it with all your heart; and perform indeed the thing that you ſpeak: As often as you deny any thing, deny it with your whole heart; neither let any thing elſe be in your heart than your mouth ſpeaketh, that there be no counterfeiting in you, ſeeing you are diſciples of the Truth.’

* Then not by God; for the common people eſteemed Him Sacred.

Thus far, we hope, is put altogether out of queſtion, Whether many Learned and Chriſtian men have not flatly denied the uſe of Oaths to True Chriſtians: And though we need not the contribution that is afforded us by ſeveral School and other Roman Doctors, yet to evidence a kind of ſucceſſion, and univerſality of teſtimony to this doctrine, we think it not improper to mention ſome of them.

The judgment of ſchool-men and others, in this point.

Gloſs on Mat. v. p. 22.

XCVI. T. Aquinas, *Non jurare omnino*, &c. “*Not to ſwear at all*,” &c. The Lord had taught before, Wrong is not to be done to our neighbour, as in forbidding anger, with murder, luſt, adultery, putting away of one's wife; and now he teacheth conſequently, that we muſt abſtain from the wronging of God, when he doth not forbid only Forſwearing as evil, but alſo an Oath, as the Occaſion of evil; from whence he ſaith, “Hear thou again, for it was ſaid of old time, Thou ſhalt not Forſwear thyſelf:” And leſt that they might make to themſelves the Creatures gods, he commandeth, to render the oaths to God, and not to ſwear by the Creatures: From whence it follows, “Render to God,” &c. that is, “If one ſhall happen to ſwear by the Creator, not by the Creature;” whence he ſaith in Deuteronomy, “Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God, and by his name ſhalt ſwear;” and this was allowed by the Law, as to children, that as they did offer ſacrifice to Idols, they ſhould *not* offer them to Idols; ſo they were permitted to ſwear by God, not that they might do this rightly, but that it might be better to give this to God, than to Devils. Chryſoſtom upon Matthew: For no man ſweareth frequently, that ſometimes may not forſwear; as he that makes it a cuſtom to ſpeak many things, ſometimes he ſpeaks unfit things.’ Auguſtine againſt Fauſtus: ‘The Lord was more willing that we *not* ſwearing might come ſhort of the Truth, than ſwearing the Truth, to come nearer to Perjury: Whence it follows, “I

“ ſay unto you, Swear not at all.” Auguſtin on the words of the Lord in the mountain, in which he confirms the righteouſneſs of the Phariſees, which is, “ *not to Forſwear*;” for he cannot Forſwear, that doth not Swear.’

On Mat. v. fol. 18.

XCVII. Cajetan: “ Again ye have heard.”] ‘ He perfects another precept of the old law concerning Perjury (becauſe it was ſaid to them of old time, “ Thou ſhalt not forſwear”) Exod. xx. “ Thou ſhalt not take the name of thy God in vain:” And Levit. xix. “ Thou ſhalt not forſwear in the name of the Lord; but ſhalt render to the Lord thy oaths.” The firſt part of this precept (namely, “ Thou ſhalt not forſwear) is negative, forbidding evil in its kind; for Perjury is evil of itſelf, therefore by no reaſon can it be excuſed. But the ſecond part (namely, “ Thou ſhalt render to the Lord thy oaths) is affirmative, and doth not ſignify to fulfil the oaths which thou haſt promiſed, as it appears, and thereupon nothing follows of fulfilling of promiſes), but it ſignifies that the oaths to God are to be rendered; that is, that ſwearing muſt be by the LORD, not by the Creatures: For theſe Words are not in the law, but the Senſe of them is, Deut. vi. “ Thou ſhalt ſwear by the name of the Lord thy God:” Where ſwearing is not commanded, but is but regulated, that it ſhould be by the name of God, and not by the name of the Creatures: For the Law commandeth, That this act of religion, which is to ſwear, ſhould be exhibited to God, and to no Creatures or Idols whatſoever. “ But I ſay unto you]. He perfecteth both the precepts, adjoining two precepts; the one negative, the other affirmative (“ not to ſwear at all) lo a negative precept, wherein two things are contained, that is, *not to ſwear*, and *not at all*; he forbids us to *ſwear at all*, by all means, as well in expreſſing God, as not in expreſſing God; ſuppoſe by Heaven and Earth, and by the reſt of the Creatures: And in this he perfects the precept concerning not forſwearing, not only by taking away an Oath, but the Occaſion of forſwearing; for it is impoſſible to incur forſwearing without an Oath: And alſo the precept of performing the oath to God, by taking away the care of performing; for where nothing is ſworn, there is no need of any care of performing the oath to God.’

Comm. on Mat. v.

XCVIII. Alphonſus de Avendano. ‘ It is to be noted out of Cajetan, that in this the Lord perfected the command of not forſwearing, by taking away not only Forſwearing but the Occaſion of forſwearing; becauſe, without an Oath, it is impoſſible to incur Perjury. An Oath was not neceſſary by the firſt intention of nature; for if men had continued in the Truth, they had not lyed; and becauſe Chriſt came, that he might bring back men to this firſt innocency, an Oath was not neceſſary, ſuppoſing that men ought to return unto it: Then to men that live according to the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, an Oath is not neceſſary, and therefore not good.’

Reaſons for avoiding Oaths, from the ſame Author.

Firſt, ‘ Leſt by ſwearing they fall into Perjury; for which cauſe ſwearing is of an ill report amongſt the ſaints, as in Ambroſe, Pſalm xviii.’

Secondly, ‘ For reverence of the name of God.’

Thirdly, ‘ For the mutual confidence which one Chriſtian ſhould have of another; which ought to be ſo great, that every one ſhould be ſure, and not poſſible to be deceived in the leaſt thing, although he ſhould ſpeak in a ſingle aſſertion; and for the authority of the ſaints, which do ſeem to forbid all oaths to Chriſtians, and that the truth of the Goſpel receives no Oath, as good and deſirable of itſelf, ſeeing every one is of Evil.’

Laſtly, out of Cajetan. ‘ The Lord perfecteth this precept of not Forſwearing, by taking away not only Perjury, but the Occaſion of it, and taking away the care: For where there is no Swearing, there is no need of care of Rendering.’

‘ O! how ſincere and true would the Lord make his Chriſtians, that all Affirmations ſhould be included in Three Letters only; all Denials in other Three, that the Truth ſhould be ſo familiar to us, as to be included in the compendium of Three Letters.’

XCIX. Franciſcus de Mendoca, Olyſiponenſis, Dr. Theol. in Eburenſ. Academia, Sacr. lit. interpres, in 4 lib. Reg. Tom. 3. ‘ *Speak*,’ ſaith he, ‘ of me,’ &c. in the Hebrew it is ענן i. e. *teſtify*, from the verb ענה which not only ſignifieth to *ſpeak*, but alſo to *bear teſtimony*, as it is to be ſeen Exod. xx. n. 14. Deut. xix. n. 15. Job xvi. n. 9. *et paſſim alibi*, and many other places; as if there were no difference with the Hebrews of *ſpeaking* and *teſtifying*: Nor without cauſe; for there ought to be ſo much veracity of good men, that their ſimple ſpeech may be accounted ſworn, and their private conference be accounted a public teſtimony, which was to be accounted the fidelity of Cato, who was believed in a court caſe even *Unſworn*; which alſo S. Jerom, in his Epiſtle to Celantia, inculcates; “ Let there be,” ſaith he, “ ſo much love of truth in thee, that whatſoever thou ſayeſt, thou mayeſt think to be ſworn.” The ſame Jerom to that of Mat. v. *ſwear not*, &c, “ The Goſpel Truth,” ſaith he, “ doth not receive an Oath, ſith every Faithful Speech is for an Oath.” To which opinion is agreeable the doctrine of Philo Alex. in his book of the Decalogue, “ It will be moſt profitable,” ſaith he, “ and moſt agreeable to the rational nature, to abſtain Altogether from Swearing; and be ſo accuſtomed to Truth, that one's ſingle Word may have the force of an Oath.” The like relateth Joſephus, in the ſecond book of the Jewiſh War, chap. 7. *de his Eſſenis*, moſt ſincere worſhippers of truth (*vericultoribus*): The Hebrew Elders alſo, when they would make their innocency appear about the man killed by an unknown perſon, teſtified with an Oath, as the Rabbins, Solomon and Moſes *in Lyran*, affirm, Deut. xxi. Nevertheleſs, they are brought in by the ſcriptures, aſſeverating it only with ſimple Speech; “ And they ſhall ſay,” ſaith he, “ Our hands have not ſhed this blood, nor our eyes ſeen it.” Becauſe the ſimple and naked Speech of a wiſe man, is equivalent to an oath; which St. Bernard vehemently commended in *Comite Theobaldo*, in Epiſt. 38. to the ſame, “ And indeed,” ſaith he, “ in other princes, if at any time we take a word of lightneſs or falſeneſs, we account it neither new nor wonderful: But with Count Theobald, we do not impatiently hear Yea and Nay, to whom, as it is ſaid, ſimply to *ſpeak* is to *ſwear*; and a light Lye is accounted an heavy Perjury; for among very many enſigns of virtue, which do very much ennoble your dignity, and make your name renowned and famous throughout the world, the conſtancy of truth is eſpecially praiſed in you.” 3. Certainly God himſelf hath (*tantundem*) ſo much, to ſpeak nakedly, and to ſwear by himſelf holily: For that he promiſed with an Oath an off-ſpring to David, which ſhould ſit on his throne, is read no where in the ſcripture: And yet Abner, 2 Kings iii. n. 9. acknowledges an off-ſpring ſworn to David, “ The Lord do ſo to Abner,” ſaith he, “ and add theſe things to him, unleſs as the Lord hath ſworn to David, ſo I do with him.” And in Pſalm lxxxviii. God himſelf ſaith, “ Once have I ſworn in my holineſs, if I lye to David,” &c. Alſo the land of Canaan is no-where found in the holy ſcriptures promiſed to the ancient fathers with an Oath; but God promiſed it ſimply to Abraham, Gen. xii. 13, & 17. to Iſaac, Gen. xxvi. to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. Yet Moſes, in Deut. i. “ Poſſeſs,” ſaith he, “ the Land, for which the Lord ſwaer to your fathers.” Philo Alex. in the book of Abraham, at the end looſes the knot notably; “ That therefore the ſimple Promiſe of God in thoſe places is called an Oath, becauſe it hath the Force of an Oath.”

On Mat. v. p. 23, 24. C. Jacobus Faber; ‘ It is the part of a ſpiritual man, not only not to ſwear in a Vain thing, but alſo not in any Serious thing; for you which are ſuch, are true: Unto true men it is ſufficient that a true man gain belief, if he ſay, that the Lord hath commanded Yea, Yea, in affirming; Nay, Nay, in Denying: But if with incredulous and evil men a ſpeech alſo he had concerning a ſerious and neceſſary matter, why ſhall one ſwear for their badneſs, that he may gain belief with them? Who ever ſpoke more ſeriouſly than our Saviour? Who more neceſſary things? Yet he never uſed other ſpeech than that, “ Verily, Verily, I ſay unto you,” or ſome other ſuch-like, which was a true form or manner to them, that ſwore not. Therefore that now ſome ſwear, to gain belief concerning ſome profitable and neceſſary things, which they think is to be given rather to the Oath than to the Perſon: Perhaps alſo there is a danger when an oath is required in judgment, leſt he that exacteth it, ſin: For if it be manifeſt, that he that is called into judgment be verily good and true, it is enough to hear of him Yea, or Nay; but if that be not evident, or that it be evident that he is bad, perhaps that is required of him which ought not to be required. What then? It is lawful to Adjure: For the Lord made anſwer to an Adjuration, but he did not Swear; and Adjurations are found in the New Law: But if any one, being adjured of another, ſpeak the truth, by anſwering Yea, or Nay, or by declaring the thing required, neither the one nor the other offendeth; but if he ſpeak a falſity, he offends, and incurs the offence of a falſe teſtimony; but perchance he ſinneth leſs, than if by Swearing he had alſo fallen into the guilt of Perjury: For, as he that (being adjured) anſwereth in Truth, doth not Swear; ſo he that anſwereth in Falſeneſs, doth not Forſwear, but he is a Falſe Witneſs: But he alſo who hath adjured, is altogether guiltleſs; for there is no doubt but he hath required that which was lawful to require. And although it is not my purpoſe to contradict the ordinances of judgment, yet I may think this to be more chriſtian, both *not to ſwear at all*, neither to *compel to ſwear*, to be more ſpiritual: But yet, if the badneſs of men would permit it, although you would have this ſentence of the Lord concerning not ſwearing, to be applied to the believers common and daily cuſtom of ſpeaking (for he ſpeaks to his diſciples) which is very true, eſpecially if the Old Law, which the Lord declares, “ Thou ſhalt not forſwear, but ſhalt render to the Lord thine oaths,” was given concerning common and daily ſpeech; but afterwards the Lord amendeth another thing, which was written in the Old Law, that the Law might be perfect, and that he might ſhew he hath fulfilled it; and it may be fulfilled of others, as Matthew ſhews.’

De quæſt. jur. Chriſt. p. 306. CI. Suarez. He affirmeth, ‘ Chriſt did not ſwear; becauſe that which he could not lawfully do, he could not ſimply do: But he could not lawfully ſwear, therefore he could not at all: But that he never ſwore, is proved, becauſe that he himſelf commanded

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‘ manded or counſelled, “ Not to ſwear at all; but ſimply to ſpeak, Yea, *it is*; “ Nay, *it is not*,” &c. therefore ought to go before for an example. It is ſpoken of him only ſometimes that he ſaid *Amen*, or *Truly* or *Verily*, which we have before ſhewed to be no particle of ſwearing.’

‘ It is not only commanded in the New, but alſo in the Old Teſtament, “ not to ſwear,” as Hoſ. iv. Zach. v. quoted by Tertullian, lib. *de idololat*. cap. 11: ſaying, “ I am ſilent about Perjury, ſeeing that indeed it is not lawful to Swear.”

‘ And thoſe very words of Chriſt, “ Swear not at all,” ſignify this; ſeeing he ſubjoins, “ Neither by heaven,” &c.: As if he had ſaid, Not only greater oaths, but alſo theſe, which ſeem leſs, you are to take heed of: And it is apparent from the reaſon which he adjoins, ſaying, “ Neither by heaven.” If therefore Chriſt forbiddeth to ſwear by Heaven, becauſe God dwells therein, much more he forbiddeth to ſwear by God, &c. Now he forbiddeth all manner of ſwearing by the Creatures, and every oath by God himſelf, as Greg. Nyſſen rightly argues, and Chriſt himſelf hath plainly ſo declared, Mat. xxiii.’

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Hom. 18. in Cant.

‘ Laſtly, The following words of Chriſt are appoſite, “ Let your word be Yea and Nay;” for by them he declareth, that he before forbad the addition of any Oath. 2dly, Jerom anſwers, “ Swearing was permitted to the Jews, as to Children; but evangelical verity receives not Swearing, ſeeing every faithful Word is for an Oath.” The ſame doctrine and expoſition doth Chryſoſtom follow. Theophylact, after Chriſt, “ It is an evil to Swear, as to be Circumciſed, *and in brief, whatſoever is Jewiſh*.” Beda, alſo Caſtro and Deuthmarus confeſs, and Bernard himſelf denies not, that it is the counſel of Chriſt, “ not to ſwear:” And precepts are not contrary to counſels.’

Libr. 1. cap. 14. 282. “ *Whether an Oath be an explicit Act of Religious Virtue?*’

‘ There may be a reaſon of doubting, becauſe every act of religion is principally intended for the worſhip of God: But an *oath* is not made primarily, and of itſelf (*per ſe*) for the worſhip of God; but for confirming, &c. as Heb. vi. from whence it ſeems plainly to follow, that an oath is not an act of religion.’

‘ It may be declared by reaſon, becauſe,

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‘ Firſt, It is impoſſible that man can bring God for a witneſs, although he would never ſo fain: Therefore the name of God is taken in vain, as often as it is taken to ſwear: Therefore it is evil in itſelf (*per ſe*.)’

‘ Secondly, Grant this were poſſible, to bring God for a witneſs; it ſeems diſorderly to bring the perſon of God to confirm mens buſineſſes, covenants, or words; becauſe it is diſorderly to order things of an higher order to thoſe that are inferior: Much more is it diſorderly, to mix the ſacred authority of God to the prophane (or common) words, and buſineſſes of men.’

‘ Thirdly, Though in ſome caſe an oath might be uſed without inconvenience, yet it is ſo expoſed to dangers, that it can ſcarce be done without crime: But in the law of Grace, becauſe of the perfection of it, not only ſins are to be forbid, but alſo thoſe things which do morally and neareſt entangle into ſin: For he that loveth danger, ſhall periſh in it.’ He quotes Clemens Romanus, lib. 6. Conſtitut. Apoſt. as before; ‘ Our Maſter commanded, that we ſhould not Swear, no, not by the true God; that our Word ſhould be counted more firm and credible than an Oath itſelf.’ He quotes alſo Greg. Nazianzen, as before, upon theſe words, “ But I ſay unto you,” &c.] ‘ He forbiddeth all manner of ſwearing by the Creatures, even with reſpect to God: Hence it follows the more forcibly, as I ſaid, that he forbad all ſwearing by God himſelf, as Gregory Nazianzen rightly argues, as before, on Cant. Homil. 18. And Chriſt himſelf plainly ſo declared, Mat. xxiii. “ He that ſweareth by heaven, ſweareth by the throne of God,” &c.’

Conſt. 6 and 11.

‘ Laſtly, The words withſtand, which Chriſt ſubjoins, “ Let your words be,” &c.] For, by them he declares, that he had before forbidden the adding of any Oath: Therefore Jerome anſwered, that oaths, &c. were permitted to the Jews, as to Children.’

He uſes many other arguments, and quotes many authors, as may be ſeen at large in his book concerning Swearing.

CII. Jo. Major Hadingtoniani, on Mat. v. *not to ſwear at all*: ‘ That precept was given to the Diſciples (the baſis) of the firſt church.’

CIII. Joac. Camer. and P. Loſeler Villerius's marginal note upon Mat. v. 37. ‘ Whatſoever you vouch, vouch it *barely*; and whatſoever you deny, deny it *barely*, without any more words.’

CIV. Bible, imprinted An. 1559. in quarto, *What is more is of evil*.] Marginal note, ‘ From an evil Conſcience, or from the Devil.’

CV. Marlorat, on Mat. v. ſaith, ‘ Some men, not *bad*, hold againſt Swearing.’
Maldonat, on Mat. v. reckons up ſeveral againſt Swearing.

CVI. Peter Charron, doctor of Law in Paris, in his Book of Wiſdom, chap. 37. ‘ An Oath, what is it but a ſymptom and ſhameful mark of diſtruſt, infidelity, ignorance, human

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human infirmity, both in him that requires it, that gives it, that ordains it?' And alluding to Chriſt's words, he ſaith, ' *Quod amplius eſt à malo*, What is more, is from the Devil.'

CVII. Beza, on James v. 12. 'That which you have to ſay or affirm, ſpeak or affirm it ſimply, and without an Oath; and that you have to deny, deny it ſimply and flatly.'

CVIII. Folio BIBLE, printed An. 1578. Marginal note on Mat. v. 34. *Swear not at all*, 'Let ſimplicity and truth be your words, and then you ſhall not be ſo light, and ready to ſwear.'

Comm. on 1 Tim. i. pag. 210.

CIX. Lodovicus Soto Major; 'In the Goſpel, this particle (*Amen*) is often uſed by Chriſt our Lord, confirming his words by it, as Hierom alſo noteth: Yet it is not to be thought (that none be deceived) that Chriſt our Lord ſwore, or would have to ſwear, as often as he uſeth this word or form of confirming; but rather ſo to have been willing more to confirm, and perſuade, and commend thoſe things which he taught, and eſpecially by reiterating or repeating this word, as he often uſeth: For neither is this doubling of the word for nought, that Chriſt our Lord ſometimes uſeth it in the Goſpel, but rather it hath a great Emphaſis and Increaſe, that is, great moment and weight to perſuade and gain belief, as Auguſtin rightly teacheth and explaineth in his 41ſt Tract upon the Goſpel of John, expounding thoſe words of Chriſt, ſaying, "Amen," or "Verily, Verily, I ſay to you, he that doth ſin, is the ſervant of ſin:" Although therefore that it be not a ſwearing, yet it is a certain greater confirmation and aſſeveration of thoſe things which are ſpoken; yet nevertheleſs it is not ſwearing; for otherwiſe, is it likely that Chriſt the Lord, who himſelf dehorts others from *ſwearing at all*, for danger of *forſwearing*, ſhould himſelf ſwear ſo often? For he not only forbad his to ſwear, Mat. v. but alſo at the ſame time, and that very wholſomely, commanded that they ſhould uſe in their ſpeech a ſimple Affirmation and Denial, without any oath, ſaying, "*ſwear not at all*," &c. for this much more becomes the ſimplicity, ſincerity, piery and modeſty of Chriſtians; for nothing is more ſimple, brief and effectual to perſuade (the badneſs and naughtineſs of men being removed) than a ſingle Affirmation or Denial, although there were no danger of Perjury.'

In this ſenſe, in a manner, do almoſt all the graver authors interpret that place of the goſpel, or command of Chriſt, of "not ſwearing at all:" but eſpecially Auguſtin, lib. 4. of the Lord's words in the mount, cap. xxx. and xxxi. and in his book *De Mendacio*, cap. xv. and Epiſt. 154. to Publicola, and often elſewhere; for which interpretation, or underſtanding, votes alſo Philo Judæus, in his Book of the Decalogue, Tom. 2. p. 129. where treating of an oath, he thus congruently writeth; 'Men ſin in this reſpect many and divers ways; therefore it will be moſt profitable, and moſt agreeable to the reaſonable nature, to abſtain altogether from Swearing, and ſo to accuſtom to truth, that ſimple Speech may have the force of an oath,' &c. which things Philo in the ſame place purſues to the ſame ſenſe, very congruently in the goſpel, that which alſo he confirms in his Book of Special Laws. Tom. 2. pag. 137. And afterwards, 'If therefore, as I ſaid before, Chriſt the Lord, for the danger of Perjury, and alſo for the reverence or religion of an oath, commands his not to ſwear at all, though otherwiſe it be true which they affirm; if, I ſay, there be ſo much reverence of an Oath, how great is the perfection? It is not likely, nor agreeable to reaſon, that the Lord Chriſt, the pattern of true and ſolid virtue, every action of whom is our inſtruction, did ſwear ſo often; that is, ſhould ſwear as often as he uſed this form, "Verily, Verily, I ſay unto you," &c. For how can every moral action of his, or in his converſation, be our inſtruction or example, if he ſo frequently and every where ſeems to do that, which he ſo vehemently and earneſtly commanded his, even his choſen diſciples, that is, his apoſtles, that they ſhould not do at all? Yet Auguſtin, in his book of the Apoſtle's Words, Ser. 30, ſeems by his authority to create ſome ſcruple and ado for us, inaſmuch as he ſeems to cenſure, and ſay, 'That it is a kind of Perjury when any wittingly and willingly (that is, with certain reaſon and will, or of ſet purpoſe) uſeth this word VERILY, to confirm any thing:' Yet if we diligently mark and weigh the words of St. Auguſtin there, he intends no other than what we intend, acknowledge and confeſs, and is neceſſarily to be confeſſed; namely, that he who, from a falſe opinion and perſuaſion, and an erroneous conſcience, as divines call it, thinketh and believeth that he ſweareth in very deed in uſing this word, as if this word were an adverb of ſwearing, that ſometimes he happens in a manner to *forſwear*, if that which he affirms in this manner be falſe; yet this is accidental and adventitious, namely, by the intention of him that ſweareth of his own will, or rather error or ignorance, and not by the force and propriety of the word *Amen*, or *Verily*; ſeeing, as we have ſaid even now, that it is not a word or note of ſwearing, but rather of confirming, as we confeſs: And the ſame St. Auguſtin teacheth elſewhere, but eſpecially in Tract 41. on the Goſpel of John, on thoſe words of Chriſt the Lord, "Verily, Verily," &c. where moderating his words, he ſaith thus, "*Verily, Verily*, is, if we may ſo ſay, in a certain manner, a Swearing of Chriſt." Now theſe words of Auguſtin are to be weighed; he declareth (not ſimply, but with on Additament, and Caution) *Verily, Verily,* to be (if it be lawful to ſay it) after a *Manner,* a Swearing of Chriſt; for ſo he declares plain enough, that *Verily, Verily,* is not properly Swearing, or a Note of ſwearing, but only *improperly,* and after a certain manner, viz. ſo far forth as Chriſt the Lord doth familiarly uſe this word as ſwearing; although in very deed, and properly, it be not an adverb of ſwearing, but rather of affirming and aſſerting ſimply, and in good faith, to gain a better perſwaſion of the matter or doctrine; for Chriſt never ſeems to have ſworn, if we will ſpeak truly and properly of ſwearing, but always uſed a ſimple Speech; though ſometimes, *per amplificationem,* he hath uſed this, even repeated, for the greater perſuaſion of his heavenly doctrine, that by this means he might give his an example of *Not Swearing raſhly,* and every where, as we have already ſaid, to whom he plainly commanded, ſaying, “Swear not at all, &c. but,” &c. ſo great is the religion of ſwearing, and the danger of forſwearing.’

The Approbation and Commendation of the Doctors of Paris.

‘We have carefully read theſe Commentaries on the Epiſtles of St. Paul, and Timothy, and Titus, wherein the moſt learned author, according to the great learning wherein he excels, largely and elegantly opens the more hidden ſenſes of the apoſtle; and we have thought them worthy to be printed for public profit.’ Act Par. 16. Feb. 1610. F. Coeff. F. J. Tourn, &c.

CX. Lodovicus Pius, Emperor, who in his Prologue ſaith, ‘That from his youth, by Chriſt's Inſpiration, he had the deſire of the worſhip of God.’ Capitul. Addit. 4. Tit. 96. Of not Swearing: ‘That every one beware of Swearing; becauſe Forſwearers, as alſo Adulterers, ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God.’ Lindenbrog. Cod. leg. antiquar.

CXI. King Luitprandus; The Law of the Lumbards; Tit. 28. Law 2. ‘If he that enquires concerning theft, believe not the witneſſes, the witneſſes may confirm it with an oath; except they be ſuch perſons as the King, or Judge, may truſt *without* an oath.’ Ibid.

CXII. The Emperor Lotharius, Of the Law of the Lumbards, Tit. 3. Law 10. ‘Of thoſe that enforce payment of Tythes, we will not have them to be conſtrained with an Oath, for fear of forſwearing.’ Ibid.

CXIII. Of the Law of the Viſigoths, L. 2. Tit. 1. Law 23. which was ancient: ‘Let none come eaſily to an Oath: For the true ſearch of juſtice rather commendeth this, that the ſcriptures in all things may intercur, and the neceſſity of Swearing may altogether ſuſpend itſelf.’ Ibid.

Thus much againſt Swearing, from ſeveral Roman Doctors and others.

We ſhall in the next place produce the judgment of thoſe men, who run not ſo high in their cenſures of Oaths, as the perſons that we have hitherto cited, but that believe it is not unlawful in any caſe to take an oath; and from them we doubt not to make appear, that it is beſt not to ſwear at all; ſo far are they from pleading for Swearing, or puniſhing thoſe that conſcientiouſly refuſe it.

CXIV. William Tindall ſaith, ‘Our dealing ought to be ſo ſubſtantial, that our words might be believed without an Oath: Our words are the ſigns of the truth of our hearts, in which there ought to be pure and ſingle love toward thy brother.’ Again he ſays, ‘Swearing can only be allowed in Charity, where Yea and Nay have loſt Credence: However, that no judge or other ought in any caſe to compel any man to ſwear againſt his will.’

Peter Martyr, who deſerves well of the Engliſh Proteſtants, confeſſeth, ‘That Chriſtians ought to live ſo charitably and uprightly, as not to need an Oath; and that they may not be called upon to ſwear.’ Again, ‘Let us ſo live, that there may be no need for us to ſwear, either by God, or any other thing at all: And this, (ſays he) is that ſame AT ALL, which Chriſt ſpoke of.’

N. Zegerus upon Mat. v. 34. tells us, ‘That the moſt ancient writers from thence concluded all Oaths forbidden, and that the bare Word of Chriſtians ought to be more ſacred and firm, than the moſt religious oaths of the Jews.’

CXV. H. Grotius, a great and learned man, ‘excludes all Oaths, not only ſuch as are uſed in common Converſation, but ſuch as relate to Trade or Pecuniary Matters; allowing ſome others, for avoiding Infamy, for preſerving a Friend, and for a great ſervice to their Country, as not morally neceſſary, and by precept, but only by conſequence and remedy;’ concluding, ‘that it is beſt to live ſo, as not to need an oath:’ And ſo both many of thoſe oaths impoſed upon us, are laid aſide by him; and he alſo gives many cautions, ſhewing that it is beſt not to ſwear at all, if it may poſſibly be avoided: But in anſwer to his latter interpretation; all oaths are forbid that are performable to the Lord. Now unleſs the vain *inconſiderate* oaths, ſuch as are uſed in common Traffick, are only thoſe that are to be performed to the Lord, *Solemn* Oaths, ſuch as the law allowed, are alſo prohibited. Beſides, the Yea and Nay of a true Chriſtian, is as capable of all thoſe good ſervices as an Oath, if the ſanctity of his faith and profeſſion be allowed: And if any prejudices come to a man's friend, country, or ſelf, becauſe

On Mat. v. & De Jur. Bell. ac Pac. p. 2. c. 26. ad 47.

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De Juram, Prælect. 5.

CXVI. Bp. Uſher is ſo tender in this point, that, ſet aſide his Vindication of the Waldenſes, in his Sum of Chriſtian Religion, he makes it neceſſary to the taking of an Oath, that it be conſidered, Firſt, 'If the party we deal with, (really) doubt of the thing we affirm or deny:' Thereby making Diſtruſt the cauſe of Swearing; and implying, that not Cuſtom, but real Diffidence, ſhould only continue Swearing; conſequently, not to continue, where Diſtruſt is done away.

Secondly, 'It is to be weighed if the party's Doubt, whereof we ſpeak, be weighty, 'and worthy of an Oath:' Which, we fear, is ſeldom thought upon; Cuſtom prevailing even to Trifles, as well as moſt exceſſive vain Swearing in Common Converſation.

Thirdly, 'If the queſtion be weighty, Whether,' ſaid the Biſhop, 'the doubt may 'be ended with Truly or Verily; or, doubting it, Verily, Verily; as Chriſt did for you, 'by his example we ought to forbear an Oath?' Mat. v. 37. Wherefore ſhould it not, eſpecially among Chriſtians?

Fourthly, 'Whether there be not yet any other fit means to try out the matter, be'fore we come to an Oath.'

This is our caſe; and we make it our ſober requeſt, that it would pleaſe you to conſider this particular; for doubtleſs, an Expedient may very eaſily be found, without bringing us under the bondage of an Oath.

CXVII. Jer. Taylor, Chaplain in Ordinary to K. Charles I. and late Biſhop of Down and Conner, in his book called ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ. *A Courſe of Sermons*, London, printed 1673. Serm. of Chriſtian Simplicity, fol. 228. Thus, 'Our bleſſed Lord would not have his 'Diſciples *to ſwear at all*, (not in public Judicature) if the neceſſity of the world 'would permit him to be obeyed. If Chriſtians will live according to their Religion, 'the Word of a Chriſtian were a ſufficient inſtrument to give teſtimony, and to make 'promiſes, and to ſecure a faith; and upon that ſuppoſition, Oaths were uſeleſs, and 'therefore *forbidden*; becauſe there would be no neceſſity to invoke *God's Name* in 'Promiſes or Affirmations, if men were indeed Chriſtians, and therefore in that caſe 'would be a taking it in vain: But becauſe many are not, and they that are in * *Name*, 'oftentimes are in nothing elſe, it became neceſſary that men ſhould Swear in *Judgment*, and in public *Courts*. But conſider who it was that invented and made the 'neceſſity of Oaths, of Bonds, of Securities, and all the Artifices of Human Diffidence 'and Diſhoneſty: Theſe things were indeed found out by Men; but the Neceſſity of 'theſe

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* *Viz.* All their *Reverend Fathers in God*, *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Deans*, and the Judges of the Land, Juſtices of the *Peace*, and all other Officers term'd *Eccleſiaſtical*, or *Civil*, Judges, Prieſts, and People, (no *Chriſtians*, elſe would they ſuffer *Chriſt's* Doctrine to be obeyed) who not only enforce *Oaths* on *Strangers*, but, having the like *Diffidence*, One *Father in God* of another, one Judge and Juſtice of another, impoſe them on their *Brethren* and *Fathers* with *Equal Diſtruſt*.

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‘these, was from him that is the Father of all Lyes, from him that hath made many fair Promiſes, but never kept any; or if he did, it was to do a bigger Miſchief, to flatter the more; for ſo does the *Devil*.’

‘See Jews Antiquity, Chap. 12. Page 52. Concerning the Pythagoreans, the Eſſeni, and concerning the Juſt Man at Athens, which they would not have to *ſwear*; and what the Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes, Lib. 12. p. 286. ſaith of Radamanthus.’

CXVIII. Laſtly, Bp. Gauden, in his Diſcourſe for Solemn Swearing, ſays thus much againſt it.

1. ‘That Diſſimulations, Frauds, Jealouſies, &c. gave riſe to Oaths.’

2. ‘That the Ancient Chriſtians and Fathers, that they might not be ſhort of the Eſſeni, who would not take an Oath, refuſed to ſwear, ſaying to the Heathens, “*Chriſtianus ſum*, I am a Chriſtian;” to each other, Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay; thereby keeping up the ſanctity and credit of their profeſſion:’

3. ‘That as Chriſtians, truly ſuch, we ſhould poſſibly need no Swearing; for an Oath is not,’ ſays he, ‘*Moral* or *Preceptive*, but an *Expedient* or *Remedy* only againſt Falſeneſs.’

Laſtly, ‘That neither a true chriſtian, and good man, need to be compelled to ſwear, in order to the awing him in true-telling.---Nor is ill mens Swearing of much credit;’ with more to that purpoſe: What need then is there of either's Swearing?

The ſubſtance of all which is this: Oaths roſe with Fraud; men growing falſe and jealous, ſwearing, or awing by oaths into true evidence, became an expedient; and during this imbecil and imperfect ſtate of mankind, Almighty God, that hath been ever wont to ſtoop to man's weakneſs, condeſcended to yield the Jews that cuſtom, provided that they refrained from Common and Idolatrous oaths; and when they were called to ſwear, they did it by the Name of the *True* God, thereby manifeſting their acknowledgment of him: But Chriſt, who is the reſtorer of breaches, the builder of waſte places, the bringer-back of the captivity of his people (where oaths were firſt wanted, and learned) and the ſetter-up of the kingdom of God (which ſtands in righteouſneſs) redeems into True-ſpeaking, which fulfils the Law, by taking away the Occaſion of an oath; and ſuch as are the true, humble, and faithful followers of this worthy Leader, need no Oath to compel them into Truth, to whom Truth is natural, being freed by it, John viii. 32. from Fraud and Falſeneſs, and conſequently from Swearing, which took occaſion by it to enter the world. Now we profeſs ourſelves, in the fear of Almighty God, to be ſuch as have thus learned Chriſt Jeſus; and for the Reverence and Holy Love we bear to his righteous commandment, we cannot take an Oath in any caſe.

Object. 'Tis true, and you ſay well, Oaths only ſerve till True-ſpeaking comes; and you ſay, it is come to you: But how ſhall we know that?

Anſw. We intreat you to try us: No man can be juſtly condemned before he be guilty; nor reputed guilty in the ſight of men, till diſcovered. You will have as eaſy a way to catch us at *Lying*, as others at *Forſwearing*; and if you find us ſuch, inflict the *ſame* puniſhment for *our Lye*, which was enacted for *their Perjury*.

Be pleaſed to conſider,

1. The Riſe of Oaths.
2. The Prohibition of Chriſt.
3. The Judgment of ſo many good Heathens.
4. The Belief and Practice of ſo many Primitive Chriſtians, Celebrated Fathers, Godly Martyrs, and Learned Proteſtants.
5. The Caution they uſe, who in any ſenſe allow of an Oath.
6. That it is Matter of Faith; and what is not of Faith, is Sin: And that we cannot alter our minds without Conviction, unleſs we ſhould turn Hypocrites; and what ſecurity can or will you have from our Oaths, who muſt firſt make us to break the tye of our own Conſcience before we can take them? It cannot be thought we ſhould keep with You, when you make us break with Ourſelves.
7. Conſider what expreſs Scripture we have for it, and that in the judgment and martyrdom of many good and famous perſons.
8. Be pleaſed to weigh the great Perjury that is now in our world, and daily numerous Oaths belched forth by ſome, to ſhow they dare be bold with Sacred Things; by others, to vent Paſſion; by too many (as they impiouſly think) to grace their Matter; whilſt others have ſo great doubt of their own Credit, that they ſwear, to drive what they ſay home; and not a few uſe it merely to fill up vacant places, being barren of better matter. We think, that inſtead of taking advantage againſt us for *Not* ſwearing, in ſo forſwearing an age, we ſhould rather receive encouragement for ſpeaking that truth *without* an oath, which others are compelled to *by* oath, if yet they ſpeak it. Falſe Speaking neceſſitated to the uſe of oaths, ſay many. But oaths now proving not the Remedy, but the Diſeaſe, what better expedient can be uſed, than to come back to Truth-ſpeaking, which endeth Oaths in their firſt Cauſe, or Occaſion at leaſt: However, that ſuch as are not Sick ſhould be obliged to take the Potions of the ſick, only to keep them company, ſeems unreaſonable.

1675. 9. Be pleaſed to conſider the periſhing difficulties we meet withal in our Commerce in the world, particularly as Creditors, Executors, Merchants, Ship-maſters, Apprentices, &c. Men making us pay, becauſe of our Tenderneſs in this matter. O the oppreſſion that is exerciſed in Petty Courts and Seſſions upon many hundreds of us, who know not which way to right ourſelves, an Oath ſtill being required in the caſe; the Refuſal of which, for Conſcience ſake, expoſes us to great Loſſes, both of Eſtate, Liberty, and ſometimes Life, by tedious and cruel impriſonments.

10. But the loſs and trouble is not always our own: Our Neighbours frequently become Sufferers againſt our wills: Firſt, In that we can perform no Office in common with them, however otherwiſe able to diſcharge it. Secondly, Nor can we ſerve them in the capacity of Witneſſes, which qualification goes a great way towards the Maintenance of Juſtice; and all becauſe our ſolemn *word* will not be received inſtead of an Oath: Relieving us here is a double Benefit, for our Neighbours ſhare with us in it; and it manifeſtly tends to the preſervation of Society. And whatever any may pleaſe to think of us, we are as willing and ready to contribute all Honeſt Aſſiſtance to the Maintenance of Juſtice, and anſwering the ends of Government, according to our ability and conſcience, as any ſort of men that live under it.

11. And laſtly, We intreat you farther to conſider, that our Caution is as large as the man that ſwears: For though you make a difference between him that tells an Untruth, and him that Forſwears, in favour of the former; yet we chearfully ſubmit ourſelves to the puniſhment of the *perjured*, if we break our *Word*; do you but pleaſe to take us into *equal* privilege with the *ſwearers*: If there be any Damage, we conceive it is done to Us, who ſuſtain the ſame puniſhment for an *Untruth*, which is the only due of *Perjury*; and if you condeſcend to yield us the Kindneſs of the one, we offer our perſons to anſwer the juſt Severity of the other.

We will add here, out of “ Hooft's Hiſtory of the Netherlands,” a precedent not impertinent to our purpoſe, fol. 464, 465, tranſlated out of Latin as follows:

CXIX. ‘ In this aſſembly of the ſtates,’ ſaith Hooft, ‘ there was ſomething attempted towards the oppreſſion of the Meniſts, as appears by a certain letter, written from Dort, the laſt of March, by the Lord St. Aldegonde, to the miniſter Caſpanus Heidanus; which was thus worded.’

“ The cauſe of the Meniſts hath, ſince the receipt of your and Taffin's letters yeſterday, been treated of with the moſt illuſtrious Prince: And verily, I find it more difficult than I had hoped [for ever may and will ſuch curſed hopes meet with ſuch wiſe repulſes from prudent rulers]: For he had at Middleburgh given me great hopes, that we ſhould ſeclude from the freedom of Burgeſſes, or at leaſt not ſo ſolemnly receive, thoſe that refuſed an *oath*. Now he alledgeth, that ſuch a thing cannot be concluded without a new convulſion in the churches; becauſe the States will never ſuffer that ſuch a law be made as they judge no ways conducing to the common good of the republick. Yea, he avers, That this was the only cauſe formerly which brought their Conſiſtories ſo far into the diſpleaſure of the States; that it differed very little, but they had been all at once voted down, and laid aſide by the council. That they [the Clergy] were now again about the ſame thing, and that in ſuch a ſeaſon, that no doubt many would pour in cold water out of the Popiſh Hodgepodge. That his ſettled judgment was, that this would turn to great diſadvantage, and breaking down of their churches.

“ And when I [ſaith Aldegonde] fervently urged, That we could eaſily reject thoſe that broke the band of all human ſociety, upon pretence of civil and political order; and when I added,” ſaith he, “ how much Danger and Peril Church and State were threatened with by ſuch a concluſion of the council, in itſelf ungodly, He anſwered me ſharply enough, That thoſe mens YEA muſt paſs for an Oath; and that we muſt not urge this thing any farther, or we muſt confeſs, that the Papiſts had reaſon to force us to a Religion that was againſt our conſciences; and that the North-Hollanders would not at all allow of it.

“ In ſhort,” ſaith he, “ I ſcarce ſee any thing we can get done in this point; which verily [ye may believe him upon his proteſtation] is the greater ſmart to me, the more I obſerve that the minds of many honeſt men, by the pretending of I know not what unſeaſonable ſtumbling-blocks, will be thereby imbittered, yea, I could almoſt ſay, wounded, to ſee them leſs affected to thoſe, that to their uttermoſt ſeek to advance the cauſe of the Church.

“ The Prince,” ſaith he, “ partly in the name of the State, and partly of himſelf, chid me, as if we were about to ſet up in our clergy a Dominion over the Conſcience; and as if they endeavoured, by their laws and conſtitutions, to ſubject all others to them: And he praiſed the ſaying of a Monk that was lately here, who anſwered to the objection [of the perſecuting Spirit of the Romiſh Church,] That our pot had not gone ſo long to the fire as theirs, whom we did ſo much revile upon that account.----And that he clearly ſaw, that before two ages paſſed, the Church-Dominion would upon both ſides ſtand on even ground.”

To which Hooft adds, ‘ By this we may obſerve, of what conſequence the Prince and States then held Liberty of Conſcience to be.’

And that what we have hitherto ſaid may not be thought a thing impracticable, we ſhall preſent you with the Judgment and Edicts of Foreign Governments.

Here follow Two Letters, of the Grave of Naſſau, and Prince of Orange, to the Magiſtrates of the City of Middleburgh, in behalf of the Meniſts there.

CXX. A Copy of the Firſt Letter.

'FOraſmuch as a Supplication hath been preſented unto his Excellency in behalf of certain inhabitants of this city of Middleburgh, complaining thereby, That the magiſtrates of the ſaid city had lately cauſed their Shops to be ſhut, and conſequently prohibited their Trade, which is yet the only Means they have to maintain their families; the ſaid prohibition proceeding from their not having yet taken the uſual OATH, as others: The ſaid inhabitants farther remonſtrating, how that they now, for a certain long term of years, have, without taking the ſaid Oath, freely borne all civil burdens, contributions and taxes, equally with other burgeſſes and inhabitants of the ſaid city, without ever having been in any default; and therefore ought at preſent ſtill to remain unmoleſted, ſeeing they do therein not deſire any thing elſe, than to live in the Liberty of their Conſciences, upon which account this preſent war againſt the King of Spain hath been by his ſubjects taken up, and all ceremonies contrary thereunto reſiſted; in which ſuch advance is, through the help of God, made, that the aforeſaid Liberty of Conſcience is preſerved; and therefore it would be an unequal thing to deprive the Supplicants thereof, who have helped to acquire the ſame, by bearing taxes, contributions, and other burdens, not without great peril of their bodies and lives; conſonant to which they have preſented a requeſt to the aforeſaid magiſtrates, but got for anſwer, That they muſt regulate themſelves according to the policy and order of the aforeſaid city: Whereby (ſaith the Petition) the aforeſaid magiſtrates ſeem to endeavour by the Oath, not only totally to ruin and expel out of theſe lands the petitioners, with their wives and children, reſiding in Middleburgh; but conſequently innumerable others, in Holland and Zealand, who have, (according to his Excellency's proclamation,) placed themſelves under his Excellency's protection; by which no man can be any ways benefited,---but all theſe lands receive great and conſiderable damage, becauſe thereby the traffick thereof would be every where greatly diminiſhed: Intreating therefore, and humbly begging his Excellency, that looking upon their caſe with compaſſion, he would take due courſe about it; eſpecially ſeeing that the aforeſaid petitioners do proffer, that their YEA paſſing for an oath, the tranſgreſſors thereof ſhould be puniſhed as Oath-breakers.

'Therefore, his Excellency having conſidered the premiſes, and having maturely deliberated upon the ſame, hath, with the previous advice of the Governor and Council of Zealand, ordered and appointed, ordereth and appointeth hereby, That the aforeſaid petitioners YEA ſhall be received by the magiſtrates of the aforeſaid city inſtead of an Oath, provided that the tranſgreſſors thereof ſhall be puniſhed as Oath-breakers and perjured perſons. His Excellency charging and commanding the magiſtrates of Middleburgh, and all others whom this may concern, no farther to oppreſs the petitioners contrary to their conſciences, concerning the OATH; but ſuffer them to open their ſhops, and enjoy their trades, as they formerly have done: All by proviſion; and 'till ſuch time as there ſhall be, in more tranquillity of affairs, with ripe deliberation, regard being had thereunto, ordained therein as ſhall be found convenient.

'This done under his Excellency's name and ſeal, in the city of Middleburgh, upon the 26 Jan. 1577.

'Guilliaume de Naſſau,

'By my Gracious Lord, the Prince, Subſcribed,

'De Baudemont.'

CXXI. A Copy of the Second Letter.

The Prince of Orange, Grave of Naſſau, Lord and Baron of Bueda, Dieſt, &c.

Honourable, Honeſt, Worſhipful, Wiſe, Diſcreet, Dear and Singular.

'FOraſmuch as certain Houſe-keepers there inhabiting, being, as they ſay, Meniſts, have, by way of complaint, divers times ſignified to us, how that you are daily moleſting them, and depriving them of the means of gaining in reſt and quietneſs their livings for them and their families; forbidding them to open their ſhops, under the pretence that they ſhould refuſe to take an Oath in the ſame form as other burgeſſes; upon which we have taken ripe deliberation: And foraſmuch as the aforeſaid people do proffer to bear equally all burdens with other citizens, and even in the caſe of

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‘ We therefore conceive that ye do very ill, not to permit them to live in peace ‘ and quietneſs, according to the mind of their conſcience, according to the Act which ‘ we, with the advice of the Governor and Council, formerly afforded them, which, ‘ they ſay, they have exhibited to you: And yet, notwithſtanding, we find that you ‘ have hitherto refuſed to give heed unto it, and to our precedent letters, and ſo we ‘ are conſtrained for this laſt time to write this, by which we plainly declare unto you, ‘ That it concerns not you to trouble yourſelves in particular with any man's *Conſcience*, ‘ ſo long as nothing is treated or done that might extend to any man's ſcandal; in ‘ which caſe we will neither reſpect nor bear any man.

‘ And therefore we charge and order you expreſly, to deſiſt all farther moleſtation ‘ or hindrance of the ſaid Meniſts in their merchandize or handicrafts to gain their ‘ livelihood for their wives and children; ſuffering them to open their ſhops, and work ‘ as they have in times paſt done; 'till ſuch time as there ſhall be otherwiſe ordered ‘ by the generality (who are thereunto qualified:) And therefore take heed that ye do ‘ nothing againſt this, and the Act to them granted, or to further any fines from them ‘ upon that account; provided nothing be by them attempted, which might tend to ‘ the ſcandal of any man: And they ſhall bear all civil and equal burdens, as other ‘ men. Herewith, &c.

‘ Subſcribed by Copy,

‘ De Baudemont.’

CXXII. Alſo by the Treaties of Peace, between the States General of the United Provinces, and the Kings of England, Spain, &c. Ann. 1674. there is a ſpecial article therein contained, ‘ That all their Ship-maſters of Merchant-ſhips ſhall carry along with ‘ them a Sea-brief, according to the form thereby preſcribed:’ In which it is expreſly declared, ‘ That ſuch maſter ſhall come before the magiſtrates, and by his ſolemn ‘ Oath teſtify, that ſuch ſhip, whereof he is maſter, doth properly belong unto the ‘ ſubjects of the ſaid States General; unto which Sea-brief, under the ſeal of the city, ‘ intire faith and credit is given.’

And although by the ſaid Treaties, the maſter was to give his Oath, yet the magiſtrates in Holland do take the Solemn Affirmation of ſuch as cannot ſwear, inſtead of an Oath, and inſert it ſo accordingly in their Sea-briefs; and then it runs thus, ‘ Theſe ‘ are to certify, &c. That A. B. hath before us ſolemnly affirmed and declared, that ‘ the Ship C. D. whereof he is maſter, doth properly belong and appertain to the ‘ ſubjects of the States General of the United Provinces,’ &c.

Which can be ſufficiently evidenced, if required.

This was the Care, this the Condeſcenſion, of other governments, for the relief of perſons under our circumſtances: And we take liberty to affirm, That the Trade and Wealth of the United Provinces, are owing more to the ingenuity and induſtry of thoſe indulged Diſſenters, than to them of the National Religion, who would have ſlugged and tyrannized all into poverty and vaſſalage.

Have regard to our Suffering Condition, we beſeech you; and ſhew yourſelves both natural to a Member (be we reputed the meaneſt) of your own Civil Body, and ſo far lovers of Him who ſaid, “ Swear not at all,” as not to continue us ſufferers for not acting againſt his Command, at leaſt, our Senſe of it, and therein of our own Conſciences: But make ſome Proviſion for us, as well as other countries have done before you, as in your wiſdom you ſhall think meet; that all thoſe, who are of the Society of the People called Quakers, and known of themſelves to be ſo, ſhall not be moleſted for the future upon the account of Swearing, but their ſolemn YEA or NAY ſhall be taken in lieu thereof, and their Untruth, or Breach of Word, puniſhable as Perjury.

God, we know, who delights in mercy, and in all acts of tenderneſs to the ſons of men, will favour ſo natural, ſo generous, and ſo chriſtian an enterprize; and the propoſers, promoters, and effecters of this happy deliverance from the heavy clog of Swearing, under which we and our families have ſo long groaned, will not, we dare believe, go without their rewards at the hands of the Almighty; whom, in what manner ſoever he ſhall deal with us, we do, from the bottom of our ſouls, humbly and heartily implore, that it would pleaſe him ſo to diſpoſe your hearts, as you may beſt diſcharge that high truſt repoſed in you, to the honour of his great name, and the proſperity of this famous kingdom, the moſt certain foundation of true felicity to yourſelves; and which will give, as a good example to others, ſo the cleareſt reputation to you and your poſterity.

This performed in the name, and for the ſervice, of the People called Quakers, by

WILLIAM PENN, RICHARD RICHARDSON.

WISDOM JUSTIFIED OF HER CHILDREN,

FROM THE

IGNORANCE AND CALUMNY

OF

H. HALLYWEL,

In his BOOK, called

AN ACCOUNT of FAMILISM, as it is Revived and Propagated
by the QUAKERS.

By WILLIAM PENN.

But all theſe things will they do unto you for my name's ſake: Yea, the time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think he doth God ſervice. But be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. JOHN xv. 21. and xvi. 2. 33.

⁂ By reaſon of an Overſight, during the Printing, this Tract miſſed being inſerted in its proper Place, according to the Order of Time in which it was written; viz. after the "Diſcourſe on the Rule of Faith and Manners:" This, it is hoped, the Reader will be kind enough to excuſe.

TO THE

JUSTICES of the PEACE in the County of SUSSEX.

1673. A Certain perſon in your parts hath lately troubled himſelf and the world with a book, intituled, ‘ An Account of Familiſm, as it is revived and propagated by the ‘ Quakers;’ and this dedicated to Sir J. Covert, knight and baronet, &c. How ill he ſpent his time in writing it, and how unadviſed he was in publiſhing it, an impartial peruſal of this ſmall Diſcourſe will briefly yet abundantly manifeſt.

I come not to you for protection (a thing he and his cauſe wanted), but for impartiality and juſtice: Truth is ſufficient to patronize and defend her own cauſe from the laſh of envy, without the weak auxiliaries of human force; ſhe gives ſanctuary to all that take to her for refuge, but is all-ſufficient to her own relief from the deepeſt preſſure, and moſt inveterate proſecutions of her implacable enemies. And though the evil diſpoſition of the world to receive her apologies, ſeems to conſpire with the indefatigable endeavours of her adverſaries to traduce her; yet her own pureſt innocency and unwearied patience have ever in the end broke forth, to ſuch a clear conviction of her oppoſers, as hath proved at once both their confutation and their ſhame.

And let it ſeem no riddle to you, that I write ſo aſſured of truth on our ſide. There is no objection our adverſary has made to the contrary, which we ſhall not eaſily remove. Our meanneſs in quality, breeding, literature and fortunes in the world (badges of reproach with him) will receive an ample parallel from the beſt perſons and times, and is ſo far from making to overthrow, that if the Scripture and other ſtory be to be credited, they tell us, “ that not many wiſe, learned or noble :” Not that they are excluded; but, as perſons ſtumbled at the Croſs of Chriſt, and the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, through the power that greatneſs and pleaſure have with them, they exclude themſelves.

But ſince great and rich men have ſouls to be ſaved as well as poor, it is equally their concern to inform themſelves of that way which moſt aſſuredly leads to the reſt that is eternal. I confeſs the variety of ſects in the world to be a great diſcouragement, eſpecially when we conſider with what confidence each party pleads the truth and divine original of his own perſuaſion : But men are not to be ſatisfied with Pretence, but Evidence : Education is too ſhort, nor will Tradition reach far enough, to aſcertain any man of the verity of his perſuaſion.

Could the two firſt have done, there had been no need of relinquiſhing the Roman Church, which was neither wanting in pretences, nor an education prejudiced enough againſt all reformation : And if Tradition had been all-ſufficient, the Direction of God’s Unerring Grace, and the neceſſary Conviction of Mens Reaſons, might have been ſpared.

For if men are to believe what is recommended for true, becauſe *recommended*, and not becauſe *true*, we are to believe we know not what; and ſhall be to ſeek ſo far for a reaſon for the hope that is in us, that in reality we can have no other anſwer to give, than that ſuch or ſuch told us ſo, and therefore we believe it : But if the ground of our faith ought to be more ſure and better founded, it will ſtand us greatly upon to examine, what is the reaſon we have to render for our faith and hope in God, and that belief we have of holy ſcripture ? If we err here, our building is inſecure ; and the danger is, that we ſhall not only one day loſe our Faith, but, which is worſe, our Souls too. This neceſſarily brings a man to a more inward ſearch and teſtimony, ſome Divine Principle in man, planted by God himſelf, which gives to believe “ that God is, and that he is a Rewarder “ of them that fear him.”

This the beſt Heathens, as well as Jews and Chriſtians, have highly venerated, and many are the teſtimonies they have left upon record, to the divine original, and excellent uſe of it, both to know God, and ourſelves : And truly it was this Holy Principle in all ages that hath attended mankind with thoſe Checks, Reproofs and Directions, by which he hath had any diſcerning of what ſhould, from what ſhould not, be done. This is that which hath given him the certain ſound and true reliſh of what God has ever required at his hand, as ſaid the prophet Micah, “ God hath ſhewed thee, O man, what “ is good, and what he requires from thee ; to do juſtice, love mercy, and walk hum-“ bly with thy God,” Mic. vi. 8. In the Pſalms thus, “ Thou giveſt thy mouth to evil, “ and thy tongue frameth deceit : Thou ſitteſt and ſpeakeſt againſt thy brother : Theſe “ things haſt thou done, and I kept ſilence : Thou thoughteſt I was altogether ſuch an “ one as thyſelf ; but I will reprove thee, and ſet them in order before thine eyes, ſaith

“ the Lord.” And the apoſtle Paul tells us, “ Whatever may be known of God is manifeſted within.” And what can that be by which God ſo manifeſteth himſelf, but what Moſes called “ the Word nigh, in the heart,” that the children of Iſrael were to obey; that Job calls “ Light,” which the wicked rebel againſt, not loving the ways thereof: The like doth Chriſt, in John, when he complained, that men would not bring their deeds to be examined by it. In all ages hath the Almighty more or leſs pleaded his own cauſe in the conſciences of all people by this Divine Principle of Light, however variouſly denominated: And whatever Faith or Hope man has, not grounded upon the diſcoveries, convictions and directions of This, it is a by-rote faith, hope and religion.

Therefore I beſeech you, to whom this Diſcourſe is more particularly dedicated, to conſider of us, not by Tradition, Education, Religions eſtabliſhed by human Laws, or Imperial Decrees; but by that Underſtanding which this ‘ Immortal Law and Everlaſting Foundation of Virtue,’ as Heathen Plutarch calls it, will afford you to judge us by.

It has been man's venturing to wade into the Holy Scriptures without this Divine Principle, that has cauſed ſo many fearful miſcarriages about religion. Something in man prompts him to religion; but man, being not wholly guided by that which ſo inſpires him with religious deſires, haſtily ſpoils all with the intermixture of his own fancies and conceits: And becauſe he is aſſured that What firſt inclined him was right, he ſticks not to ſtile his own inventions orthodox; and then, impatient of contradiction, with a fury as great as his ignorance, endeavours the overthrow of whatever ſtands in his way, and refuſes to receive his mark in his forehead, or in his right hand. This has occaſioned ſo much trumpery in religion; ceremonies, ſhew, and mere formality, have ſwallowed up the greateſt part of it: Now were men brought to God's heavenly Gift in themſelves, it would reclaim and leaven the mind, chain the affections, and bring religion into holy and ſelf-denying living, and erect an holy regimen in the heart and ſoul, by which the heavenly Image would be renewed, and man become as one born again; without which tranſlation, there can be no entering into God's heavenly kingdom.

This the firſt Proteſtants made to be the reaſon of their revolt from Rome: For though it is true, that they charged the Papiſts with making GOD's Tradition (the Holy Scriptures) void by their numerous dark traditions; yet that which begot that holy loathing of Rome's ſuperſtitions, idolatries and will-worſhip, was God's GRACE in their hearts; and their beſt argument againſt Rome's aſſaults was this, ‘ The Scripture, which ‘ I believe from the Teſtimony of the Spirit of God in me, and which I can only ‘ underſtand from the Illumination thereof, owns no ſuch thing, and therefore I re‘ject it.’

Such as converſe with Luther and his followers, Zuinglius and his followers, will find this to have been the foundation of their whole work. And our own martyrology is full to our purpoſe, particularly Tindal, Tims and Philpot.

I omit to mention a whole cloud of witneſſes, becauſe I intend not to dwell here; only this I would be at, and I intreat you all to weigh it, Whether any thing can give to underſtand aright, and enable to practiſe thoſe things of God, which it is neceſſary for man both to know and do, but God's Light, Grace or Word in the heart: What elſe can give us to reliſh the divine authority of the Scriptures themſelves, or to believe the things therein treated of to be undeniable truths? Indeed, the want of this has been a great occaſion of Atheiſm; man making, practiſing, and enacting that for religion, of which people have had no aſſurance in themſelves: But if they ſhould ſpeak their hearts, it is more probable they do not believe it; but inſtead thereof deride it, and ſo, under a ſhew of religion, live as men without God in the world.

To prevent which, and to bring men to the true underſtanding of what God expects from them, in order to that great account they are to give unto him at the revelation of his righteous judgments, “ when he will judge the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt,” we do exhort all to Chriſt's pure, unerring Light in the conſcience, (John viii. 12. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.) which is ſufficient to daily underſtanding and duty; that what they believe and profeſs in matters of ſo high importance, they may be convinced in their very conſcience, by the good underſtanding the Inſpiration of the Almighty gives, of the truth and neceſſity thereof; and not ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with the torrent of Fathers, Councils, Synods, Doctors, Scholars, national Conſtitutions, &c. (big, and moſt times untrue, and too often empty Words) without that inward conviction and teſtimony of God's good Spirit in your own conſciences; the old Proteſtant, and only Primitive ground of true faith and obedience.

I know, and ſhall always acknowledge, that in the time of ignorance the Almighty winked; and that in every age he has expreſſed his regard to thoſe under the various forms of religion ever in the world, who have been ſincere-hearted and of ſober and conſcientious converſation: But I muſt alſo tell you, that by how much the more needleſs and unwarrantable cuſtoms, will-worſhip, and human religion built upon the dark and uncertain conjectures of men, are receded from, and the minds of people engaged in a diligent attendance upon that Divine Principle which only can clear up their underſtandings,

ings, and give them an experimental knowledge of the true God, and that way of worſhip and ſervice which may be moſt acceptable with him, by ſo much more certain will they be of the truth of their religion; inaſmuch as they have, over and above all external record, the aſſurance of Unqueſtionable Convictions in their own Conſciences.

Thus, God, who made heaven and earth, knows, we came to receive that knowledge of him, which we now expoſe ourſelves to all hardſhips to maintain.

We profeſſed God; but, like our neighbours, in works we denied him. We worſhipped him after man's conceivings; inſomuch that I may ſay, we worſhipped the Unknown God in a Falſe Way. No doubt but we were ſtocked with the Common Talk of Religion; 'but the Croſs of Chriſt we were ſtrangers to.' His Blood we extolled, 'whilſt by wicked works we trod it under foot;' and believed ourſelves ſaved by it, 'who were uncleanſed from ſin.' The whole end of his coming we eſteemed the top of all love; 'but never knew enough of it, truly kindled in our hearts, whereby to work ſuch faith and reſignation as could give us victory over the world.' Thus were we, Jews-like, Children of God, 'whilſt we crucified the Son of God;' and of the ſeed of Abraham, 'whilſt the Serpent's ſeed reigned;' heirs of the kingdom, 'yet not born again;' free, 'yet the bondſlaves of vanity.' O! at this time of day it was that God found us out, and broke in upon our ſouls with his righteous judgments for ſin, and laid judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to the plummet, within us; the book of conſcience was opened, and great fear ſurpriſed us, and deep ſorrow fell upon us, which brought that ſudden and ſtrange change, that made us both the deriſion of profane, and wonder of ſober men.

The author of the 'Account of Familiſm,' for want of more ſkill, and ſeriouſneſs, calls it the Hypochondria: as if it had been only a Flux of Melancholy overpowering the ſtrength of Reaſon, and carrying the Underſtanding captive at the impetuoſity of its fancies. But having been thus made ſenſible of the Terrors of the Lord for Sin, and being brought into a true underſtanding of that religion and worſhip which moſt pleaſe God, ſome of us were conſtrained, and in conſcience bound, to go forth into the world, and publiſh theſe 'Tidings of Judgment for Sin, and Converſion, through Righteouſneſs, wrought by the mighty Power of God in the Conſcience,' that all might be awakened to try their works, faiths, worſhips, and whole religions, whether they were of God or men; or whether they had been doing their own wills, or the will of God; that ſo they might be brought to experience God to be a God nigh at hand, reconciled in Chriſt, blotting out ſin, and renewing a right ſpirit within; by which their religion might not longer ſtand in the traditions of men, or on the education of parents, but upon the convictions and operations of God's grace in the conſcience. And thus is all that Chriſt did without, brought nigh and home to the very ſoul. The Seed of the Woman is known to bruiſe the head of the Serpent; Chriſt, the Light, and Lamb that taketh away the ſins of the world, not only to take away the ſins paſt through remiſſion, but cleanſe from the nature, root and ground of ſin, by his holy blood, which ſprinkles all conſciences that wait and walk in the Light (the juſt man's path) from dead works, to ſerve the living Lord God in uprightneſs for ever.

For this cauſe are we brought out into the world; and behold the Veſſel we are embarked in, our Lading, and the Country we make for! the Veſſel, *Truth*; the Lading, *Faith* and *Good Works*; our Souls, the *Paſſengers*; and the Country, the Land of *Everlaſting Reſt*.

This I could not but preſent you with, that no endeavours of our enemies may be able to lodge a falſe character of us and our principles with you: Though I muſt faithfully tell you, that I ſhould wrong my own Reaſon, as well as your Judgment, and ſpeak againſt my Conſcience too, if I ſhould let in one thought of this man's ability to do us any great Miſchief with you: for, out of no inſult, but in real truth, I take him for a very unſkilful pilot on our coaſt, a man unacquainted with our concerns; and a moſt incompetent perſon for an antagoniſt.

Accept (for I can aſk no excuſe for) my plainneſs. I have not fawned; I never could, and now much leſs: Theſe matters not only deſerve, but require, the greateſt plainneſs. And men that believe they ſhall have to do with God, after they have left having to do with men, ought to act with greateſt circumſpection and ſincerity. Remember your original, remember your end; and know aſſuredly that, but "Breath is "in your noſtrils; and for every deed done in this mortal body, whether it be good "or whether it be evil, will God, the righteous judge, require an account from you "before his great tribunal;" where may you all be able to anſwer with joy!

I am your faithful Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

Wiſdom juſtified of her Children, from the Ignorance and Calumny of H. HALLYWEL.

CHAP. I.

His EPISTLE conſidered.

1673. Chap. I.

THE adverſary we have to do withal begins his dedicatory epiſtle thus, 'The daily 'and numerous Increaſe of the heretical generation of Quakers in theſe parts, 'made me a little more then ordinarily inquiſitive into their doctrines and perſuaſions; 'which I found not only deſtructive of Civil Government, but of Religion itſelf.'

It is natural with ignorance to be proud, and envy to ſlander. His enquiry has been at our Adverſaries doors, not ours. They that read him, and thoſe books that lately came out, may know his informers without farther coſt: But Book-robbery, though to untruth, is an old prieſt-trick.

If his ſort of rendering us inconſiſtent with government could incenſe the civil magiſtrate to our deſtruction, we know very well traducers would not be wanting. Truth has never been perſecuted under its own name: Hereſy is an old blot the devil has caſt upon it, that it may become ſuſpected with the ſimple: And Chriſtians were of old worried in Beaſt-Skins: Such coverings the preſent Heathen ſpirit has provided for us. But as we cannot but bleſs the name of Almighty God, that he has brought us to the knowledge of his good old way of "Truth in the Inward Parts;" ſo do we affirm it to be Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. neither averſe from Government, nor deſtructive of Religion; right Government being Heb. viii. 10. according to it; and pure Religion being "to keep ourſelves unſpotted from the world," and to do, or ſuffer, which we have ever done; and God knows, to that is the tendency Jam. i. 27. of our Holy Principle, to wit, Moderation, Juſtice, Induſtry, Temperance and Upright Converſation. But the true Engliſh of this wicked ſuggeſtion is no more than this; the Quakers and their perſuaſion are inconſiſtent with Will-worſhippers, Hirelings, Men-pleaſers, Perſecutors and Oppreſſors: They give the world an Alarm for theſe things, and round their ears with the neceſſity of walking in ſo ſtrait and narrow a way, as gives great diſquiet to the Libertine, and brings the Prieſt's Qualification into great Queſtion, and his Trade into abſolute Danger.

No wonder, then, ſo many hard names are caſt upon us, to deter ſuch as are unacquainted with us; and beget ſcruples in them that are well-diſpoſed to us. However, this contentment this paragraph gives, that notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, 'we daily 'and numerouſly increaſe,' for which my ſoul is greatly glad, and my knees bow to the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that he would continue to proſper and ſpeed his own great work of redemption in the earth. But he goes on:

'For what elſe can be expected from them, who deny the Scripture to be the Word 'of God, and Rule and Guide in matters of Salvation?

Anſw. We do not deny the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and Rule and Guide in matters of ſalvation, out of any undervalue of them; but from that reverent regard we have to CHRIST, the Great and Eminent WORD, "who was with God, and was God, John xiv. "by whom all things were made; who is the Way, Truth and Life, the great Prophet, Acts vii. 37. "Judge, Law-giver and Prieſt to his people, whoſe lips preſerve knowledge." He is the New Covenant Rule and Judge; and without HIM we can neither underſtand nor believe the ſcriptures as we ſhould do: Nay, ſo far are they from being a Rule, &c. that a thouſand caſes may happen wherein they cannot be a Direction to us. Nay, they may be *burned, drowned, torn, loſt, miſtranſlated, added to, diminiſhed*; men may be *robbed* of them, *impriſoned* from them; but none of all this can or ought to be ſaid of the Great *Goſpel Rule:* God has ever been ſufficient to his people in every age: And ſince they only are "children of God, who are led by the Spirit of God," and that it is "the Spirit "of God alone which leads into all truth," it follows that the Law of the Spirit of Life, writ in the HEART, and not a law writ on *Paper* (a ſtate leſs excellent than the Jews, whoſe law was written upon *Stone*) is the *Great Evangelical Rule of Living:* Yet are the Scriptures an Holy Declaration of the Word of God, and of the Rule and Guide in matters of Salvation: And we reject for ever that ſpirit which leads into thoſe principles and practices, that in the leaſt contradict the ſtanding and permanent truths therein mentioned: For they were written by holy men of God, being inſpired thereto, and contain godly reproof, admonition, exhortation and prophecies, for the edification of the church, and perfecting the man of God to every good word and work, through faith in Chriſt Jeſus;

and as ſuch, many directions, precepts and rules are therein laid down; yet they all refer to the Grace, Light, Spirit, Word, or Anointing within, as That by which man ought to be ruled, governed, and ordered, to God's glory and his own comfort, as they firſt were who gave them forth; for they were Witneſſes of the truth of what they writ. So that they are an Holy Declaration of the Way of God, and that Holy Principle which leads to it, and in it; without which the Book is ſealed, the Scriptures are unknown; and conſequently not the Scriptures, but that *Holy Key* of David is the Rule, how far, and which way, we are both to underſtand, interpret, believe and practiſe them.

Chap. I.
Tit. ii. 11, 12,
John iii. 19, 20, 21.
Rom. viii. 13, 14.
1 John ii. 27.
Read 'Quakeriſm a new nick-name for old Chriſtianity,' from pag. 24, to p. 202.
Alſo 'Reaſon againſt Railing.' From p. 24, to p. 47.

This may be enough to ſhew the diſingenuity of our adverſary in repreſenting us to his Knight: For becauſe we cannot give that title and office due to Chriſt himſelf from him to his bare Declaration, he would inſinuate that we refuſe all conformity to the holy examples and teſtimonies therein related and expreſſed, as if we were a moſt diſſolute crew of libertines.

But he tells us, 'That this perſon (whoſe name I ſuppoſe we ſhall prove he has made too bold with) 'ſo well knowing our obſtinate and perverſe humour, in the diſcharge of 'his truſts committed to him under his Moſt Sacred Majeſty, he could do no leſs than 'preſent him with this treatiſe; that going under the name and protection of ſo worthy 'and accompliſhed a perſon, it may in ſome meaſure obtain its deſired effect, by putting a ſtop to the growing evil, and confirming thoſe who are not ſeduced in the truth 'of their profeſſion.' A moſt nonſenſical expreſſion.

Anſw. But I am willing to hope better things of him, than that he ſhould go upon the prieſt's meſſage, or turn their knight-errant. But what is the matter that the Quakers are ſo perverſe? They cannot ſay "right worſhipful," becauſe they think that of right belongs to God; nor "moſt ſacred majeſty," that being fit for no mortal man: Neither can they lie and flatter with "your moſt obliged and affectionate ſervant," for they are more obliged to God than man, and to one man more than another. He either knew not, forgot, or ſlighted the rebuke of Paulinus to Sulpitius Severus, who ſaid, "It becometh not Chriſt's Freemen to ſubſcribe themſelves Servant," &c. But it is nothing with ſuch as our adverſary to cog, lie, and flatter: It is one part of his manners.

I would fain know what rule he had for all this? Did the holy prophets and apoſtles teach him any ſuch traſh? Will he prate of Scripture for a rule, and yet bridle his flattering tongue no better? The cuſtoms of the Heathens have entered the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and that old ſpirit, under this new trim, goes off for a very good Chriſtian.

'O! but the Quakers are obſtinate in other caſes, for all this!'

Anſw. Why ſo? Becauſe they will by all means ſtand to their principles; they will not play the Sycophants; threats do not fright them, nor promiſes gain them; they love their conſcience above their conveniency; and ſeek to pleaſe God rather than men. Perhaps, *this* ſort of men the *Knight* has found them, but could have wiſhed them more pliant to the laws, it may be, that he might have ſome colour to be kind: Muſt therefore this buſy-body intitle his name to all his own follies, lies and ſlanders againſt us? What can any moderate perſon think, but that the patron of ſuch diſcourſe has been an eminent Perſecutor, whoſe protection is ſo plainly called for to a book that without doubt would have him ſo? For my part, I think the knight ought to repute that ignorant and diſingenuous diſcourſe ſo far from being a teſtimony how much the author is his moſt obliged and affectionate ſervant, that for intereſting his name and power therein, he ſhould hereafter look upon him as an enemy to him, his name and family.

Before I conclude, give me leave to aſk him, why he ſought for protection? Is his national cauſe, defended by princes, parliaments, navies, armies, the learned, rich and powerful clergy, both univerſities, the generality of the gentry and commonalty, ſo weak and gaſping? Or are the poor, deſpiſed, traduced and trodden-down Quakers ſo potent and terrible, that a book of eight ſheets dare not peep out againſt them, but a big title muſt be got to recommend and patronize it? But how worthy ſoever the Knight be, that will not hinder my proceeding to ſhew the unworthineſs of the Book, and therein of the Author, as well to his Patron as the deſpiſed Quakers.

CHAP. II.

Containing an anſwer to his firſt chapter, in which he pretends an agreement to be between the Quakers and other ancient and modern Hereticks.

The Compariſon examined, and proved defective.

OUR adverſary, that he may the better prejudice his reader againſt us, introduceth his diſcourſe with a compariſon of us to the moſt noted and odious of the reputed ancient and modern Hereticks; doubtleſs hoping, that what he wants of argument to render us ſuch, may be ſupplied by that ill opinion men have of thoſe he brings us into parallel with. The firſt man he thought fit to pitch upon is Simon Magus, a man famous for his infamous ſorceries, with whom he wickedly yokes that faithful miniſter of God, George Fox, ‘ becauſe,’ ſaith he, ‘ Simon Magus gave out that he was God the ‘ Father; and George Fox, before the Juſtices at Lancaſter, that he was equal with ‘ God.’

Anſ. There is no believing a decimating, perſecuting Prieſt againſt a Quaker, till he makes more conſcience of telling lies, who hath given too many demonſtrations of his deſire to have us run down at any rate, to be credited by thoſe who love truth more than partiality.

George Fox denies the Words; they were never ſo ſpoken by him; much leſs were they ever intended in that way our adverſary takes and improves them. For though there be not an Equality, yet there is an Unity, as teſtifieth the Scripture; ‘ Let the Phil. ii. 6.
‘ ſame mind be in you, that was alſo in Chriſt Jeſus, who being in the form of God, ‘ thought it not robbery to be equal with God.’ And ‘ He that ſanctifieth, and they Heb. ii. 11.
‘ that are ſanctified, are all of One; for which cauſe he is not aſhamed to call them ‘ brethren.’ Again, ‘ They that are joined to the Lord are one ſpirit;’ and, ‘ He 1 Joh. iii. 7.
‘ that doth righteouſneſs is righteous, even as he is righteous.’ To deny this, is to deny the moſt heavenly benefit we have by Chriſt, namely, that Unity and Fellowſhip we have with the Father and with the Son. That it was an Unity, not an Equality, eſpecially in the ſenſe he takes the word, the faithful Narrative of that proceeding, printed in the Year 1654, will farther teſtify.

How great then muſt this man's miſcarriage be, who, to render a good man an impoſtor, turns forger himſelf? but God will reward him.

The next pair he pitches upon to prove his aſſertion, is Menander and James Naylor, (pag. 3.) ‘ The one for affirming himſelf to be ſent from the inviſible regions to be ‘ the ſaviour of mankind: And James Naylor for aſſerting himſelf to be Chriſt, and ‘ accepting Hoſannahs and divine worſhip in the ſtreets of Briſtol.’

Anſ. What Menander was, I know not; and it is hard believing a character of any man, when it is given by his Enemy: But ſure I am that James Naylor never aſſerted himſelf to be the Chriſt of God; neither did he ever deny him that appeared at Jeruſalem to be the Lord's Chriſt, as his writings plentifully declare, eſpecially one paper written by him to the then parliament, when a priſoner in Bridewell.

“ Chriſt Jeſus, the Emmanuel (of whoſe ſufferings the Scriptures declare) Him Alone “ I confeſs before men; for whoſe ſake I have denied whatever was dear to me in this “ world, that I might win him, and be found in him, and not in myſelf; whom alone “ I ſeek to ſerve in body, ſoul and ſpirit, night and day, according to the meaſure of “ Grace working in me; even to that Eternal Spirit be glory, and to the Lamb for “ ever. But to aſcribe this power and virtue to James Naylor, or for that to be ex-“ alted or worſhipped, to me is great idolatry. So having an opportunity given (with “ readineſs) I am willing, in the fear of God the Father, and in honour to Chriſt Jeſus, “ to take off all offenees from every ſimple heart, without guile or deceit.”

His third compariſon lies betwixt Photinus, who is ſaid to have denied the Trinity, and G. Fox, as guilty of the ſame error in his account, pag. 4.

Anſ. I can find no ſuch place in the book ſo called: Either our adverſary ſets up for a new controvertiſt, or he diſhoneſtly ſhunned giving us the page: But I am willing to believe, that he took it as he found it in ſome other adverſary; for any thing reported or printed againſt a Quaker, is ground enough for an envious prieſt to accuſe him.

But what if G. Fox denied the unſcriptural expreſſions, viz. the trinity of diſtinct and ſeparate *Perſons?* muſt it neceſſarily follow that he denied the “ Three that bear 1 John v.
“ record in Heaven, the Father, Word, and Spirit?” We juſtly renounce thoſe barbarous ſchool terms, as not ſuited to God's Heavenly Manifeſtations, but the dark conceits of ſome Popiſh Doctors.

His fourth compariſon is made between Socinus and James Naylor, in that the one denied the ‘ Satisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt, and looked upon his paſſion only as an Ex-‘ ample.’ The other, in that he affirmed, ‘ the end for which Chriſt did ſuffer, was ‘ to be a living example to all generations.’ Love to the loſt, p. 50.

Anſ. He has not truly delivered the opinion of Socinus, whoſe books ſhew, however miſtaken about Chriſt's Divinity, that he ever eſteemed his death and paſſion to have more in it than a bare Example: Nor has he faithfully dealt with J. Naylor in this quotation: For firſt, I find not the words as cited: And next, the word ONLY is by himſelf omitted, which alone renders the paſſage heterodox. Suppoſe then that J. Naylor writ, ‘ That Chriſt was in his Suffering a living Example to all generations;’ is there no difference between Chriſt's being in his death and paſſion *only* our example, which he charges upon Socinus, and Chriſt's being our living example in *ſuffering*, which he attributes to J. Naylor? How can there be a compariſon, where there is ſo great a diſparity? The firſt is denied by all that own Chriſt: The laſt is owned by all that do not deny Peter, who thus writ to the ſcattered brethren, “ For even here-

1673. Chap. II. " unto were ye called, becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example that " ye ſhould follow his ſteps." 1 Pet. ii. 21.

Pag. 4, 5, 6. His fifth compariſon he makes between the Valentinians and the Quakers. ' The ' former,' he ſays, ' arrogated to themſelves a knowledge beyond Chriſt and his ' apoſtles; The latter, impudently throw away the written word of God, and delude ' the credulous vulgar, with new-fangled revelations;' which he thinks he has proved by two inſtances: 1. That Tho. Hollbrow, a Quaker, to one that urged Scripture, anſwered, " What doſt thou tell me of Scripture, which is no more to me than an old " almanack? 2. That Fox and Hubberthorn, in a book called Truth's Defence, ſay, " The Scriptures are no ſtanding rule, and it is dangerous for ignorant people to read " them."

Anſw. To the firſt I ſay, there is great difference between one that was *no* Quaker, and one that *was* or *is* a Quaker: We have examined the matter, and by all we can find, both that ſaying is not true as charged, and it is of an ancienter date than the coming of any of our friends into thoſe parts; therefore not the ſaying of a *true* Quaker. To the ſecond I return thus much, 'Tis true there is ſuch a book, and it was written by G. Fox and R. Hubberthorn; but he has not given us ſo much as one page to direct us to the paſſage: So that either people muſt read till they find it, or elſe take his perverſion for our aſſertion. Unworthy man! does he think us ſuch wretches, that we deſerve not common juſtice? Methinks juſtice ſhould not be denied where ſo little mercy is ſhewn.

But to anſwer the inſtance. Our judgment about the ſcriptures being *the* rule, we have already delivered: And in what ſenſe it is dangerous to read them, their own book will declare.

" 'Tis dangerous," ſay G. Fox and R. Hubberthorn, " to read the Scripture in order to make war againſt the ſaints, to give carnal expoſitions upon them, and meanings contrary to them, and to make a trade of them; but bleſſed is he that doth " read and doth underſtand them." If this prove that ſlight to Scripture our adverſary would ſuggeſt them to be guilty of, then let us be condemned: But God's Witneſs in every unſeared conſcience will acquit them, and judge him for corrupt citation, and hard ſpeeches, who dares to cry thereupon, ' Are not theſe as impudent Hereticks as ' the Valentinians?' whom he repreſents to have arrogated to themſelves a knowledge above Chriſt and his apoſtles: Which, how true ſoever it may be of them, I am ſure is falſe enough of us; for thoſe hideous conſequences he makes, are not deducible from any unperverted ſaying to be cited out of ' Truth's Defence.'

And leſt any ſhould think we deny, with the Papiſts, the peruſal of the Scriptures to ignorant people, from what our adverſary ſays, know that they ſpoke of ſuch ignorant and unlearned perſons, as, in reading, " wreſted them to their own deſtruction." Now unleſs it be not dangerous to read to Deſtruction, they are not chargeable with blame in that matter.

But who are the knowing and learned? The Jewiſh Doctors, and Greek Philoſophers? No, but Fiſhermen, and poor Mechanicks, diſcipled in Chriſt's ſchool, for the excellency of whoſe knowledge Paul reputed his Gamaliel-acquiſitions but droſs and dung: So that their Knowing and Learned are many times the Ignorant and Unlearned we ſpeak of, " whoſe wiſdom God will confound, and whoſe underſtanding he " will bring to nought."

Pag. 6. His laſt compariſon of us in this chapter, is with Marcus, an old Heretick. The agreement he makes betwixt us ' lies in our mutual pretences to Inſpiration and Pro' phecy.' For as he reports him to have ' abuſed many ſilly women, under colour ' of conferring on them the gift of propheſying, and that he had a familiar ſpirit, by ' which he brought himſelf into credit with his deluded followers;' ſo he tells us that ' he has had it confidently affirmed, that about the firſt riſe of the Quakers, in the ' North of England, ſeveral perſons, by gloves and ribbands and divers charms, were ' really bewitched by them. And doubtleſs many of their quaking fits were real poſ' ſeſſions by the Devil.'

Pag. 7. *Anſwer.* What Marcus was, is nothing to us: If he has done amiſs, he has anſwered for it by this time. I confeſs I am not over-fond of the characters left us of ancient Hereticks, knowing what kind of creatures the beſt Proteſtants are with Papiſts; and what fearful monſters ſeveral ſober Separatiſts are reputed among ſome Proteſtants: But this I know, if what he hath ſaid of ſeveral Ancients be no truer than what he hath ſaid of us, he has groſly abuſed their doctrines and their memories.

For the witchcraft of gloves, ribbands and charms, 'tis ſcarce worthy my notice; his folly in mentioning it being a ſufficient reproof and confutation to himſelf. A ſtory fit for none, at this time of day, to report or believe, but a man of his ſize. I thought they had been worn out by this time.

But let the ſober reader judge, which ſavours moſt of Satan's deſign, this idle, yet ſcandalous, ſtory, or our ' fearing and trembling at the Word of the Lord, and thoſe ' Terrors that broke in upon our ſouls, becauſe of ſin and iniquity?' 'Tis but the old

‘ ſpirit of mockery, that actuated the Jews and Heathens againſt the Chriſtians, and Papiſts againſt Proteſtants, and too many Proteſtants of ſeveral ſorts, againſt ſome more reformed Separatiſts:

For had the reverend fear of God poſſeſſed our adverſary's heart, in the writing of this diſcourſe, there had been no room for ſuch irreligious ſcoffs againſt an inoffenſive people. But the Devil, becauſe he would be God, calls God the Devil, and Chriſt Beelzebub; Light, Darkneſs; and the Power of God, the Power of Satan; and the Fear and Trembling brought by the one, the Poſſeſſions and Witchcrafts of the other. Certainly ſuch men live in a dry land, they ſee not when good cometh. But what will not an enraged tything prieſt do to deſtroy us, who, he knows, are diſcoverers of ſuch deluders?

CHAP. III.

His pretended agreement between the Authors of Familiſm and the Quakers conſidered. His objections anſwered.

Chap. III.

I Now come to conſider the reaſon of the Title of his book, and what ground he had to name us the Revivers and Propagators of Familiſm, with the moſt weighty objections he makes againſt us; if in truth I may repute the ſtrongeſt of them ſuch; and that with what brevity, truth and faithfulneſs I can.

‘ The great authors of this doctrine of Familiſm,’ he ſays, ‘ were David George and ‘ Henry Nicholas; but more eſpecially the latter, as having more improved and diſſe‘ minated the pernicious errors introduced by the former.’ He beſtows many ſevere expreſſions upon them, more, I think, than becomes a man of any charity to give. I am not their advocate; but ſo much ſpleen and ſo little reaſon, againſt dead men, can be neither chriſtian nor manly. What he ſays they held, and how far we are concerned in it, it is our buſineſs to enquire.

§. 1. Of Chriſt's Miniſtration.

And firſt he tells us, that H. N. ſhould ſay, ‘ That not only the Law of Moſes, ‘ but the Miniſtration of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, were only temporary things, inſti‘ tuted to bring men to the perfect reign of the Spirit; and then, like horn-books and ‘ primmers to grown underſtandings, to be thrown away,’ p. 10, 11. And that this is ‘ the full ſenſe of the Quakers,’ ſays our adverſary,’ p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. hear ‘ John Crook, a Quaker; “ We believe, by the ſame gift of Grace, that there are “ ſeveral Miniſtrations, and ſeveral Operations, according to 1 *Cor.* 12. and all by “ the ſame Spirit; as before and after the Law by Moſes, and after by John the Bap“ tiſt, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And by this Spirit were the Scriptures given “ forth, and the holy men of God did ſpeak, propheſy, preach and pray, as they were “ moved; and to anſwer the ſervice God had for them to do, they were to wait, as “ Chriſt commanded his Diſciples, to receive the promiſe of the Father.------And “ therefore as it was the practice of the people of God, in old time, to wait for the “ moving of this Spirit, that they might ſpeak as it gave them utterance in the evi“ dence and demonſtration thereof; ſo do this People, called Quakers, now.” Upon which our adverſary dares to obſerve, ‘ That we, with the Familiſts, deny the mini‘ ſtration of Chriſt to be the miniſtration of the Spirit;’ and conſequently charges us with a blaſphemous derogation from the honour of our bleſſed Saviour, who ſaid to his Apoſtles, John xvi. 14. “ He ſhall receive of mine, and ſhew it unto you.”

Anſw. If our adverſary's weakneſs has run him into this ſtrange parallel, he is to be pitied; but if his Envy, he is ſeverely to be rebuked. Will any man that has ſenſe or honeſty ſay, it is all one to affirm that Chriſt's Miniſtration is ‘ an Horn-book ‘ that time caſts off with Infancy;’ and that it is ‘ a Waiting to receive the ſame Spi‘ rit Chriſt commanded his Apoſtles to wait for, as the promiſe of the Father, and ‘ the peculiar gift and privilege of his own Miniſtration?’ Does not J. Crook expreſly draw a parallel between the holy men of God of old, and the Quakers of our time; that as they then, ſo the Quakers now, wait to be taught, moved and ordered by the ſame eternal Spirit, through which all come to be baptized into one body? How was that then no ſpiritual miniſtration, when we deſire to be conformed unto the Spirit and holy Example thereof; not making this a new, but reviving that old and durable miniſtration of the Spirit? Therefore “ Blaſphemous Derogations” will return to our adverſary, as unduly charged upon us, with a charge upon him of baſe derogation from the truth of our belief.

But he thinks that Humph. Smith has made much for him in thus querying; p. 15. “ Whether ſhould people be led in theſe days by Moſes, according to his outward mi“ niſtration, or the Perſon of Chriſt, (limiting him to his Viſible Appearance) or the “ Spirit of Truth, which he promiſed to pour out after his aſcenſion?” which contains the ſubſtance of what he quotes out of Humph. Smith, and to which he thus anſwers:

‘ There

‘ There is no ſober Chriſtian can read this paſſage without anger and diſdain, to ſee ‘ ſuch wicked wretches ſcoff, and fleeringly inſult upon the ſacred perſon of our Lord ‘ Jeſus; the whole hiſtory of whoſe life and death, in the Letter of it, they eſteem no ‘ better than one of Æſop's Fables.’

Anſw. But our adverſary will not ſo eaſily eſcape the hands of the juſt God, “ whoſe “ is Vengeance,” for theſe ungodly defamations, as he well knows he may do ours: Anger, diſdain, and lies, become him, and it is little to be wondered that he ſhould be guilty of them all againſt a Quaker. If H. Smith had aſſerted ‘ that Moſes could ‘ not be our Leader, neither the Viſible Perſon of Chriſt, but the Spirit of Truth,’ he had not exceeded the warrant of Scripture, nor the very judgment of this reviler. It is not two pages off that he quoted John xvi. 14. “ He ſhall receive of mine, and “ ſhall ſhew it unto you:” Which, if I underſtand any thing, imports thus much; ‘ That thoſe things which they knew not whilſt Chriſt was with them, after his Aſ‘ cenſion the Holy Ghoſt ſhould reveal unto them,’ as theſe two preceding verſes fully prove. “ I have yet many things to ſay unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; “ Howbeit, when the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all truth, and “ he will ſhew you things to come.” Nay, Chriſt himſelf ſays in the 7th verſe, “ Nevertheleſs I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I “ go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you.” And in the xivth chap. verſe 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, he ſpeaks thus, “ I will pray the Father, and he will give you “ another Comforter, and he will abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth:” So that the *perſonal* miniſtration was manifeſtly tranſient and temporary; but that of the SPIRIT was to abide for ever. But I would not any ſhould think it to be leſs Chriſt's miniſtration, becauſe the miniſtration of the Spirit; for the LORD is that Spirit, as his own words manifeſt: Again, “ I will not leave you comfortleſs, I will “ come to you. Yet a little while, and the world ſeeth me no more, but ye ſee me: ‘ Becauſe I live, ye ſhall live alſo; for he that dwelleth with you, ſhall be in you. At “ that day you ſhall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you.” And that this Comforter is Chriſt, in his ſpiritual coming and appearance, let it be farther obſerved, that the ſame word for *Comforter* (Παράκλητος) in John xvi. 7. is the word uſed by the ſame Apoſtle in the firſt verſe of the 2d chapter of his firſt epiſtle, for *Advocate*, when he ſays, “ We have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt “ the righteous.”

In ſhort, the diſpenſation of his Viſible Appearance was but temporary: “ It is ex“ pedient for you that I go away.” But his Miniſtration, who ſo appeared, then diſappeared, and after re-appeared in a ſpiritual and unalterable miniſtration, “ Lo, I am “ with you to the end of the World,” Mat. xxviii. 20. And truly thus much our adverſary (p. 13.) in contradiction to himſelf, grants us, that ‘ the miniſtration of ‘ Chriſt was indeed the miniſtration of the Spirit.’ Now what ſcoffs, fleerings or inſults againſt the ſacred perſon of our Lord Jeſus any can ſee in this doctrine, to incite a ſober chriſtian to anger and diſdain, I leave to any but ſuch an angry diſdainful enemy to judge?

I cannot forget this horrible lye of us, concerning the Scripture, ſtolen probably out of an Anabaptiſt's lying Dialogue lately printed againſt us. Prelaticks and Sectaries can ſometimes agree againſt Quakers. Æſop's Fables have more worth in them than all the Books that ever were written againſt the Quakers: I do not at all doubt but there are twenty fables in Æſop, that, well conſidered, would have taught them more diſcretion, and (it ſhould have been their own fault if not) more Honeſty too, than any or all of them have ſhewn in their utmoſt endeavours againſt us. But that we have ‘ no more regard to, nor belief in, the Holy Scriptures of Truth, than in Æſop's ‘ Fables,’ is a ſtory more prophane and fabulous than any fable in Æſop; and God will recompence with a vengeance this defamer of an innocent people, unleſs diverted by his unfeigned repentance.

§. 2. Of Revelation.

He tells us, ‘ The ſecond thing wherein the Familiſts and Quakers are all one, is the ‘ pretence of Immediate Revelation. Dav. Geo. and H. N. both pretended to receive ‘ their doctrine from the angel Gabriel. And W. Gibſon, the Quaker, ſays, p. 16. ‘ that the goſpel which they preach they have not received it from men, nor from ‘ books, nor from writings, but by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt in them; and then ‘ denies the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to be the revealed will of God.

Anſw. After what manner D. G. and H. N. received their commiſſion I know not; but ſure I am that W. Gibſon's aſſertion is ſound. Take away Revelation, and the Goſpel ceaſes of courſe; Chriſt is put beſide the dignity of his prophetical and prieſtly office; the promiſes of God will be broken; and the moſt excellent part of the Scriptures, God's Traditions, made void. Who was it ſaid, “ A Prophet ſhall the “ Lord your God raiſe up like unto me, Deut. xviii. 18. HIM ſhall ye hear in all “ things. There is a Spirit in man; and the Inſpiration of the Almighty giveth Un‘ derſtanding,

“ underſtanding, Job xxxii. 8. As for me, this is my covenant with him, ſaith the Lord, “ My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, ſhall not de- “ part out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of thy “ ſeed's ſeed, ſaith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever,” Iſa. lix. 21. “ I will *reveal* unto “ them the abundance of peace and truth---,” Jer. xxxiii. 6. “ I thank thee, O Father, “ Lord of heaven and earth, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and pru- “ dent, and haſt *revealed* them unto babes.”----“ And no man knoweth the Father but “ the Son, and he to whom the Son will *reveal* him.” Matt. xi. 25, 27. “ No man “ can come unto me, except the Father, which hath ſent me, draw him.” John vi. “ 44. But God hath *revealed* them unto us by his Spirit. For the Spirit ſearcheth all “ things, yea, the deep things of God. For the things of God knoweth no Man, but “ the Spirit of God.” 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. chap. xiv. 30. “ If any thing ſhould be *re-* “ *vealed* to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace. For when it pleaſed God “ to *reveal* his Son in me.---For I neither received the Goſpel of Man, neither was I “ taught it, but by the *revelation* of Jeſus Chriſt.” Gal. i. 12. 16. “ If any be other- “ wiſe minded, God will *reveal* it to him, Phil. iii. 15.” As I ſaid before, ſo again, *who* uttered theſe excellent ſayings, and for what end? If no *Inſpiration*, no *Underſtanding*: If no *Revelation*, no *Knowledge*: And if the Spirit ceaſe to teach, (as it can never teach, but by Inſpiration or Revelation) then the adminiſtration of Chriſt and his apoſtles is ceaſed indeed: And ſo, not the Quakers, but their Adverſary overturns the Goſpel miniſtration, as begun and preached by Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And be it known to all the world, we think *Revelation* no diſgrace to our cauſe. Parrots may *learn* Scripture, but can never *experience* it. And thoſe know little better, who know not by Experience: They are unprofitable Canters indeed, who confidently talk of what they never felt; and idle Boaſters, who buoy up themſelves unto the reputation of Miniſters and Chriſtians, with a loud talk of their travels, trials, inſpirations, and experiences, whom they plainly mock in their poſterity; concluding all blind, becauſe themſelves cannot ſee. In ſhort, let it be the character of the deſpiſed Quakers, (and we glory in it) that all the Councils, Synods, Univerſities, Doctors, Scholars, and the moſt Unanimous Decrees, Learned Books, and whatever the power and art of the ſpirit of Man can produce, will never be able to give, or rule, that true Faith which overcomes the World: For “ that which may be known of God is manifeſted within man:” And though outward Records may teſtify of and direct to that unerring Light and Spirit, by which man comes both to know God, and to be made conformable to his heavenly image; yet nothing below the diſcoveries, convictions, and effectual operations of the Eternal Spirit, can give man the certain knowledge of God, nor that daily Ability by which alone he may be enabled to obey him.

Pag. 16, 17, 18. But he oppoſeth to us ‘ Miracles and Reaſon; inſinuating that ‘ we have no more of the laſt than the firſt, and therefore not to be believed.’ To the firſt, I ſay, we pretend to no other religion, than what was profeſſed and practiſed by the Apoſtles, and therefore need no new miracles after that manner to confirm that which has been confirmed by miracles already; eſpecially to thoſe who believe thoſe miracles: And to deny revelation where there are no Miracles, is to diſcard many of the Prophets, and to deny the pouring forth of the Spirit upon the Primitive Chriſtians. But, above all, hear the man's interpretation of Deut. xviii. 22. “ When “ a prophet ſpeaks in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to paſs;” that is, ſaith this horrible perverter of holy Scripture, ‘ if he do no Miracle;’ whereas the Verſe intends no ſuch thing. Is this to rant over the Quakers for idiots, as if he were ſome Doctor of the Chair, that where the ſcripture ſpeaks of *Prophecy*, he ſhould render it *Miracle*; as if he that is a Prophet, is a worker of Miracles, and that Miracles and Prophecy are equivalent? But (*Argumentum ad hominem*) let us ſee how it will hold. ‘ He that is a true prophet, muſt neceſſarily work Miracles: But the Prieſts of England ‘ cannot work Miracles; therefore, the Prieſts of England are all Falſe Prophets.’ A true Concluſion, yet falſe Premiſes: a Paradox. Now for the Reaſonableneſs of our doctrine: ‘ He thinks a very mean capacity can find none in it; for how ſhould there be any Rea- ‘ ſon in what they teach, when they themſelves,’ ſays he, ‘ deny the Uſe of Reaſon:’ (pag. 18.) But none have leſs than they which pretend to ſo much. This man dares ſwagger for *Reaſon*, and yet cries out, *Hereſy*, as ſoon as he ſees it. *His* Reaſon is, *The Authority of his Church*; The *Say-ſo* of ſome *Univerſity Doctor*; finally, *The Works of ſome learned men*: And offer never ſo much Reaſon and Conſcience againſt them, and your Reaſon is *Sophiſtry*, and Conſcience, *Enthuſiaſm*. The juſteſt ſeparation in the world is with ſuch but *Schiſm*; and, which is the laſt ſtratagem, ſuch perſons muſt be enemies to *Cæſar*. But I may ſay of thoſe men, as Heraclitus ſaid of their fore-fathers, ‘ If blind ‘ men were to judge of Sight, they would ſay Blindneſs were Sight.’ God is the Fountain as well of Reaſon as Light: And we aſſert our Principle not to be without Reaſon, but moſt Reaſonable; whence it is frequent with us, in our reproof of cruel men, to ſay, ‘ they are unreaſonable,’ whether it be to man or beaſt, making good what the prophet ſaith, “ For his God doth inſtruct him to Diſcretion, and doth teach them.” Again, “ Come and let us Reaſon together.” And Tertullian will have the firſt verſe

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John thus rendered; “ In the beginning was Reaſon, and that Reaſon was with God, “ and that Reaſon was God; by that were all things made,” &c. And this ſeems no foreign interpretation; for in the 10th verſe of Jude we have “ ſenſual men not having “ the Spirit,” called ἄλογα ζῶα, *Unreaſonable Creatures*; according to which the Apoſtle Peter, ſpeaks, ἕτοιμοι πρός ἀπολογίαν αἰτοῦντι λόγον, “ to him that aſks Reaſon, be ready to give it.”

Thus much (to overlook our own tranſlation in Paul's ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, where he calls ſuch “ Unreaſonable men that have not Faith,)” concerning Reaſon: So that it is very evident by our adverſary's denying, and the Quakers aſſerting, an unerrable Principle to be in man, and the refuſal of the one, and the readineſs of the other, to be governed thereby, that not the Quakers, but their enemies, are Unreaſonable, both in their Faith and Practice.

§. 3. Of Forms of Prayer.

Our adverſary ſpends two or three pages in proving the neceſſity of ‘ Bodily Worſhip;’ and he doth it ſo lamely, that if it were ſo much my judgment to deny it, as it is to practiſe it, I know nothing he has ſaid to incline me to it. This he makes an introduction to that agreement, he ſays, there is between D. G. H. H. and the Quakers, ‘ in their mutual renouncing both bodily worſhip and viſible ordinances.’ For Bodily Worſhip, I need ſay no more, than that our public meetings judge him guilty of great diſhoneſty. For his Viſible Ordinances, we ſhall proceed to conſider them. The firſt is concerning a Form of Prayer: hear him.

‘ With the like ſilly and weak confidence they exclaim againſt Forms of Prayer, when ‘ as our bleſſed Saviour taught his diſciples a Form.’ Mat. vi. ix. “ After this manner “ therefore pray ye,” &c. ‘ And leſt,’ ſays he, ‘ we ſhould think that this was only a ‘ Pattern, Saint Luke, chap. xi. expreſſes it, “ When ye pray, ſay, Our Father,” &c. ‘ that is, do it in theſe words. Moreover John taught his diſciples; and one of Chriſt's ‘ diſciples deſired that he would teach them: Where we are told, firſt, that John de‘ livered a form of prayer to his diſciples. 2. That Chriſt's diſciples beſought him that ‘ he would alſo give them ſome form of his making.’

Anſw. But can this man have the vanity to plead the Neceſſity of the uſe of this Form, much leſs of thoſe that are of mens invention and appointment, from thoſe quotations? Has his religion brought him no farther? Can he believe that Matthew writ by the Holy Ghoſt, and yet imply an abſolute reproof in his ſo much more commending Luke's account, which, he thinks, requires the expreſs Words, and not others like them? But let it be conſidered, that this was a time of infancy; and that it was before the more full pouring out of the Spirit, is certain; and that they knew not Goſpel-Prayer as afterwards, is undeniable. Beſides, It is either ſufficient, or it is not: If inſufficient, it reflects on Chriſt. Beſides, who can ſupply its defect? If ſufficient, why do you uſe any other? Whatever it is upon our principles, you muſt confeſs it to be “ a ſetting of “ your poſts by God's poſts;” your Invention by his Inſtitution. It is mere deceit to attempt the defence of the Popiſh Engliſh Maſs Book from Chriſt's Prayer. Prove your Forms to be of divine inſtitution, and that God by his Spirit now requires them, and the debate will end; otherwiſe, we reject the alluſion, as improper and incoherent. The Spirit is not confinable to ſet Forms; though in times of ignorance he hath adminiſtered comfort in them to thoſe who were ſincere, and knew no better: But Forms are not therefore to be perpetuated; for that were to obſtruct the more free operation of the Spirit, and our Expreſſion by it: It is at beſt but a ſtate of weakneſs to be condeſcended to, but never to be pleaded for: God's Spirit will be unlimited; as well as the words, he prompts us to, muſt never by another be confined.

§. 4. Of Baptiſm.

He ſays, we ‘ both deny Baptiſm (by which I underſtand *Water*); becauſe Chriſt, ‘ finding it among the Jews, adopted it into his religion; a ceremony neither burthen‘ ſome nor offenſive, and the only door ſet open under the Goſpel for ſalvation.’ For which he brings three ſcriptures, Mat. xxviii. 19. “ Go, and teach all nations, bap“ tizing them in the name of the Father,” &c. To the ſame purpoſe by Mark, chap. xvi. ver. 15, 16. And Chriſt's ſaying, John iii. 5. “ Except a man be born of Water “ and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”

Anſ. If Baptiſm was ever Jewiſh, as our adverſary grants, then becauſe Chriſt came to *end* all Jewiſh ceremonies, Water-baptiſm can bear no evangelical perpetuity. And if it ſhould be objected, that it was uſed after the pouring forth of the Holy Ghoſt, I anſwer, ſo were Circumciſion, Vows, Purification, Forbearing to eat things ſtrangled and Blood: And the common practice of Chriſtendom, ſo called, ſufficiently tells us what is become of thoſe obſervations. Uſing and Inſtituting are two things. The Apoſtles condeſcended, where they never commanded.

In the two firſt Scriptures, which contain a commiſſion, there is no Water mentioned: That there is ‘ a Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt,’ I hope, all will grant: That ſuch a Baptiſm admits of no outward Water, is plainly implied: And that it was the Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt (and therefore not of Water) which Chriſt intended, I will briefly prove.

Firſt, This Commiſſion was ſome of the laſt words Chriſt ſpoke: That it is to be fulfilled, is certain: That they could not do it without Power, is clear: That neither of thoſe chapters mentions any ſuch endowment, muſt be granted. Whither then muſt we go to fetch that account here omitted? I would deſire my reader to turn to the firſt chapter of Luke's Acts of the Apoſtles, where we ſhall find Chriſt's laſt words to his conſtant followers thus left upon record: “ And being aſſembled together with them, “ he commanded them that they ſhould not depart from Jeruſalem, but wait for the “ Promiſe of the Father, which, ſaith he, ye have heard of me. For John truly bap- “ tized with Water, but ye ſhall be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt not many days hence. “ When they therefore were come together, they aſked of him, ſaying, Lord, wilt thou “ at this time reſtore again the kingdom to Iſrael? And he ſaid unto them, It is not for “ you to know the times or ſeaſons, which the Father has put into his own power: But “ ye ſhall receive Power, after that the Holy Ghoſt is come upon you, and ye ſhall be “ Witneſſes unto me, both in Jeruſalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto “ the uttermoſt part of the earth. And when he had ſpoken theſe things, while they “ beheld he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their ſight.” Now if the Promiſe of the Father was the Pouring-out of the Holy Ghoſt, and if the Pouring-out of the Holy Ghoſt be the Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt, and that the Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt was that which qualified them to be his witneſſes, as the whole place fully proves; then, “ Go, and teach all nations,” &c. in Matthew, and, “ Go ye into all the world,” in Mark, muſt not have been ſpoken before theſe words in the Acts, at leaſt not to take place till they themſelves had been baptized with the Holy Ghoſt; and conſequently the Baptiſm mentioned in that commiſſion, muſt not have been a Water-baptiſm, as John's was, but that of the Holy Ghoſt, which they were to be baptized with: So that the order of the words, at leaſt in Execution, if not in Expreſſion, muſt have been this, “ John “ indeed baptized with Water, but ye ſhall be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt not many “ days hence: Then go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in (or rather *into*) “ the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt: And lo, I am with you always unto “ the end of the world.” Nor is this incredible, when we conſider, that without their ſo baptizing, it had been utterly impoſſible for them to have “ turned them from dark- “ neſs to Light, and from the power of Satan unto God.” And doubtleſs they might as well baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, as “ reconcile by the Word:” For where the one was, the power of the other could not be wanting.

Acts i. 4. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

For the third ſcripture, though *Water* be mentioned, yet *what* Water? will be the queſtion. That it is not meant of *outward* Water, I offer ſeveral reaſons. 1. To be born of Water and of the Spirit, is no more than to be born of Water, *or* of the Spirit, καὶ being here explicative: For were it otherwiſe, and that by Water were underſtood *external* water, this abſurdity would inevitably follow, that the Soul of man, which is *ſpiritual* and *internal*, could in part be regenerated by Water *external* and *elementary*: But this place is excellently unfolded, by that notable paſſage of the apoſtle Paul in his Epiſtle to Titus, chap. iii. 5. “ Not by works of righteouſneſs which we have done, but ac- “ cording to his mercy he ſaved us, by the Waſhing of Regeneration and renewing of the “ Holy Ghoſt;” where we not only have “ the Waſhing of *Regeneration*,” to parallel “ being born again of *Water*,” (which, ſay we, muſt be as ſpiritual as the new birth it produceth) but alſo “ the Renewing of the Holy Ghoſt,” to anſwer “ being born again “ of the Spirit:” That as the waſhing of Regeneration, or Renewing of the Holy Ghoſt, are ſynonymous, or expreſſions to the ſame purpoſe; ſo being born again of *Water*, or being born again of the *Spirit*, are equivalent.

But if our adverſary will have this Water to be *material*, in honour of his Baptiſm, let him never refuſe the like liberty to us in conſtruction of that great Water-baptiſt's own words: “ But he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire,” that is, *material* fire. Mat. iii. 11. My judgment is, if that were the Church of England's Baptiſm, he had never been her ſon; though ſuch ſons are ready to chriſten many with that *fiery* Baptiſm. But if ſuch an interpretation be abſurd, let him not eſteem his own rational: And if it muſt be the *Holy Ghoſt* or *Fire*, then let it be *Water*, or *Spirit*; for indeed they are but ſo many words intimating the various Operations of One Divine Power.

In ſhort, John was but a Forerunner, therefore not to be perpetuated: He was the *Water*, but Chriſt the great *Spiritual* Baptiſt: The former to decreaſe, the latter to increaſe: ‘ And the leaſt in Chriſt's kingdom, which is not of this world, is greater than ‘ John;’ not than his private State, but outward Adminiſtration.

Paul, whoſe commiſſion was larger than any Prieſt's in England, tells us, “ He was “ not ſent to baptize (with Water) but to Preach:” And inſtead of enjoining the practice of it upon others, “ he thanks God that he baptized but very few himſelf:” Which ſurely he had never done, if it had been part of his Commiſſion, or the durable Baptiſm of the Goſpel: For he had juſt reaſon to ſuſpect ſome diſaffected would make that ill uſe of his liberty, ‘ that it was to ingratiate and ſet up himſelf, being conſcious that he had ‘ no Authority for what he did.’ This he farther gives us to believe in that pertinent paſ-

1673 Chap. III. 1 Cor. i. 15, 16, 17. Epheſ. iv. 5. ſage to our purpoſe; "There is One Body, One Spirit, One Lord, One Faith, One Baptiſm, One God and Father of all." If more Baptiſms than one, then more Bodies, Spirits, Lords, Faiths, Gods, and Fathers of all, "who were above all, and through all, and in them all," unto whom Paul wrote. If this be abſurd, and that there is but One Baptiſm, I hope it will not be denied to be that of the Holy Ghoſt; which is both moſt ſuitable to the evangelical miniſtration, and the peculiar Baptiſm of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. I ſhall touch upon one paſſage more.

"The like figure whereunto, even Baptiſm, alſo doth now ſaveus;" as our modern tranſlation has it. From which, though our adverſary would infer, that 'Water-baptiſm is to be uſed, as co-aſſiſtant with the Anſwer of a good Conſcience, to ſalvation,' (page 28, 29.) I doubt not unanſwerably to maintain our foregoing aſſertion.

This verſe admits of various readings in ancient copies, and diverſe interpretations by learned men. We ſhall a little examine the matter, that he may ſee we ſhall not refuſe *Learning*, where it may perform the office of an honeſt Servant, not an Uſurper. Ὧ (ſome have it ὃ or ᾧ; the modern Greek ὁμοίον) καὶ ἡμᾶς (Auguſtin has it *vos*, and our old books, ſaith Zegerus) ἀντίτυπον (which Vatablus makes the Truth relative to the Type *Flood*). And ſaith Grotius, "Vox ἀντίτυπα *eſt communis utrique relato, i. e. tam Figuræ tribuitur quam Rei per Figuram ſignificatæ*; (ſignifying *Type* and *Antitype*, or the thing ſignified by the *type*)." Eraſmus hath it, "*cui nunc ſimile ſive reſpondens Baptiſma.* (So that Baptiſm may anſwer as the Thing typified, not another type.) Ἀντίτυπον, ſays Dr. Hammond, (a famous man of the Engliſh church) is certainly beſt rendered *Antitype*: Yet there be two different ſenſes, ſometimes contradictious; thus Zenephon and Heſychius. Then Deſtruction was by *outward* water, now Salvation by *inward*: Otherwiſe *pro* or *in lieu* of *another*, as ἀνθύπατος, he that ſupplies the conſul's place. So ὃ ἀντίτυπον βάπτισμα (as in an old copy in Oxford) is the *Ark inward*, ſupplying the place of the *Ark outward*. Νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, which Cappellus underſtands to be *Baptiſmum internum, quo ſimus mortis & reſurrectionis Chriſti participes. Hujus interni baptiſmi typos aliquot habemus in V. T. imprimis autem Arcam diluvii, et Arcam Noæ.*" By inward Baptiſm we are made partakers of Chriſt's death and reſurrection. Of this inward Baptiſm we have ſeveral types in the old teſtament, of which *Noah's Ark* was one. Grotius refers us to theſe ſcriptures for an apoſtolical expoſition, Rom. vi. 3, 4. Epheſ. iv. 5. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. all which refer to man's being "baptized into Chriſt's death, his putting on of Chriſt, and to the One Lord, One Faith, One Baptiſm." And indeed Beza ſhewed them the way, who will have it, that the Baptiſm which anſwered to Noah's Ark, was not *material water*, but the *Power of Chriſt within*, which preſerves us cleanſed, and enables us to call on God with a good conſcience. Nor is Dr. Hammond of a different judgment in this caſe, who not only will have ἀντίτυποι rendered *Antitype*, but the Baptiſm that is that Antitype, anſwering to *Noah's Ark*, to be 'the *inward* waſhing of mens conſciences from pollution, and delivering them from the deluge of ſin and deſtruction.'

Not only from all this do I conclude the Baptiſm mentioned in that place to be the Antitype, or Truth, anſwering to the outward and typical ſalvation of Noah's Ark, but for thoſe reaſons which were with me before my peruſal of theſe authors, and which I ſhall now briefly offer. Firſt, If ἀντίτυποι βάπτισμα were but a Type or Figure, one type would anſwer another, which is not proper. 2dly, It were both to ſuppoſe, that the Goſpel were a ſtate of Figures (which is the Subſtance of all) and of ſuch Figures too, as are leſs demonſtrative or ſignificant; for, what is that ſprinkling, baby-baptiſm (for Dipper, or Dipped, I ſuppoſe our Adverſary to be neither) to the words *Deluge* and *Noah's Ark*. 3dly, The Baptiſm in the text, muſt be ſuch an one as hath efficacy enough in it *to ſave*, which *outward* water cannot do; Beſides the word σώζει, or *ſaveth*, hath relation to Noah's Ark, wherein the eight ſouls were ſaved; therefore the Antitype, or Truth anſwering to that, as Type. 4thly, It is ſuch a Baptiſm as ſaves by the Power of Chriſt's Reſurrection, anſwerable to Rom. vi. 3, 4. "Know ye not that ſo many of us as were baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his death? That like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead, by the glory of the Father; even ſo we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs of life." 5thly, And this the Parentheſis in the verſe undeniably proves, being an illuſtration of the Baptiſm intended, "not the putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God,' or, as ſome have it, *interrogatio*, ἐπερώτημα, Inquiſition or Enquiry, alluding to the oracle URIM and THUMMIM,
Jacob Capell. Salm. Sac. Ling. Profeſſ. in loc. by which men have boldneſs and acceſs to God; ſo as to render the verſe, "*Cui etiam ex adverſo oppoſitus, nos ſervat baptiſmus, non is quo carnis ſordes abjiciuntur, ſed is quo fit ut bona conſcientia Deum interroget per reſurrectionem Chriſti*," i. e. 'To which the directly *oppoſite* Baptiſm alſo now ſaveth us, not that by which the Filth of the Fleſh is caſt off, but that by which it is effected that a good conſcience may aſk God by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt.' From all which two things reſult; firſt, that the verſe ought to be thus rendered, "Anſwerable to which Figure, Baptiſm now alſo ſaveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but the account of a good conſcience to God, by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt." And indeed the moſt diſputable part of this verſe is abundantly confirmed on our ſide, by the ſimplicity of the ancient Engliſh,

French and Spaniſh Tranſlators. And I wonder that any man of common ſenſe, not greatly abuſed by prejudice or cuſtom, can think, that the Baptiſm mentioned ſhould be that of *Water*, when the middle of the verſe provides this material diſtinction, “ Not “ the putting away of the Filth of the Fleſh (the effect of outward Water) but the an-“ ſwer of a good conſcience to God,” (the fruits of the Holy Ghoſt alone) to that very end that people ſhould not think ſo; I mean, that it was a *Water*-baptiſm.

Secondly, It may not be improper for us to obſerve, That if one Verſe hath ſuch variety of Copies, Readings, Tranſpoſitions and Senſes; as hath been noted, beſide what we could yet produce; they are at a miſerable paſs for an Univerſal, Living, Conſtant and Unerring Rule, who eſteem the preſent Scripture ſuch, exclusive of the Spirit, which time, variety of tranſcribers, tranſlators, interpreters and expoſitors, have rendered ſo uncertain. But if we had been unprovided of all this to our defence, what has our adverſary to do to charge us with a diſcontinuance of Water-baptiſm, till he had firſt cleared his own opinion from Popiſh innovation and invention? What Scripture, or pure Antiquity, has he for *Infant-Baptiſm*, one of the unſcriptural and ſenſeleſs ceremonies of his religion, about which ſuch as he make more ſtir than about that of the Holy Ghoſt? A man may gueſs what a Chriſtian he is, and how well he is verſed in Chriſt's doctrine, who can call a little Water, ſhed by a Prieſt's hand, “ the door into God's kingdom.” How much is this ſhort of the Romiſh prieſt's making his GOD, who ſays, “ The Bread is Chriſt af-“ ter conſecration,” ſince Chriſt, who is God over all, bleſſed for ever, ſaith, “ HE is “ that door,” which H. Hallywell will have his Infant-Water-Baptiſm to be.

§. 5. *Of the* SUPPER.

But he ſaith of us and the Familiſts, ‘ By the ſame diabolical ſpirit, wherewith they ‘ are poſſeſſed, they lay aſide the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, as a thing too carnal.’ (page 30, 31.) In oppoſition to which he produceth Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. how that Chriſt “ took bread, and bleſſed it, and brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, “ this is my body: Then he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, ſay-“ ing, Drink ye all of it.” St. Mark, chap. xiv. repeats the very ſame, and ſays, they ‘ all drank of it: But St. Luke chap. xxii. 19. and St. Paul 1 Cor. xi. 24. added theſe ‘ words, “ Do this in remembrance of me,” which import both a commiſſion and di-‘ rection to uſe and continue them.’

Anſ. It is granted, that Chriſt, eating the Paſſover with his diſciples, did familiarly repreſent that fleſh and blood which he gave for the world, that whoever eat thereof ſhould have life eternal abiding in them. Nor is this ſtrange; for it was his familiar way of opening his deepeſt myſteries, and recommending the moſt excellent of all his commandments; witneſs his diſcourſe concerning the bleſſed unity of Chriſt and his members, by the ſimilitude of a vine and its branches; and both his waſhing his diſciples feet, and requiring them to follow his example. John xiii. 5. 14.

That this practice was enjoined his diſciples, is not warranted from Matthew, Mark, or “ in remembrance of me,” as our adverſary obſerves: But that they ſhould be Paul's alſo, as he affirms, is both an abuſe of the ſcriptures, and them that read them: For theſe are the Apoſtle's words, “ As *often* as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup,” &c. which amounts to no more than this, ‘ *When* ye do eat this ſupper, do it *worthily*;’ ſo that there is no Command to do it, though as often as they *did* do it, they were exhorted to do it diſcerningly: “ *as* often as you do it;” and “ *do it often*,” are differing ſayings.

And that Luke's words do not perpetuate it, eſpecially as now uſed, I ſhall prove. Firſt, if it be but a *Sacrament* or *Sign*, as ſaith our adverſary, then can it not of right continue longer than till the *Thing ſignified* ſhall come. “ Do this *till*,” that is, ‘ When ‘ THAT is come, *till* the coming of which the Sign was to be uſed, there remains no ‘ longer any Inſtitution.’

Now between all types and antitypes, ſhadows and ſubſtances, parables and morals, there muſt needs be ſome reſemblance, or elſe the end of their being uſed will be loſt to them, for whoſe ſakes they were appointed: For inſtance, Chriſt is called a *Door*, becauſe no man comes to the Father, but *through* him: A *Lion*, from his Strength and Dominion: A *Lamb*, becauſe of his Innocency: A *Vine*, becauſe of that excellent Fruit he brings forth: And laſtly, he calls himſelf by the name of *Bread*, becauſe of that inward Strength and Nouriſhment ſuch receive that feed ſpiritually upon him: Wherefore the Subſtance ſhadowed out by this outward bread and wine, is no other than CHRIST, as the bread that came down from above, and that fleſh and blood which all were to eat and drink of that would have eternal life, mentioned at large John vi. So that admitting of a Command, it muſt be thus read, ‘ Do this till I come, who am the Heavenly Bread, ‘ and Fleſh and Blood, that give eternal life to them that feed thereon;’ which bread the Apoſtle very well underſtood, when in the foregoing chapter to the Corinthians he thus delivered himſelf, “ I ſpeak to wiſe men, judge ye what I ſay: The Cup of bleſ-“ ſing, which we bleſs, is it not the communion of the Blood of Chriſt? For we be-“ being many are One *Bread*, and One Body; for we are all *Partakers* of that *One*

“ Bread,” 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, 17. And this Chriſt himſelf intimated in the following verſe to that paſſage out of Matthew, “ But I ſay unto you, I will not drink henceforth “ of this fruit of the Vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's “ kingdom.” And I query if that was not made good, on the day of Pentecoſt, when ſcoffingly, yet truly (like Caiaphas in another caſe) ſeveral ſpectators ſaid of the diſciples, “ They were full of New Wine?” Acts ii. 13. Which was the beginning of the reſtoration of that kingdom of God to Iſrael, that the diſciples a little before ſo weakly queried after.

In ſhort, The Father's kingdom is *within*, Luke xvii. 20. What was that Fruit then that was to be drank anew in that kingdom? Certainly it came from himſelf, the true Vine, and muſt be of a ſpiritual and inward nature, like to the kingdom.

To conclude, If bread and wine be but a ſign; and if things ſignified ought to reſemble their ſigns; and if ſpiritual bread and wine moſtly anſwer thoſe viſible ſigns; and if they are to be had in the kingdom of God; and if the kingdom of God be within; and that they who eat not that bread, and drink not that wine, have no life in them; then, becauſe the Apoſtles had life eternal in them, and we a meaſure of the ſame in us, Chriſt, the heavenly bread and fleſh, and wine and blood, was then, and is now, come; and conſequently, the ſhadows of thoſe good things (as to any Inſtitution) were and are at an end: And as there is but One Spirit, and One Lord, One Faith, One Baptiſm, One God and Father, One Heavenly Kingdom, One Holy Body; ſo but One Bread, and but One Cup, and but One Communion and Fellowſhip, and that is with the Father and the Son, by the Holy Ghoſt.

But here, as in the caſe of Water-baptiſm, it will be objected, ‘ Why were they then ‘ afterwards uſed?’

Anſw. The practices of good men, though in things temporary, are many times too greedily received, and too long doted upon, by thoſe who deſire to be reputed their followers. Any thing once becoming cuſtomary is hard to be left: Several Jewiſh ceremonies the Holy Ghoſt thought fit to be diſpenſed with for a ſeaſon, that were never to be perpetuated. But what has our adverſary, and the ſeveral ſorts of Proteſtants in the world to do with Baptiſm and the Supper, and deny that Qualification and Commiſſion the Apoſtles had? They will never ſtand our enquiry about their Call; which, they know, we have great cauſe to ſcruple, indeed to deny; for all muſt, or ſhould know, that was either *immediate*, or *mediate* and *ſucceſſive*. If immediate, then they muſt neceſſarily confeſs to a commiſſion upon Inſpiration, and then *Quakers*. If mediate and ſucceſſive, then either *beſide* the Church of Rome, or *through* the Church of Rome: Not *beſide* the Church of Rome, becauſe ſhe cannot prove any regular Ordination, or uninterrupted Succeſſion, either as to Faith or Diſcipline. If *through* the Church of Rome, then they own the Ordination of a church they renounce, and grant *her* the keys, whom they have writ againſt for theſe ſix-ſcore years, under the name of Whore of Babylon, and Mother of Harlots, and all abominations of the earth. Can that which you account a corrupt fountain, bring forth clean ſtreams? Will men ſeek ordination at the hands of that church they reſolve to employ it againſt? Has ſhe forfeited her *Religion*, and not her *Power*? When did ever God make over his authority by ſuch an entail? If mens errors and vices do not unminiſter them, it will follow, that they may be ill *Chriſtians*, but very good *Miniſters*. For ſhame! never renounce the Roman church as falſe, if her ordination muſt be true: For what has power to make a Miniſter, muſt be allowed to have power both to inſtruct and conclude him in what he is to miniſter: Wherefore never let any own her to have Heaven's keys of church-authority, and then deny her as heretical: For where-ever any church or people are truly ſuch, that church or people have thereby forfeited all right thereunto: And as the contrary opinion has long enriched the Pope's coffers, ſo the unwary conceſſions of ſome certain Proteſtants thereto, have too evidently given away a great ſhare of that good old cauſe.

I have dwelt longer upon theſe particulars than my adverſary's weakneſs could deſerve at my hands; but their information hath induced me to it, who are aſſaulted by the envious endeavours of our ſeveral adverſaries, that daily ſeek how to miſrepreſent us, and our moſt evangelical principles.

CHAP. IV.

His Third Chapter examined, which conſiſts of the Holineſs of Times, Places, Things, and Perſons under the Goſpel.

§. 1. *Of the* SABBATH-DAY.

HIS accuſation is, ‘ That the Familiſts and Quakers put no difference between one ‘ day and another, the Sabbath no more than another day; that many times ‘ they follow their uſual trades on a Sunday.’ pag. 34, 37, 38, 39.

Anſ. What the Familiſts did is nothing to us (if they did ſo). But ſure I am he has abuſed the Quakers; For 'tis well known, that in what country ſoever they live, they follow the practice of the Apoſtles, in aſſembling together on the firſt day of the week: they do it conſtantly and reverently. Who moſt profane that day, the Quakers, or the ſons and daughters of the church of England? Their feaſts, drunkenneſs, wantonneſs, gaming, and other recreations, as they call them, are ſo many demonſtrations, to help every common underſtanding to a reſolution in the point. And to ſay, 'That we 'many times follow our uſual trades on that day,' is a plain untruth, the whole world knows better, though we do not judaize; for Worſhip was not made for Time, but Time for Worſhip: Nor is there any day holy of itſelf, though holy things may be performed upon a day.

But he tells us, 'Yes; for the fourth commandment being as moral as the reſt, and 'that requiring a Sabbath-day, the Sabbath-day is perpetuated alſo.'

Anſ. But this hurts us not, ſince the Jewiſh-Sabbath is not obſerved by the Church of England.---But if a Sabbath-day be moral, becauſe mentioned in the fourth commandment; then, becauſe the Jews Seventh-day Sabbath is there particularly mentioned, *their* Sabbath muſt be only moral, and conſequently unalterable.

But ſays he, 'No; For that the Apoſtles, and ſucceeding church of God, may very 'reaſonably diſpoſe of us in matters of this nature; and it is obligatory from the ten 'commandments, every one of which is moral, and binds all Chriſtians ſtill; and 'therefore the church of England (though theſe rebellious Quakers diſown their mother) 'doth make it part of her Liturgy.'

Anſ. If it be as moral as all the reſt, (as it muſt be if it be moral, becauſe of its being there,) they could no more diſpenſe with it, than with any other commandment: To call that day moral, and make it alterable, is ridiculous. 'Tis true, the Apoſtles met upon the Firſt day, and not on the Seventh; but as that releaſed us from any pretended morality of the Seventh, ſo neither did it confer any morality upon the Firſt: Yea, ſo far were they from it, that not one ſpeaks any ſuch thing; but Paul much the contrary: "Let no man judge you in meats or in drinks, or in reſpect of "an holy-day, or of new moons, or of the *Sabbath-days*, which are a Shadow of "things to come, but the body is of Chriſt." Col. ii. 17, 18. The outward Sabbath was typical of the great reſt of the goſpel; which ſuch come to, who ceaſe from their own work, and in whom the works of God's new creation come to be accompliſhed.

And though I ſhould acknowledge the other commands to be moral, yea, and times too, both reſpecting God's Worſhip, and the Creatures Reſt; yet there is no more reaſon for the morality of that day, becauſe amongſt thoſe commandments, than for the ceremoniouſneſs and abrogation of ſeveral moral precepts, becauſe ſcattered up and down among the ceremonial laws, recorded in Leviticus.

I grant the Apoſtles met on that day; but muſt it therefore be moral? Certainly, the ſcriptures ſilence in this particular muſt either conclude a great neglect againſt thoſe holy men, in not recommending and enjoining more expreſly both Water, Bread, Wine and Holy-days, in their ſeveral Epiſtles to the Churches; or warrant us in our belief concerning the temporarineſs of thoſe things. Let not our adverſary reproach us for not believing that to be durable, which was wearing off and vaniſhing in thoſe days; but ſoberly conſider, that the practice of the beſt men, eſpecially in ſuch caſes, is no Inſtitution, though ſometimes it may be an Example. But I perceive he makes bold, like an irreverent ſon, with his ghoſtly fathers, who through his reflections upon us, ſeverely rebukes them. Has he ſo quickly forgot the "Book of Sports," and who put it out? when not to profane this Sabbath with dancings, riots and revels, had been enough to render a man an enemy to Cæſar, and a ſchiſmatical Puritan to the Church? If he be not ſatisfied with this, I refer him to Calvin's Inſtitutes, Bp. Ironſide, and Dr. Peter Heylin, concerning the *Non-morality* of the Sabbath; and a great wonder it is, that John Calvin and Peter Heylin ſhould be of one opinion in any thing.

§. 2. *Place of God's Worſhip.*

He is very angry with us for denying a more than ordinary ſanctity to Places, and ſays, 'That we eſteem a Church no more than a Stable; That the Jews, Heathens, Pag. 34. 42, 'and Turks have their Synagogues, Temples and Moſchs to pray in: That Chriſt 43. 44. 45. 'went to a Prayer-houſe, Luke vi. 12. and Acts xvi. 13. Where Paul and others went out to a River's Side, where an Oratory was reported to be.

Anſ. We value the *true* Church more than a Stable; but we value a good Stable before a falſe Church, as ſuch. But I ſuppoſe he means by Church, an *Houſe*; and then I muſt tell him, that I eſteem a ſtable better than no houſe, but a good houſe better than a ſtable. But why is a ſtable ſuch an ill-favoured place? Has he forgot "that the Head of the *true* church firſt lodged in one," when there was no room for him in a whole Synagogue, yet room enough for a company of cavilling murdering Scribes and Phariſees? There is no doubt but the Jews had Synagogues enough, "for it was out of them the Apoſtles were to be haled," becauſe of their teſtimony againſt thoſe that were in them. 'Tis true, the Heathens

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had Temples, and the Turks have their Moſchs: I like the compariſon and the proof very well. For I take ſome of your Steeple-houſe gueſts to be as good Chriſtians, as ſome of the worſt ſort of them. It was the old Heatheniſh ſpirit, which, under the cloak of Chriſtianity, both erected thoſe Stately Edifices, inſtituted that Pompous Worſhip, and exacted thoſe Vaſt Revenues, that have burthened the world theſe many ages; whilſt the pure Apoſtolical Spirit, and Religion, have been as driven into a Sackcloth and Wilderneſs eſtate.

That Chriſt went to a *Prayer-houſe*, and that Paul and the Church met in an *Oratory* by the river ſide, is a pretty rattle for children, and may paſs as unqueſtionably with thoſe who are willing to be cheated, as the ſtory of St. Dennis's Body, that went a mile without his Head, and St. Winifred's Head a great way without her Body, to a Papiſt.

But he affirms, ‘ That the firſt Chriſtians had diſtinct places to meet in, and that ‘ they called them Churches.’ Pag. 47, 48, 49.

Anſ. Chriſt went not to the Synagogue, or the Temple, to eat the Paſſover: 'Tis certain that the Twelve met in an *Upper Room,* upon their return from Chriſt's Aſcenſion: And it is ſaid, “ When the day of Pentecoſt was fully come, they were “ all with one accord in one place,” (Acts ii. 1, 2, 3, 4.) at what time that excellent Glory appeared; but here is no mention made of either *Temple* or *Synagogue:* One would have thought thoſe *Conventicles* (for ſo they were then called, and ſince) ſhould not have borne away the glory and honour of that holy ſolemnity from thoſe Cathedral and Canonical Places: What ſullen ſeparation did the falſe Jew then, as well as the falſe Chriſtian now, repute the like practice! Certainly this ran retrograde to the grain and humour of that age; and the poor Apoſtles were therefore eſteemed as great *Fanaticks*, and as much reproached as any of the *Quakers* in this. I muſt alſo confeſs, they continued daily with one accord in the Temple, Acts. ii. 46, but they broke not Bread there; that was done κατ' οἶκον, that is, “ *in the Houſe,*” if he will have it ſo, inſtead of “ *from Houſe to Houſe;*” to be ſure, it was not “ from *Church* to *Church,*” as he would have the Houſe called; for then we ſhould underſtand the following verſe thus, “ and the Lord added to the Church daily ſuch as ſhould be ſaved,” that is, ‘ *to the Houſe.*’

But I ſee no reaſon why he ſhould fall ſo hard with his criticiſms upon κατ' οἶκον, and let καθ' ἡμέραν in the ſame verſe alone: For, as Valla and Eraſmus well obſerve, κατ' οἶκον, is as well rendered *per ſingulas domos*, or *domeſticatim*, i. e. ‘ from Houſe to Houſe,’ as καθ' ἡμέραν *per ſingulos dies, ſive quotidie*, i. e. ‘ daily, or from Day to Day.’

But he will needs have it that the Apoſtle * 1 Cor. xi. meant by *Church* the *Houſe,* when he ſaid “ Have ye not houſes to eat and drink in, or deſpiſe ye the Church of “ God?” His reaſon is, if it may be thought one, ‘ becauſe the Apoſtle, in the 18th ‘ verſe, ſays, “ When ye come in the Church;” and in the 20th verſe, “ when ye “ come together into one Place;” So that the word Church ſignifies the Place.’

Anſ. “ When ye come together in the Church,” ſignifies no more than in the “ Congregation or Aſſembly,” or “ among yourſelves as a Church;” (obſerve well the Margin): And to make the *Church* allude to *Place* in the 20th verſe, is a baſe wreſting of our adverſary's; for there is no Greek word there for *Place.*

But he thinks he has one argument more, ‘ from Paul's greeting Priſcilla and Aquila, ‘ and the Houſe that is in their Houſe,’ Rom. xvi. 3, 5. And again, “ ſending ſa- “ lutation from them; “ Aquila and Priſcilla ſalute you much in the Lord, with the “ Church in their Houſe,” 1 Cor. xvi. 29.

Anſ. If this be to prove an Houſe to be a Church, I never ſaw the like. It ſeems we muſt read, after his dialect, thus, “ Greet Priſcilla and Aquila, and the Houſe “ that is in their Houſe.” But in contradiction to all this, he tells us in the next page, ‘ By the Church, at ſuch a man's houſe, muſt be meant the whole Congregation of ‘ the Saints aſſembled at ſuch a man's Houſe;’ and truly, Reader, I think ſo too. But if the Saints *met* to *make* the Church, then the *Houſe* is not the *Church,* nor indeed can an Houſe *meet* together in an Houſe.

But now I will tell this defamer of us, That though we have no ſtately *Baſilicos,* or *Palace-Churches,* as ſome call them, beautified with Painting, Images, Flags, carved and engraved work, and built to the Eaſt, in imitation of the Heathen idolatrous Temples; yet, like unto the Apoſtles and Primitive Chriſtians, “ we aſſemble from “ Houſe to Houſe,” and if he will have it ſo, there are ſeveral convenient Public Places on purpoſe to meet and perform divine worſhip in.

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* Vatabl. Eccleſiam vel congregationem.

Clarius. Ille conventus in Eccleſiam non eâ cauſa ſit: hoc quod facitis in contemptum Eccleſiæ Dei redundat, & eorum pudorem qui minus habent.

Zeger. Confunditis eos qui non habent quod offerant & manducent.

Cameron. Dei Eccleſia hic privatis ædibus non opponitur. Dei Eccleſiam contemnere eſt pudore afficere tenuiores, qui magnam Eccleſiæ partem conſtituebant.

Locus loco opponitur grammaticè, non logicè, i. e. Church or Congregation. The Church is not oppoſed to private Houſes. To deſpiſe the church, is to make aſhamed the Poor of it.

§. 3. *Of Tythes.*

His next ſection, and, as became a careful greedy hireling, by much the largeſt of any in his book, is employed in the defence of the Prieſts Maintenance, the *ſine quâ non* of their Calling. From page 51 to 69, his firſt argument is, ' That God will have ' a Rent and Tribute paid him. That thus he dealt with the children of Iſrael, from ' whom he reſerved a Tythe to himſelf; and that in Abraham's time Tythes to Mel- ' chizedeck were paid, after whoſe order Chriſt was made a Prieſt.'

Anſ. The Tythes that were paid Melchizedeck, were but of the Spoils Abraham took from his enemies; and that not by Compulſion, but Choice. Melchizedeck was King of Salem. King of Peace, Prieſt of the Moſt High God: He *freely* adminiſtred Bread and Wine to Abraham to refreſh him; and when he had done, prayed and praiſed God for him, without Bargain or Hire: Whereupon Abraham gave him the Tythe of all, as a token of his thankfulneſs.

Now let the Prieſts of England prove themſelves to be of Melchizedeck's offspring, Men of Peace, Prieſts of the Moſt High God, and let them but miniſter to us of the Living Bread and Wine, and wrap up all with ſuch Prayers and Praiſes to God for us as he will accept; and when all this is done, if we refuſe them the Tythe of our ſpoils, let us be recorded for ungrateful men: But whilſt Prieſts and Men of Contention, Hirelings, that ſeek Gain from their Quarter, prepare war againſt them that put not into their Mouths, are not Prieſts of the Moſt High God's anointing, and who inſtead of giving us Bread and Wine, oppreſs us unto death for a Four-penny Eaſter-Reckoning, and in lieu of Prayers and Praiſes to God for us, anathematize, whip, impriſon and baniſh us for Impoſtors, Hereticks, men inſpired by Satan, and ſuch-like, let it not be wondered at that a poor Quaker hath a teſtimony againſt ſuch a Prieſt; and that he rather chuſeth to die (unjuſtly his priſoner) than pay Tythes to him, that is an uſurper of the name, authority and office of a true evangelical miniſter.

And for his inſtance of the land of Canaan, it brings no obligation upon us. England is no Canaan, neither as to its acquiſition, nor diſtribution: When the Saxons came into England, God reſerved no ſuch rents. And if it be well argued of the Apoſtle, (Heb. vii. 12.) " that becauſe the Law is changed, the Prieſthood is alſo;" Then certainly it is no ill conſequence, that the " Way of Maintenance" muſt be changed too, at leaſt as to inſtitution.

' But,' ſays our adverſary, in the Apoſtle's words, 1 Cor. ix. 14, " The Lord hath " ordained, that they which preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel."

Anſ. We are contented with this, but the Prieſts are not. They cannot prove themſelves miniſters of the Goſpel, unleſs by that never-failing argument of human law and force, if yet that can prove them ſuch. Beſides, here is no ſtint or method; *What* or *How?* It is left to God's Witneſs; but that they dare not leave themſelves with: Earthly powers muſt firſt make them Miniſters, and then get them maintenance. But there's not a word of Paul's " working with his own hands," nor Chriſt's explanation of " the labourer is worthy of his hire;" to wit, " that he ſhould eat what is ſet " before him, and, Melchizedeck like, bleſs the houſe, if worthy:" Nor do I hear of ſo much as one *Itinerary-Preacher*; who, to be ſure carried no Tythes upon his back, as the Prieſts of our days do into their barn: They ſued, excommunicated, impriſoned none unto death for Hire's ſake.

He that minds God more than his belly, ſhall never want for his belly; for the authority of Him in whoſe Name he goes, makes ſufficient way for his ſubſiſtence, without the force of imperial decrees; " The Cattle upon a Thouſand Hills are the Lord's." The Primitive Chriſtians paid no *Tythes* that we read of; yet they forbore not to adminiſter freely to the neceſſities of thoſe who were faithful labourers and travellers amongſt them. The law that ſettled that maintenance, was " the Law in the Heart, " and the Witneſs of God in the Conſcience, to which Paul particularly deſired to be " made manifeſt." 'Tis true, about Four hundred years after Chriſt, the then Chriſtians began to lay up the *Tythe* of their ſubſtance, towards the maintenance of ſuch members and miniſters of the Church as wanted. But this was out of their own *free* Will, not as *ſettled Maintenance*, nor by *Compulſion*, as our countryman, Jo. Selden, a learned antiquary, tells us.

Gratian. Cauſ. p. 16. R. C. Dec. Selden, c. 6. p. 86. 81.

But our adverſary ſays, ' That Chriſtian Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other No- ' bles, by the all-wiſe Providence inſpiring their hearts, have given houſes, lands and ' tythes for the maintenance of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, and ſecured ſuch poſſeſ- ' ſions. And therefore, ſuch are ſacrilegious, and robbers of God, who with-hold ' them: Such tenths being as much the miniſters, as the ninths are the people's.'

Anſ. I perceive the Prieſt allows *Inſpiration* for *Tythes*, though we are Familiſts, Quakers, and Fanaticks, for abetting the doctrine of Inſpiration in the Worſhip of God. O mercenary, O hireling and irreverent ſaying! that God ſhould be more concerned for carnal than ſpiritual things, and inſpire men about Tythes, and not about Divine Worſhip. Who but a dark and mercenary Prieſt could have uttered ſo impious an expreſſion?

Selden, p. 67.

I grant, that when Auſtin came into England, he deſired Tythes of Ethelbert, as I take it King of Kent; But the King's care of his people, and the averſion of their humour to all encroachments, diſappointed the Monk. However, ‘ Time bringing ‘ forth Murder and Adultery, They brought forth Tythes.’ For Offa killing Ethelbert, gave a Tenth of his goods to pacify his Ghoſt. And Edgar, being greatly in love with Ethelwald's wife, to obtain his end, murdered him; upon which the Pope ſending forth his Bull, Edgar, to appeaſe him, confirmed to the church the Tenth of all the fruit of his field and cattle, to them and their ſucceſſors. And as Murder and Whoredom introduced them, ſo the Cunning and Covetouſneſs of the Clergy have continued them: For when the Heptarchy became a Monarchy, the Prieſts evermore would thruſt in for a ſhare with the Conqueror; and this wrong way came Tythes to be the Prieſts Right, as he calls it.

But let this pretended Proteſtant anſwer me, if he dare:

Was the church then degenerated or no? Was it not a time of popery? Did not the firſt martyrs except againſt her? Was it lawful for princes to give away other men's goods, upon the account, and for the pretended expiation, of their ſins?

Bp. Jewel on Hagg. Hodie venenum infuſum in Eccl.

Cobham, Bernard, Tindal, Frith, Charl. V. Emp.

Could the giving of them atone? Is it not an acknowledging of the Pope's power to abſolve? Is it not a buying or bribing off the guilt of ſin againſt Almighty God, by gifts to a mortal man, and thoſe extorted from poor people too? Is this proteſtant doctrine? But, above all, is this inſtituting Tythes upon inſpiration? Hell her own ſelf was the foundreſs of theſe things. He may remember that there is better antiquity for that voice, which the ancients report to have been heard that day Conſtantine conferred thoſe large endowments upon the Church, than for the inſtitution of Tythes and rich benefices; I mean that voice through the Heavens, This day is poiſon poured into the Church. Since which time it has been obſerved by the beſt Princes, wiſeſt Counſellors, and moſt moderate Clergymen, ‘ That the Enrichment and Impowering ‘ of Church-Officers, has been the Canker of the Church, and the Moth of the State.’

'Tis not my buſineſs to write an hiſtory: But I recommend to the inquiſitive reader, ‘ Wickliff's Remonſtrance; The Plowman's Complaint; Chaucer's Plowman's Tale; ‘ Walter Brute, and W. Thorpe's Examination, in the Martyrology; Pareus; Hiſtory ‘ of the Waldenſes; and Jo. Selden,’ Men that ought not to paſs for, or be reputed, Fanaticks, eſpecially by ſuch who call themſelves Proteſtants.

I ſhall only ſay, firſt, That they were the People's wholly. 2dly, It is now the People's Labour, more than the Prieſt's Land, that brings the Increaſe: And men ought not to be conſtrained to pay thoſe they never hired; nor to labour for thoſe that profit them not. 3dly, They were given to expiate Murder and Adultery, and uphold an Idolatrous Clergy, upon proteſtant principles; and therefore to be removed, as were the high places and groves, idolatrouſly dedicated among the Jews. 4thly, Becauſe it is moſt reaſonable for a man to believe according to his own conſcience, and not according to another man's conſcience, “ It is unrighteous to perſecute a man for not main- “ taining that religion, which in his conſcience he believes to be falſe; as well as that “ it is the badge of a falſe religion to perſecute for maintenance.” 5thly, Though they may have been confirmed by ſome princes, yet, conſidering the end to which they were given, to wit, for the maintenance of a certain ſort of religious order, now exploded, whoſe ſucceſſors theſe are not, (and ſo the ancient conſtitution broken) we can't ſee any reaſon why they ſhould remain; unleſs any thing commanded is to be obeyed, becauſe commanded, and not becauſe in itſelf lawful.

Two things I cannot but obſerve. Firſt, That he affirms, ‘ The Clergy of Eng- ‘ land have not a Tenth; much complaining that every one ſnips from them;’ *cujus contrarium verum*; for they not only ſnip, but ſlice, from every body elſe. I commend to his peruſal a Pamphlet, intituled, “ *Omnia comeſta à Belo,*” where he will find a very particular account of the revenues of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Deans, Canons, Prebends, Parſons, Vicars, Petty-Canons, Singing-men, Choiriſters, Organiſts, Goſpellers, Epiſtlers, Vergers, Chancellors and their Attendants, Delegates, Regiſters and their Clerks. Gentlemen Apparitors, Inferior Apparitors, Proctors, &c. I doubt not but *Fifteen Hundred Thouſand* pounds a year, will be the moſt modeſt accompt that computation will admit of; which is but Double the revenue that former monarchs have had for the maintenance of their family, crown and dignity, their civil-juſtice, armies, navies, and coſtly embaſſies. If all this be to reſemble Chriſt Jeſus and his Apoſtles, the Scripture has given us a very wrong account of him and them.

The ſecond thing I would obſerve is this, That he has the ignorance and confidence to argue from the ſuper-excellency of Chriſt's miniſtration to that of Moſes; ‘ That the maintenance of the miniſters of the Goſpel ſhould proportionably exceed ‘ the maintenance of the prieſts under the Law.’

Anſ. But certainly he is one of the firſt men that made this wild interpretation of the glory of the latter houſe excelling the glory of the former; as if Chriſt's houſe were outward, or his glory either! Would we have one outward temple figure out another?

as if Chriſt ſhould bring in another levitical law to excel that of Moſes! Certainly the New Jeruſalem, after this man's rate of diſputing, muſt be an outward ſtructure of material ſapphires, emeralds, jaſpers, &c. But there is a Pope and a Mahomet in his belly, whether he knows it or no: For theſe fleſhly conceits firſt ſet them to work upon their pompous worſhip; neglecting the holy, pure, ſelf-denying and ſpiritual religion of Chriſt Jeſus and his apoſtles, who neither practiſed nor ſet up any ſhadowy and ceremonial worſhip, nor ſettled themſelves in ſplendid livings, to lead eaſy, quiet and voluptuous lives. "Freely they received, freely they gave;" not as our adverſary ridiculouſly underſtands it, 'that they gave their Miracles, but ſold their Preaching:' The ſpirit of a pompous Antichriſt indeed, who pleads for *State* under a ſelf-denying Goſpel! Chriſt's kingdom is not of this world; and yet our adverſary pleads for the grandeur of a worldly worſhip, miniſtry and maintenance: We may allow him therefore and his tribe to be worldly Chriſtians, but not true followers of that Jeſus, who ſaid, when he was in the world, "I am not of the world;" which leads me to the next ſection concerning the Miniſtry.

§. 4. *Of Miniſters of the Goſpel.*

In defence of the church of England's miniſtry, he tells us, (p. 70, 71, 73, 74.) 'That they have, firſt, the teſtimony of their own Conſcience, that they are furniſhed to that office. 2dly, The outward call of the Church, by impoſition of hands and prayers.'

Anſw. If the miniſters of the church of England have the teſtimony of their Conſcience, it muſt be either a true or a falſe teſtimony. If a *falſe*, then not *truly* called, upon our adverſary's principles: If *true*, then infallibly ſo; and conſequently, both every man hath an Infallible Witneſs in his own conſcience; and the preparation and call of this Witneſs is the inward call to the miniſtry. Now how this can be without revelation and inſpiration I know not. But it ſeems, miniſterial qualification muſt be judged of by the Witneſs in the conſcience, which is the overthrow of the prieſt's cauſe and doctrine: But I deny that the prieſts act upon this inward teſtimony; for they are afraid of being made manifeſt to the conſcience: And when we urge this Inward Manifeſtation, they cry out, with our adverſary, Enthuſiaſm, Familiſm, Quakeriſm! But if this muſt be the alone judge of qualification, let him for ſhame give over vilifying our public labourers, and incenſing our ſuperiors againſt us, (who honeſtly plead conſcience in the caſe,) and us for refuſing the national prieſthood, which we believe, in the preſence of God, angels and men, to be not ſo qualified. For covetouſneſs, bargaining, ſtealing their neighbours words, preaching *their* experiences, not their *own*, not knowing experimentally whereof they affirm, nor turning people to righteouſneſs, but perſecuting them that love it, and daubing ſinners with untempered mortar, are altogether inconſiſtent with it.

For the 'Laying on of Hands,' it is well known to be a Jewiſh ceremony: And we read that Saul and Barnabas preached, before the Apoſtles laid hands upon them. Beſides, it is not every body's hands will ſerve; they muſt be men inſpired, upon our enemies conceſſions, and not every foul fiſt. Nor did it give Authority; but, as many other Jewiſh ceremonies, it was made uſe of to *expreſs* that miſſion which had a more inward and ſpiritual ground. They were named Apoſtles from one of the meaneſt offices that belonged to the temple; not Lord Primates, Lord Archbiſhops, Lord Biſhops, May it pleaſe your Grace, May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, Right Reverend Fathers in God, &c. Theſe things came from the *Pope*, and thither they will and muſt return.

To conclude: Becauſe our adverſary tells us, that the church, from the days of the Apoſtles, has had a ſucceſſive apoſtleſhip and miniſtry to confer, whether he will or no, he muſt imply, 'that there has been a True Apoſtolical Church ever ſince;' which is to give the lye to the Holy Ghoſt, that propheſied of a falling away, and a great apoſtacy. 2 Theſ. ii.

2dly. That if the miniſtry of the church of England be lawfully deſcended, and are ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, and ſo primitive miniſters, they muſt be apoſtolically qualified: But they are not ſo apoſtolically qualified, either as to the work of God in themſelves, the gift of the Holy Spirit, daily information, the effect of their miniſtry, that patience, meekneſs, plain-dealing, perſeverance, godly hoſpitality, continual labour, and ſelf-denying converſation; conſequently not lawfully deſcended, nor true ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles and primitive miniſters.

Nor do we think it ſuch 'an intolerable preſumption, for Mechanicks and Tradeſmen 'to preach the Goſpel,' as he would have it: For we well remember, that thoſe who believed and followed the Son of God, were reproached by the Scribes and Phariſees, the learned and national teachers of the Jews, for *illiterate* perſons; crying out in that day, "Have any of the Rulers, or of the Phariſees, believed on him? But *this* people, who "know not the Law, are accurſed?" It was that generation that called him and his diſciples ſo often, "This Fellow; Away with this Fellow; This Peſtilent Fellow," after the rate our adverſary doth treat us, as we may have occaſion anon to obſerve. In ſhort,

John vii. 48, 49.
Mat. xi. 24. 26. 61. 71.

John ix. 29. Acts xxii. 22. chap. xxiv. 5. chap. iv. 13.

Peter and John were found unlearned. Ouzelius, in his Animadverſions on Minutius Felix, ſaith, ‘ That as the Gentiles did object to the Chriſtians their *rude ſtyle*, *ill-bred* ‘ *language*, and their being *deſtitute* of all *addreſs* or *civil ſalutation*, calling them *Ruſ*‘ *ticks* and *Clowns*; ſo did the Chriſtians, by way of irony and contempt, term them ‘ the *well-bred*, the *eloquent* and the *knowing*:’ This he proves by ample teſtimonies out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Iſidorus, Peluſiota, Theodoret, and others.

Conſt. Clem. Rom. lib. 1. Conc. Carth. diſt. 37. Cap. Epiſc.

In the Conſtitutions of Clemens Romanus (as ſuppoſed) it is enjoined, ‘ Abſtain ‘ from all the books of the Gentiles.’ Alſo the Council of Carthage had an expreſs canon againſt “ Reading Heathen Authors:” Then Ariſtotle, and all that philoſophy, which fits prieſts at both univerſities.

Jac. Laur. de lib. gent. p. 40, 41.

Gratian hath alſo ſuch like paſſages as theſe, by way of complaint. ‘ We ſee that ‘ the Prieſts of the Lord, neglecting the Goſpels and the Prophets, read Comedies or ‘ Play-books, and ſing Love-verſes,’ &c.

Card. de Sap. lib. 2.

Cardan tells, ‘ That Gregory, though a Pope, burnt ſeveral laſcivious Latin authors, ‘ as Cæcilianus Affranius, Nævius Licinius,’ &c. Nor had Plautus, Martial and Terence, now ſchool-books, eſcaped him, could he have helped it. In like manner Gregory Nazianzen, the father, ſuppreſſed ſeveral Greek authors, as Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, &c.

Pet. Bell. obſ. l. 1. c. 35. Ib. 40.

And Petrus Bellonius, that inquiſitive traveller, when at Mount Athos, where lived ſix thouſand Καλοίεροι in Monaſteries, did not ſo much as find (no nor in all Greece) one man acquainted with the converſation of theſe poets: For though they had ſeveral manuſcripts of Divinity in their libraries, yet not one Poet, Hiſtorian or Philoſopher. That they anathematized ſuch Prieſts as ſtudied Poeſy, or tranſcribed books not treating of Religion.

Dom. Sot. in 4 Cent diſt. 5. q. 1. Art. 10. p. 154.

And Dominicus à Soto, ſtrongly pleads not only the liberty of every man's teaching any good that he knows, but that ‘ it is his Duty to teach it.’

Mach. diſp. lib. 2. c. 5.

Machiavel aſſures us, ‘ the firſt promoters of Chriſtianity commanded all Poets and ‘ Hiſtorians, which treated of the Gentiles vain Converſation and Worſhip, to be ‘ burned.’

Farther, concerning the Illiterateneſs, Meanneſs and Novelty, which the Gentiles objected againſt the Chriſtians, ſee ‘ Dr. Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity.’

By all which it appears, that the Quaker-preachers are nevertheleſs Orthodox for being ignorant in human ſciences; ſince the moſt orthodox preachers have been generally ſuch, and that both before and after the coming of Chriſt.

In ſhort, That Miniſtry which is Experimental and Powerful, for the turning of many from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God, is the only True and Evangelical miniſtry; and ſuch an one we both own and enjoy, bleſſed be the name of our God for ever.

CHAP. V.

His Fourth Chapter conſidered: Quakery (as he calls it) no Sadduciſm, as he would ſuggeſt. His Meaſures of us wrong.

Chap. V.

Page 75, 76, 77, 78.

HIS great ill-will to the Quakers puts him upon flinging any thing upon them that he thinks will ſtick; at leaſt that he would have to do ſo. We muſt this turn be, with all, Familiſts, Sadducees; but the fierce will of the man has precipitated him into a ſtrange miſtake: Hear him.

‘ H. N. owns no other Immortality than the continuance of his Doctrine; nor judg‘ ment-ſeat of Chriſt, nor Heaven, nor Hell, but what are in this life. The Quakers,’ ſays he, ‘ do the like; for T. Foſter ſays, in a book called ‘ A Guide to the Blind,’ “ that the ſecond appearance of Chriſt is in Spirit, to end ſin, and finiſh tranſgreſ“ ſion.”

Now if this proves the agreement, I never ſaw the like; taking for granted what he repreſents H. N. to have held; in which I know he belies him. Is there no difference between ſaying, ‘ that Chriſt's ſecond appearance is in the Spirit,’ and denying ‘ Im‘ mortality, Eternal Judgment, Heaven and Hell?’ O hideous conſequence and compariſon! But why is it ſuch falſe doctrine to ſay, that Chriſt's ſecond coming is ſpiritual? Shall he ever come ſo fleſhly as before? Is not he glorified? After what manner was it he promiſed to come, when he ſaid, “ Some ſtanding here ſhall not taſte of death, till “ they ſee the Son of Man come in his kingdom.” Mat. xvi. 28. “ I will not leave “ you comfortleſs; I will come to you: Yet a little while and the world ſees me no “ more; but ye ſee me, becauſe I live ye live alſo. He that is with you ſhall be in “ you,” John xiv. 17, 18. And when the Apoſtle Paul ſaid, “ Though I have known “ Chriſt after the fleſh, yet henceforth I know him ſo no more: When it pleaſed God “ to reveal his Son in me.” I aſk, if this was not both a Second and a Spiritual appearance? Certainly it muſt be another appearance from the former, therefore a *ſecond*: And it muſt be a Spiritual one, becauſe it is unreaſonable to believe that Chriſt, as to his bodily appearance, could be all this to his diſciples and followers; therefore, his *ſecond* appearance is *ſpiritual*.

And for Judgment, Immortality, Heaven and Hell in this Life, were not our adverſary a ſenſeleſs novice in theſe matters, his own doctors would teach him, ‘ That there ‘ ſhall be no other judgment, immortality, heaven or hell hereafter, than what every ‘ one has ſome meaſurable ſenſe or earneſt of in this life.’ From hence he is ſo unjuſt to us, and H. N. too, as to give out to the world, ‘ We both deny all future immortality, ‘ judgment, heaven or hell.’ I have declared the utmoſt of the thing, and doubt not but time will make him greatly aſhamed of his undertakings.

‘ But G. Fox, the Sadducee,’ ſays he ‘ holds, the ſoul is a part of the eſſence and being of God; therefore his concluſion is unqueſtionable;’ or to that purpoſe. Page 82.

I am very ready to think the Devil grievouſly angry with that *good man:* And indeed he has reaſon for it, (if I may ſay, that the Devil can have Reaſon for any thing he does) for he hath ſhrewdly brow-beaten his cauſe in the world, and a great inſtrument has God made him of noble, and valiant, and durable acts among the ſons of men: And we ſhall ſo much the more reſpect and honour him, by how much untoward ſpirits ſeek to bear him down in the minds of people. But to anſwer our adverſary: How comes it he never quotes when he cites, I mean *page* his references? Does he think we are bound to peruſe a Folio to defend any Paſſage from his random reflections? What is he for a man, that he treats us ſo *à la negligence;* with this contemptuous neglect? Does he conceit people beholden to him for his ſlanders without proof, or that any thing againſt a Quaker is evidence enough? But I will tell the man, he miſtakes G. F. for the purport of his words is to ſhew, “ That the Life God breathes into the ſoul of man, by “ which man comes to live to God, is ſomething of the Divine Being;” not that the Soul, as a created Capacity, without that inſpiration, is a Part of God, or of his Divine Being: And ſo far Candor (that keeps the eye clear) would have let him ſee, had not prejudice, and a deſire of miſrepreſenting and running us down, hurried him beyond the bounds of all moderation: Nor is he alone in the matter? For many learned Rabbies, and modern Orthodox Divines (as they are called and reputed) have affirmed the ſame. Let it be truth for their ſakes, if not for his.

In ſhort, were we of the mind he would have people to think we are, of all men none would be ſo miſerable: What! ſuffer in this world, becauſe of our faith and hope in the life of the other; and yet deny the very End of that hope, faith and eternal life, which alone bears us over the troubles of this temporal one? I am perſuaded all moderate perſons will think better of us.

CHAP. VI.

He endeavours, in his Fifth Chapter, to prove us inconſiſtent with the Good of Civil Magiſtracy. Our Adverſary's Reaſon too ſhort for his Envy. Swearing not Lawful.

Chap. VI.

HAD not this chapter been found among the reſt, I might perhaps have taken him for ſome zealous churchman, vexed only at the increaſe of the poor Quakers, on a mere religious ſcore. But when I ſee him wilfully miſtaken, and purpoſely characterizing them enemies to Government, and that to the inſecurity of civil magiſtrates, I perceive what he would be at, and that nothing will ſave him below our throats. He has multiplied words unneceſſarily; theſe two, “ Hang them,” would have both explained and perhaps gratified his mind better. Page 90, 91, 92.

He delivers it as a fundamental of the Quakers religion, ‘ That they teſtify againſt ‘ proud and lofty magiſtrates, who rule not for God, but themſelves:’ To which, as a dangerous doctrine, he oppoſeth the apoſtle Peter's exhortation; “ Submit yourſelves “ to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether to the king, as ſupreme, or “ unto governors, that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the “ praiſe of them that do well;” crying out, ‘ Is not this a doctrine fitted to ſtir up ſedition and rebellion; and that ſuch are only magiſtrates in our account that are righ‘ teous in our eſteem. If a magiſtrate be wicked, obedience,’ ſays he, ‘ is ſtill due to ‘ him.’

Anſw. True, but not to That which is wicked; for that were to open a door to all the impiety a Nero could be guilty of. But what contradiction is there betwixt the Apoſtle's language and the Quakers? Can any ſober perſon think the Apoſtle Peter exhorted the churches to believe evil magiſtrates to be good ones? or prove lofty magiſtrates, who rule not for God, fit to be obeyed *therein?* This were to underſtand, as if the Apoſtle meant, that ſuch as rule not for God, puniſh evil-doers, and praiſe them that do well: A contradiction! If our faith be dangerous, the ſcripture muſt be in queſtion. Muſt a reproving of Evil be a diſowning of Magiſtracy? It ſeems then that magiſtrates are not to be reproved, let their practices be never ſo exorbitant. Is there no difference between our diſlike of the unjuſt act of a Julian, and our rebellion againſt juſt authority? If ſhewing men their evils, be diſreſpect; and a reprehenſion of them as unchriſtian, be rebellion; we muſt read religion backwards. But God deliver all magiſtrates from ſuch counſellors, and us from ſuch enemies:

But that which is very remarkable, is the contradiction he gives himſelf, and the injuſtice he ſhews to us; who in one page ſays, ‘We would deſtroy all magiſtrates, not ‘of our own opinion:’ And in the very next gives it for our judgment, though with great diſlike, ‘That magiſtrates ought not to impoſe opinions in matters of religion;’ as if we were ſuch wretches, as to deny that power unto magiſtrates, which we would tyrannically uſe ourſelves.

But he thinks he has enough againſt us in this expreſſion, “All governors ought to “be accountable to the People, and to the next ſucceeding Rulers, for all their actions “which may be enquired into upon occaſion.” This (ſays our adverſary, with a great rant) ‘borders upon treaſon, reſpecting his majeſty the king of England.’

Anſw. But what if he was not then in *England*, but a ſort of people that held this very principle, and who had ſworn to God, before angels and men, to maintain it, and broke their ſolemn oaths? Was it not *argumentum ad hominem*, to ſuch a generation? And does not our adverſary know, that there are elective governments in the world, and annual choice of officers in our own country, that are accountable both to the people and their ſucceſſors?

But ſince he has brought the king of England's name on the ſtage, upon this occaſion, I ſhall briefly tell him and the world two things, and let men reliſh them as they pleaſe. Firſt, That it is not for the intereſt or honour of his government, for any to be over-officious in the enlarging his prerogative beyond thoſe bounds, which the excellent fundamental laws of England have circumſcribed the whole government with. No prince's Crown in Europe ſtands more firm than his, upon Engliſh law: The law gives both right and might. It has been the part of ſuch as dare not truſt their lives and actions with the law, to whiſper unlimited power into the ears of princes; but their ultimate aim was not their ſovereign's greatneſs, but their own protection. We are no ſycophants; yet we fear God, and honour the king. Secondly, It is not our buſineſs to meddle with government; but to obey, or ſuffer, for conſcience-ſake: Can our adverſary aſk more? Several of us have been the faithful ſervants both of him and his father; and God knows, our kindneſs is not changed with our religion, though it admits not of our former way of ſhewing it. And this I may truly ſay in general, that not only our principle leads to no ſuch nice and buſy meddlings, but we are actually unconcerned in any ſuch things: We ſpeak not this out of fear or flattery; the Truth has placed us far above both: But knowing the world will never be good till every one mends one; and that God's Grace has therefore univerſally appeared, and yet doth, in the hearts of men; it is both our deſire, duty and practice to endeavour after that holy, righteous and innocent life it leads to, and that as well for others as ourſelves.

Of SWEARING.

But he ſays, (page 93.) ‘inaſmuch as we refuſe to ſwear before a lawful magiſtrate, ‘we contradict the word of God, and throw away the greateſt tie any prince hath upon ‘his ſubjects;’ inſinuating as if we had been dabbling with the Jeſuits in this matter.

Anſw. It is ſtrange that ſuch an illiterate ſort of ‘Mechanicks, and Ruſtick Rabbies,’ as he is pleaſed to call us, ſhould hold ſuch correſpondence with one of the moſt learned Claſſes in the world! But as there is more difference between us and the Papiſts, than the Proteſtants and the Papiſts, by how much the Proteſtants have many things that are Popiſh, and we have not; ſo have I ever found theſe ſilly thread-bare ſlanders to be the refuge of ſhallow heads and weak cauſes. But I would have all know, as I have elſewhere ſaid, ‘The ground of ſwearing is either through diſtruſt of honeſty in him that ‘ſwears, or weakneſs in him to whom the oath is made.’ The firſt takes in all the ſwearing that is now in the world; the laſt, thoſe oaths God condeſcended to make to the Jews. So that it is either an extraordinary way of evidence, to awe witneſſes into truth; or an extraordinary way of promiſing, to work belief in the incredulous. Now incredulity and diſhoneſty are both unchriſtian: For as none are Chriſtians, but thoſe who are “buried with Chriſt by Baptiſm, and are raiſed up unto newneſs of life;” ſo in that pure law of the Spirit of Life, “Swear not at all,” is recorded. And ſo far is this from contradicting the Word of God, that the Great Word of God hath ſo enjoined us, for all our adverſary's paraphraſe upon it, to wit, ‘Swearing in Communication;’ for the ſwearing prohibited was ſuch as the Law allowed, as Bp. Sanderſon well obſerves, ‘It was not needful that Chriſt ſhould forbid what was forbidden in itſelf, or was always ‘unlawful; which Swearing in Communication was and is, as by the Third Command‘ment, “Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.”

See Bp. Gauden of ſwearing, *The foundation of ſwearing now is the wickedneſs of men.* p. 36.

Bp. R. Sanderſon, De Jur. Oblig. p. 141.

Chriſt brought forth a righteouſneſs that needed it not; for that Grace, Faith and Truth, which came by Jeſus Chriſt, take away the neceſſity of an Oath. Conſequently ſo far as any are in that incredulity or diſhoneſty which needs it, ſo far they are not the followers and diſciples of Chriſt, nor qualified with his evangelical righteouſneſs. Indeed it is a ſhameful thing, and very diſhonourable to the chriſtian religion, that they who pretend themſelves to be of a chriſtian ſociety, ſhould be ſo un-Chriſt-like, to want and uſe the ſcaring and affrighting aſſeverations diſpenſed with in ſome of the weakeſt times of knowledge, by which to aſſure one another of their faith and truth. In ſuch caſes, where is their evangelical link and tie of unity? Certainly a true Chriſtian's *Yea* ſhould be *Yea*, and his *Nay*, *Nay*; that is, in anſwer to all queſtions, whether it relate to matter of evidence or promiſe, they ſhould ſpeak the truth, and mean and do what they ſay; which is enough.

This truth is ſo natural, that it is familiar with ſome to ſay, 'I had rather take his '* Word than the other's Oath;' which ſhews, how much Honeſty is more credible than Swearing. This made the primitive Chriſtians not only refuſe to ſwear by the Fortune of Cæſar, but to ſwear *at all*, telling their judges in their anſwers, 'It was unlawful for a Chriſtian to ſwear.' And Bp. Gauden himſelf aſſures us, 'that they were 'ſo ſtrict and exact, that there was no need of an oath among them: Yea, they ſo kept 'up the ſanctity and credit of their profeſſion among unbelievers, that it was ſecurity 'enough in all caſes to ſay, *Chriſtianus ſum*, I am a Chriſtian:' And that if any urged them farther, 'they repeated this, as the only ſatisfaction they would give;' the veracity of their Word. And that he might farther ſhew, how diſhonourable and needleſs a thing it was for good and holy men, and true Chriſtians to ſwear, he brings in the whole body of the Eſſæans, with ſeveral wiſe Heathens and Chriſtian Fathers: Indeed it was a primitive maxim, *Non oportet, ut vir qui evangelicè vivit, juret omnino:* 'It behoves 'not that a man of an evangelical life ſhould ſwear in any caſe.' And this doctrine was cloſely followed by Chryſoſtom, Theophylact, and ſeveral other ancient chriſtian doctors. Nor were the Heathen wholly inſenſible of the truth of this matter, as Bp. Gauden farther informs us out of Polybius, 'that the better and ſimpler ages of the world 'rarely uſed any Oaths at all, no not ſo much as in judicature; but after Perfidy and 'Lies increaſed, Oaths increaſed, as a remedy to reſtrain thoſe miſchiefs.' To which let me add, That ſome of the ancient ſages, Socrates and Xenocrates, knew, urged, and alſo practiſed a life beyond an oath.

So that if thoſe who are truly diſcipled, redeemed and renewed by the Power and Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, need no oath; nay, that it is a queſtioning of their veracity, and an affronting of their profeſſion, to offer them one; and if 'the lying, familiar ſwear'ing, forſwearing, and fraudulent dealing of wicked men make their oaths of little or 'no credit,' as ſaith the Biſhop, out of Lactantius and Auſtin; certainly it will be much better to prevent ſwearing, and puniſh lying with the penalty due to forſwearing; which ſuggeſts an unanſwerable return to that familiar objection, 'But how do we know that 'ye are thoſe honeſt men?' For we have not only the ſame anſwer the ancient Chriſtians had to give, with this ſevere rebuke, 'That ye are the reproach of Chriſtianity, 'who under that good name act thoſe vile impieties the nobler Heathen judged, and the 'looſeſt have not out-done;' but we have this farther to offer; 'Diſpenſe with our 'conſciences in Not ſwearing, and puniſh our Untruth when ye find it, as ſeverely as 'ye do their Perjury.' What more can be deſired, ſince Truth-ſpeaking fulfils the law, and puniſhing Falſe-ſpeaking ſatisfies it?

CHAP. VII.

Of the LIGHT WITHIN.

Chap. VII.

IT is matter of ſad complaint, that a man ſhould write of ſo excellent a ſubject as the Light Within, and ſhew ſo much darkneſs in treating of it. P. 99, 101, 102, 103.

But leſt he ſhould ſay, that our uncertain and various expreſſions, for ſuch he eſteems them, put him beſides all faith in it, we ſhall endeavour to make their conſiſtency, both with themſelves, and the ſcriptures of truth, appear.

He quotes Tho. Foſter, in his 'Guide to the Blind,' p. 1. thus, "God is the Light," p. 7. *as a man forgetting himſelf,* "Chriſt within is man's true Light to walk by:" And in p. 9. *as doubting whether that would hold water,* ſays, "The Spirit of Chriſt in "man is the true Light and Guide; and this Light enlightens every man that comes "into the world." *But,* ſays he, *if* James Naylor *may be judge, our Friend* Thomas (he was ſo, though thou art an Enemy, and a Mocker of his memory) *is very much miſtaken: For in his book called,* "A Door opened to the Impriſoned," p. 2, 3. *he ſays,* "That the Light of the Word is God's Love to the World; and this Light is not "given to any till they come out of the world." And that George Whitehead, in "The Seed of Iſrael's Redemption," p. 20. ſays, "That the Light within, is a Mea"ſure of the Lord's Life and Light."

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* As the thief in Eſſex, who robbing a Quaker, in company with another, and uſing them fairly, deſired them not to ſtir, till they were got clear of the road; upon which ſaid the other man, "I'll ſwear." *You ſwear! you'll ſwear through an anvil and back again; will the other promiſe?* Thieves *know* honeſty, though they do not *practiſe* it.

Anſ. To the firſt quotation, there can be no cavil; for 'tis plain Scripture, "God is Light," 1 John i. 5. And it was the apoſtolical meſſage ſo to preach, "That God is Light, and in him is no Darkneſs at all." John i. 9.

The ſecond is alſo moſt true; for Chriſt is man's true light, "That was the true light which enlightens every man," &c. And that it was for man to walk by, both Chriſt and his Apoſtles prove. "I am the Light of the world; he that followeth me ſhall not walk in Darkneſs, but ſhall have the light of life." Joh. viii. 12. Again, "If ye walk in the Light, as He is in the Light," &c. 1 John i. 7. God is Light, and Chriſt is Light: And ſince there is no knowing of God or Chriſt but by the manifeſtation of Light; and that none know the Father but thoſe to whom Chriſt, the Light, reveals him; therefore Chriſt is man's true Light, without which man can never know either God or Chriſt.

For his third quotation, I ſee no contradiction in it to the two former, unleſs Chriſt can be without his Spirit; for if the *Spirit* of Chriſt dwell in any man, *Chriſt* dwells in that man. This language the Apoſtle uſed to the Romans, Chap. viii. 9, 10, 11. "If the Spirit of God be in you." Again, "If the Spirit of Chriſt be in you:" Yet again, "If the Spirit of him that raiſed up Jeſus dwell in you:" All which are *Synonimous*, or to one and the ſame purpoſe. For ſhame! thou a *Scholar*, a *Græcian*, a *Diſputant*, that makeſt ſuch ſorry cavils! Might not the Jews and Heathens have made the ſame exceptions againſt the Apoſtle? But 'tis an old Devil-trick to be-ſaint and extol the holy ancients, whilſt they hug the ſpirit that murdered them, and with it perſecute the truth in this age: So cunning is the Devil, and ſo blind is the World.' But let us ſee how much more honeſt he is in his next quotation, than rational in the three former.

That the 'Light of the World is God's Love to the World,' I find in James Naylor's book: But that the 'Light is not given to any till they come *out* of the World,' is a direct 'Lye to our Principle,' and a putting an abſolute 'Forgery upon his Book:' For he ſays, 'That God has given his Light to the world; that therein is his love manifeſted, that ſuch as follow it in its leadings out of the world, have the nature of ſons: But ſonſhip is that which cannot be had whilſt in the world's nature; therefore they are to come out of the world's ways, to follow the Light, which viſits man in the world's ways, in order to bring him out of them; and here the true ſonſhip is received:' So that the Sonſhip, and not the Light, is that which cannot be had in the world. Now what contradiction can this be to our diſhoneſt adverſary's honeſt Friend Thomas, who ſaid, 'That the Light enlightened every man that comes into the world?' Sure I am it is a plain inſtance of our adverſary's diſingenuous and injurious practice.

For G. Whitehead's words, the ſubſtance of them is to be found in John i. 14, 16. "The Word was full of Grace and Truth; and of his fulneſs have all we received, and grace for grace."

But he ſays, 'H. N. teaches that every godly man is God incarnate, and Chriſt incarnate; and that this is the doctrine of the Quakers,' ſays he, 'I prove, Firſt, becauſe T. Foſter, in his "Guide to the Blind," pag. 13. ſaith, "The Light which is Chriſt within, is not natural, but ſufficient to ſalvation." Now I appeal to the whole world, what affinity there can be between H. N's words and Tho. Foſter's. Is *God incarnate*, or *Chriſt incarnate*, to be found in his aſſertion? Nor will I paſs my word for his right quotation of H. N. What he quarrels at here, I know not. Would he not have Chriſt manifeſted within? Or would he have him *Natural*, in oppoſition to *Spiritual*? Or would he have his Light and Spirit *inſufficient* to ſalvation? If he intends any of theſe, he croſſes expreſs Scripture, blaſphemes againſt God, and fruſtrates the very end of the Goſpel: If none of them, why was this paſſage cited? But he thinks G. F. has made much for his purpoſe, who, in his "Great Myſtery," p. 207, 201. ſaith, 'Chriſt is not diſtinct from the ſaints; and he that eats the fleſh of Chriſt hath it within him.' And what of all this? Is Chriſt divided from his Saints? Was he not in them of old the hope of glory? "He that's with you, ſhall be in you. And at that day ye ſhall know, that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you." For the other part, I wonder he cited it: Certain it is, "That unleſs men eat the fleſh of Chriſt, they have no life in them." Now how a man can be ſaid to *eat* any thing, and not have it *within* him, is a diſtinction paſt my underſtanding.

Col. i. 27.
John xiv. 17. 20.
John vi. 53, 54.

But Geo. Fox ſaith, pag. 206. 'If there be any Chriſt but he that was crucified within, he is a falſe Chriſt; and he that hath him not within, is a Reprobate.'

Anſ. Our return to this will be very ſhort. 1ſt. By Chriſt crucified *within*, he does not deny that he was once crucified *without* (as the ſame page proveth) as our adverſary would inſinuate. 2dly. There can be no falſe doctrine in it, unleſs the owning of Chriſt being crucified within through wicked works, neceſſarily ſhould imply our denying that he was ever crucified *without*; from the danger of which conſequence the Scriptures of truth ſufficiently ſecure us. Heb. vi. 6. "Seeing they crucify to themſelves

“ the Son of God afreſh.” Alſo Rev. xi. 18. 3dly. And that ſuch are Reprobates in whom he lives not; remember that unanſwerable paſſage, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. “ Examine yourſelves, whether you be in the faith; prove your own ſelves, know you not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is *in* you, except you be Reprobates?”

But ſays our adverſary, ‘ Ric. Stubbs, a Quaker, told Eliz. Wetherly, That the Jeſus who was born of the Virgin, and died at Jeruſalem, was a falſe Chriſt and an Antichriſt.’ But this needs no long anſwer; for it is an abſolute untruth, raiſed by the Devil within, and his envious Emiſſaries without, to bring us, the poor deſpiſed people of God, into infamy with all who have any reverence for the name of Chriſt: And God will plead our innocency in this man's conſcience, by that Holy Light which he blaſphemouſly ſaith, ‘ leads down to Hell and the Devil, carrying man, like an *Ignis fatuus*, into bogs and ditches, cauſing him at laſt to fall into the pit of everlaſting deſtruction.’ For this I would have all the world to know, That God, who is “ the ſearcher of the heart, and the trier of the reins, who alone ſheweth unto man his thoughts,” is the Great Spiritual *Light*, John i. 1. And 'tis as ſuch, that he ſetteth man's ſins before him, as ſaith the Apoſtle, “ Whatſoever makes manifeſt is Light,” Epheſ. v. 13. And ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, “ Whatſoever may be known of God, is made manifeſt within men; for God hath ſhewed it unto them.” Rom. i. 19. Such as bring their deeds unto this Light, may know whether they are “ wrought in God or no.” And for this end hath the Eternal Word enlightened every man that cometh into the world, that he may come to the Light, and walk and grow up in it: For as all have given unto them, out of his Fulneſs, Grace for Grace; ſo, from his Fulneſs of Light, hath he given all men Light for Light; not a meer natural CAPACITY, or creaturely UNDERSTANDING, but that *Divine Light* or *Grace*, which is able to teach, ſanctify and govern the ſoul to God's glory, and its own everlaſting happineſs: In the Word, by whom all things were made, was *Life*, and that Life was the Light of Men: And as it was then, ſo is it now, the condemnation of the world, that “ Men love Darkneſs rather than Light, becauſe their deeds are evil.” Some, with the Phariſee, prefer their formal, literal and ceremonial religion; and others, their pleaſures, paſtimes and worldly honour and profit, before this Inward, Pure Light, and Law of the Spirit of Life, the Leaven of the Kingdom, and Truth in the inward parts, which frees from ſin, and brings into the heavenly liberty of the ſons of God. And we do teſtify in the name of God, that it is only by this Meaſure of that Divine Fulneſs, which above One thouſand ſix hundred years ago was manifeſted in the fleſh, that any man or woman can ever come to a right ſight, ſenſe, reliſh and enjoyment of the bleſſed ends and effects of his gracious appearance, heavenly-goſpel, mighty miracles, holy life, death and ſufferings, his powerful reſurrection, glorious aſcenſion, and conſtant mediation and interceſſion. And that all knowledge, faith, and worſhip, not grounded upon this internal ſight, ſenſe and operation of this divine Meaſure of Grace, Light and Truth in the inward parts, are but hiſtorical and phariſaical; making up but the Jew outward, and Chriſtian outward, who are not children of the Free Woman, nor heirs according to the Promiſe. And if for this bleſſed teſtimony we muſt be thus abuſed, defamed, and ſet at nought by the black-robed Rabbies of this world, as the Prophets, and Chriſt himſelf, were, God will be our abundant recompence; who is the Author of that good reformation begun, and will, I hope, be the Finiſher of it, to his own immortal honour, and our unutterable rejoicing, world without end.

Pſal. vii. 9.
Jer. xi. 20.
Amos iv. 13.
John iii. 21.
John xix. 14.

CHAP. VIII.

Of ſome of our Adverſary's Lies and Slanders.

Chap. VIII.
Pag. 107, 108, 109, 110, 111.

HIS next Chapter, containing a ſhort account of the Quaker's pretences to immediate revelation, hath been already effectually conſidered; only I ſhall take notice of two or three particulars.

Firſt, ‘ That he would have the ſadneſs and dejection of thoſe that turn Quakers, and the zeal and fluency of thoſe that preach among them, to be the effect of the Hypochondria.’

Anſ. This ſhews what an eaſy religion our adverſary lives in, who yet knows not the Terrors of the Lord: How unfit is he to warn men? Had he ever known God's Word to be as a ſword, an hammer, an ax, a conſuming fire and everlaſting burnings againſt ſin and iniquity, the pangs of a new birth, and how hard it is to become a true diſciple through the daily croſs, he would never have made ſuch a frothy, dark and envious conſtruction of our ſerious convictions: But God's Fire will one day burn up his peaceable habitation; and in that day of Alarm, he and the reſt of his Jovial Crew ſhall know the meaning of theſe words, “ They that pierced him ſhall ſee him, and all the kindreds of the earth ſhall *wail* becauſe of him.”

But whatever diſeaſe we have, his frequent and ſenſeleſs ſcoffs at us, and our holy way, ſhew that the Spleen is very prevalent in him.

For his reflection on Edw. Burroughs, it will do him no harm; his ſoul is with God, and his memory ſhall out-live his enemies hate. And for this ranting ſcribbler, he is not worthy to carry his books after him.

For his ‘ Gentle-man of Newcaſtle,’ who affirmed, ‘ Some Quakers came to Kendal Church, and ſaid, they had a commiſſion from the Lord to pull down the Steeple-Houſe; and another in ſermon-time to pull down the hour-glaſs,’ I muſt tell him, that we know no ſuch thing; and if it were a fair adverſary, he would have told us who this gentleman was, and who the Quakers, that we might have informed ourſelves of the truth of the matter; though we have great cauſe to conclude it a down right forgery. For the other, it is altogether as likely to come of the ſame ſtock:

That ‘ the wife of one Williamſon, ſhould call Ja. Milner the eternal ſon of God, at Appleby,’ is an arrant falſhood; for we have particularly enquired, and can find no ſuch thing.

That ‘ a woman at Weighton in Yorkſhire, of that goatiſh herd (as he is pleaſed to call them) went naked up to another woman's huſband's bed, and bid him open his bed to her, for the Father had ſent her,’ is a ſlander hatched in darkneſs: We deny it in the name of the Lord God: And I charge this diſingenuous man, if he has any regard to his reputation, or thoſe he belongs to, to prove, if he can, the truth of this ſtory.

And that he ſhould at laſt call this, ‘ A taſte of the Quakers deluded dreams, melancholick fancies, impoſtures, injections, everlaſting errors and deceits,’ is the top of what impudence and forgery man can well be guilty of againſt his neighbour. But why *our* goatiſh herd, above all others? unjuſt and uncivil man! Look at home, for ſhame! How often are Quakers brought to Eccleſiaſtical Courts for Uncleanneſs? We know they are too often ſummoned there for Tythes: It would be almoſt endleſs to tell the ſtories of both prieſts and people's wickedneſs that follow them: One would think that no Church of England Man, that knew any thing of the preſent age, or that thought We did, could believe that forging one unclean lye againſt the Quakers, ſhould invalidate their *Religion*, who believes his *own* to be true, notwithſtanding thoſe numerous inceſts, adulteries, fornications, concupiſcences, murders, lies, perjuries, diſſimulations, thefts, injuries, and ſuch like, that have been, and daily are, committed by his dear fellow-communicants, the ſons and daughters of the Church of England. Let him therefore draw in his horns, and leave off puſhing at us with his forgeries and defamations; and repent of this ungodly way of dealing with us, that he may find mercy to his ſoul.

CHAP. IX.

Of PERFECTION.

Chap. IX.

I Perceive the man would fain ſay ſomething of every controverted head held by the Quakers, though as little to the purpoſe as may be. There is but one thing commendable in his whole chapter, and that is its brevity. He ſtumbles at the very entrance, and never recovers himſelf to the end.

‘ The Quakers talk much of perfection from ſin in this life; and that they have already attained to it.’ *Quote*, he ſcorns; his *Word* is credit enough; at leaſt he would have it ſo: But to let him go on. ‘ This,’ ſays he, ‘ is the Phariſee's Litany, “ God, I thank thee! I am not as other men are.” The Antinomian Litany; the doctrine of Dell, Saltmarſh, Town, and all Antinomians and Familiſts: And that malice and railing perpetually make up the greateſt part of the Quakers ſpeaking to the people.’ But what of argument can be found in ſuch meer aſſertion and reflection, I leave with ſober men to judge. He neither underſtands Antinomians, Familiſts, nor Quakers. And truly I am ready to think him ſome raw, unfledged, under-graduate, who by this eſſay aims at giving ſuch a proof of his abilities, as may induct him to ſome fat benefice; or elſe one that thought we deſerved no larger teſtimony of his ability, honeſty, and diſcretion, in his endeavours againſt us.

In ſhort; A perfect Principle we plead for, and preſs the neceſſity and benefit of man's conformity to it: That though it be a *little Leaven*, it is able to leaven the *whole lump*; that this Grace brings ſalvation from ſin, by the power it gives them that obey it to mortify ſin: Elſe what a riddle would thoſe ſcriptures make, that ſpeak of “ Sanctification throughout, in body, ſoul and ſpirit?” That “ He that's born of God, ſins not. Old things are done away, behold all things are become new. I write unto you, young men, becauſe ye have overcome the wicked one. Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect. Unto a perfect man. Let us cleanſe ourſelves from all filthineſs of fleſh and ſpirit, perfecting holineſs in the fear of the Lord. The God of all grace make you perfect,” &c. Wherein not only a *perfection from ſin*, but the going forward to a *perfect man in Chriſt*, is exhorted to, and prayed for; therefore not unobtainable.

1 Theſ. v. 23.
1 John v. 18.
Cap. ii. 13.
Mat. v. 48.
Eph. iv. 13.
2 Cor. vii. 1.
1 Pet. v. 10.

To conclude: We do not teach people the perfection of our Perſons, but the Principle of God, and our experience of its converting and tranſlating power, *Chriſt* is ſtronger than the *Devil*; and for this, was and is he manifeſted, “To end ſin, and deſtroy the works of the Devil;” a doctrine the Church of England teaches in her Baptiſm. Nor do we ſay, That every man is *perfect* from ſin as ſoon as he is *convinced* of ſin: No, there is a great war, a long wilderneſs to travel through, many enemies to ſubdue, and difficulties to ſurmount; and thoſe enemies are moſtly thoſe of a man's own houſe. We therefore exhort all to wait for “God's Ariſing, that his enemies may be ſcattered;” that witneſſing a victorious ſtate over Hell and Death, by the Power of Chriſt Jeſus, ſuch may obtain “the new name which is written in the Lamb's Book of Life,” and promiſed to all that overcome: Which is far from that ungodly Ranteriſm he would faſten upon us and our Principles: And I doubt not but time, patience, and our blameleſs converſation, ſhall diſpel thoſe miſts which malice and ignorance may have raiſed, to darken and blemiſh the reputation of our practice, perſons and principles in the world.

CHAP. X.

His Ninth and Tenth Chapter, of the Ways and Arts that the Quakers *uſe in gaining* Proſelytes, *with the Advantage their Way has over other* Hereſies, *honeſtly conſidered, and briefly confuted.*

Chap. X.

‘THE firſt artifice,’ he ſays we uſe, ‘is, to come in Sheep's Cloathing. Now what is this Sheep's Cloathing,’ ſays he, ‘but only the Innocence and Purity of the Chriſtian Doctrine? When-as their main purpoſe is to devour credulous Souls.’ p. 117.

Anſ. If we have the ſheep's cloathing, and if the ſheep's cloathing be the purity and innocence of Chriſtian doctrine, then is our doctrine innocent, pure, and Chriſtian. And ſince he avers the doctrine of the Church of *England* to be ſo remote and oppoſite, this character muſt neceſſarily imply, that her doctrine is hurtful, impure, and antichriſtian.

But what have we ſeduced people to? Drunkenneſs, whoredom, perjury, wantonneſs, idleneſs, or any ſuch unſeemly or irreligious practice? Let him tell me who of us are leſs ſerious, leſs moral, or worſe livers than we were before. But the truth of the matter is this: ‘Our way of devouring people's Souls,’ as he calls it, ‘is that which hinders the hireling prieſts from devouring the people's Pockets, and endangering their Souls too; who “teach for Hire, and divine for Money,” and make religion but a ſtalk to preferment, who have the ſhell without the ſubſtance, “the form without the power:” From ſuch, in obedience to God's Spirit, we have turned away; and becauſe we have dared no longer to put into their mouths, their covetous ſpirit has ſwelled, (notwithſtanding their pretences) and their ſheep-ſkin burſt, and an arrant Wolf has come forth; no true Sheep, but a Sheep-fleecer, and a Sheep-ſucker of their blood, whoſe innocency and patience have plainly proved them ſuch. But the Wolf's and the Fox's ſkin have been always good enough for us! Any thing to diſguiſe, and make the dogs faſten and worry to death! Our Conſcience they call *Enthuſiaſm*; and our ſolemn Confeſſion, *Colluſion* and *Equivocation*; our Perſeverance is reputed *Obſtinacy*; our Plainneſs, *Singularity*; our Induſtry, *Worldly-mindedneſs*; and our Retired Living, *Penuriouſneſs*; our Rebukes of Evil, they will have to be *Cenſoriouſneſs*; and our Diſregard of Company, *Pride* and *Sullenneſs*. Whatever God by his Light has made Conſcience to us, there are a ſort of men that have ſo little conſcience, as to conſtrue it all backwards; rendering us, inſtead of honeſt conſcientious men, ‘A pack of fraudulent, cheating fellows:’ But we cannot help it; if men will rage, they muſt: Their ſhame, and our patience, will the more appear.

He ſays, ‘Our ſecond ſtratagem is, to bring the people out of love with their Paſtors, who have the care of them.’

Anſ. I know not a Quaker in the World that would not adminiſter both food and raiment to the worſt perſecutor, as a neceſſitous creature: But I hope they would ſuffer unto death, before they would contribute either to him as a *Prieſt*: No; God's Witneſs in our conſciences never ſaid *Amen* to their Miniſtry. They have the Scriptures, true: But the “Word of Reconciliation, that brings to God,” and of which they declare, they want. I know that ſome of them can talk well; ſo can ſome Mountebanks and Comedians. Do they witneſs the Truth of what they ſpeak? Their Heads know, but do their Hearts feel the operation of that Truth they will ſometimes in words declare? Have they travelled the way, and traced the many anxious ſteps of that *New Birth*, which is the only door into the heavenly kingdom? But alas! Oxford and Cambridge *make* them, and their Parents and Patrons *prefer* them: A good round Maintenance is moſtly their aim on all hands: Tell them of the neceſſity of an Inward Work, that it is the Spirit of God that only makes a man a Miniſter of God, and that the Anointing, which true Chriſtian-men receive, is ſufficient to their inſtruction, and

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preſently the cry is, ‘ Donatiſm, Pelagianiſm, Familiſm, Browniſm, Jeſuitiſm, Quakeriſm,’ or any other name that begets jealouſy, undervalue and hatred. In ſhort, we do believe, that the ſettled miniſters of the world are ſo far from being beneficial to people, that, on the contrary, they exerciſe their minds with a ſort of unexperienced, unauthorized preaching; leading from the ſecret ſtrivings, diſcoveries and conduct of that Spiritual Miniſter of the everlaſting covenant, which is able to bring man into that way of holineſs, without which no ſoul ſhall ever ſee the Lord: And this is the true reaſon why we are turned unto *God*'s Miniſter, Chriſt Jeſus, who ſays, “ Learn of me:” Of whom God ſaid, “ This is my beloved Son, hear *him*;” and reject the Miniſtry of *Man*.

Page 120, 121. ‘ Our third artifice,’ by which he ſays we gain our Proſelytes, is ‘ denying all Human ‘ Learning, and Uſe of Reaſon: That we are the moſt ſottiſh and ignorant ſect that ‘ ever appeared in the world: Yet, for our own turn, we will be nibbling at it, as G. W. ‘ in mentioning a moth-eaten manuſcript, mentioned by Beza in his Annotations.’

Anſ. We have already ſaid enough to defend Chriſtianity from the *abſolute neceſſity* of Human Learning, either to underſtand or vindicate it: And ſo falſe is his aſſertion, ‘ That ſince prophecy has ceaſed in the Church, ſecular Learning hath been of greateſt ‘ uſe and benefit to Religion,’ that there is nothing more true than the contrary, as it is commonly underſtood, promoted and practiſed in the world. I would fain know, how many *Rabbies*, Greek and Latin *Philoſophers*, yielded themſelves Proſelytes to the Chriſtian Religion, though they had *his* preſence, miniſtry, miracles, death and reſurrection amongſt them, who was and is the Author and Maſter of it? If *ſuch* learning be ſo great a friend to Truth, how comes it that the greateſt things have fallen to the ſhare of *poor* and *illiterate* men; and that ſuch have been moſt apt to receive, and boldeſt to ſuffer for it? Why not *Rabbies*, rather than *Fiſher-men*, which was before the pouring out of the Spirit of prophecy? And for what reaſon ſhould ſo many learned *Academies*, ſince the pretended, * ceaſing of it, be overrun with ſuch foul idolatries, groſs ſuperſtitions, and flagitious living, as 1200 years paſt will witneſs. Nay, on the occaſion of any reformation, with whom is there more to do, and who harder to be brought to yield, than Univerſities have been? Scripture and ſtory give it clear againſt him.

Not that I would be thought to oppoſe *all* ſorts of learning, neither: It has been man's erring from his Divine Guide, that has made way for thoſe numerous Theſes, Diſtinctions, Books and Controverſies, the world for ages hath been infeſted with. Such are the obſcure, unintelligible and unprofitable *Metaphyſicks* of the Heathen, too greedily received and miſchievouſly increaſed by *Fathers*, *Councils*, *School-men*, and our modern *Univerſities*, to the corrupting of chriſtian doctrine, and diſputing away the benefit of chriſtian life. An unbounded Curioſity and Fancy, have been the womb that hath brought forth ſo much troubleſome and unprofitable matter; which began with a Degeneration of Philoſophers; True Philoſophy, in the beginning of it, being no more than ‘ the Way ‘ of holy living, by the mortification of Paſſions.’ But Learning, as Religion, failing by corruption of men, is now degenerated into quite another thing. Socrates taught proper Speech, and good Life, and ſuch a courſe of learning as turned to daily practice and profit; ſeverely forbidding all curioſities and niceties, as what turned not to Good Life, which he reputed the beſt ſcience; and Plato would have the *Poets* baniſhed out of his Common-wealth, as corrupting it with Fables: Thus was Learning, as Religion, once pure and ſimple. † In ſhort, all *Right Learning* is to be divided into theſe two, *True Knowledge* and *Proper Language*. This Knowledge relates, Firſt, to God, and that is only to be received from the Spirit of God: And, Secondly, the things of this Life; and therein the Spirit of Man has a large field to act in, to the enlargement of its own Underſtanding, and benefit of the whole Creation, as ſubject to God's Grace; as knowing the Nature and Order of Things in the Creation, Building, Improvement of Land, Medicine, Chirurgery, Traffick, Navigation, Hiſtory, Government, with many other honeſt, uſeſul, and profitable Arts and Inventions, for the help and good of mankind. And if man had kept in God's Counſel, the many ſuperfluous and unneceſſary arts and inventions that are in the world, had never been brought forth by him; and time will work them out, as it brought them in; ſo that what is plain, honeſt, ſerviceable, and of good report, ſhall be preſerved for the good of the creation.

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* But why is it ceaſed? Becauſe ceaſed to *you*, ſons of the night? Did not Chriſt promiſe to be with his to the *end*? Either that is not ſo, or his being with them endues them not with the Spirit of Prophecy: Was it not *Apoſtolical*, and in the firſt Churches? Why not *now*? Is it leſs *wanted*? Is Chriſt not that to his Church he *was*? A blind argument indeed! Becauſe the Prieſts of *Man*'s making have it not; therefore *none* have it. “ I will pour out my Spirit upon Thee, and upon thy Seed, and thy Seed's Seed unto *all Generations*.” Iſa. v. 9.

† Theſe men were only verſed in their *own* tongues: They were many of them Mechanicks and Tradeſmen: Anſwering, among the *Gentiles*, to the Prophets and Apoſtles among the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (though far ſhort of them.) So that Learning and Philoſophy, like to Religion, are now ſo changed, the Ancients would be at a loſs to know them: Another thing haſt poſſeſſed itſelf of the name of each: For to be a Philoſopher, or Lover of Wiſdom, which was “ to eſchew all evil;” and Learning, which was “ to unlearn “ every ill thing,” as Socrates ſaid; are now turned to dark and unprofitable Conteſts, elaborate and unſerviceable ſtudies, to ſtuff mens Heads.

As for *Language*, it muſt be granted that there is a propriety and decency in language: But as men have followed the *Outſide* of *Religion*, and left the *Subſtance* behind, ſo have they done with *Learning:* They have neglected *Matter*, the moſt beneficial part of Learning, and devoted themſelves to an exceſs of fine *Speaking;* of which Biſhop Wilkins, in his "Real Character," complains not without a cauſe, when he ſays, 'That this Grand Impoſture of Phraſing hath eaten out all Solid Learning.'

Yet Language is very convenient for mens converſe with books and nations of a different tongue; however, we utterly deny them to be abſolutely neceſſary to the true knowledge of the myſteries of God's kingdom. So that the true Engliſh of the Quakers denying all Reaſon and Learning, is this; We refuſe to commend or practiſe Unneceſſary Studies, Nice Controverſies, Voluminous and Intricate Diſputations, Obſcurity of Language, Affectedneſs of Stile, Exceſs of Elegancy; believing, that Learning, as well as Religion, ſtands in need both of great purging and reducing: And that thoſe ſubjects and employments which are moſt ſerviceable and beneficial to mankind, and agreeable to God's Grace, digeſted into eaſy and familiar methods, and treated on in the plain and ordinary way of ſpeaking, beſt deſerve man's time and regard. And for his reflection upon G. Whitehead, it no farther deſerves our notice, than that he flung a greater upon Beza, whoſe learning he makes a little too bold with. To ſay no more of his *Moth-eaten-Manuſcript* than this, That the beſt Copies he has had for his Rule, have been near a-kin to ſuch *Moth-eaten Manuſcripts;* and if ſuch a Manuſcript was the Holy Scripture, as I believe it was, he was too bold and irreverent, as well as unwary and fooliſh, in calling it a *Moth-eaten-Scripture,* thereby implying it to be a *Moth-eaten-Rule;* not that I take it to be *his* Rule, who has ſo fearfully erred and ſtrayed from the holy precepts and exhortations of it.

The fourth thing by which he reports us to proſelyte people, is, 'To deceive and 'aſſociate firſt with Women, therein imitating the Devil.'

Anſ. Firſt, we deny it, as being like the reſt of his idle ſtories, and thoſe that not only in the primitive times by the Heathen, but in ſeveral ages ſince, and degrees of breaking forth of truth and reformation from apoſtate generations, have been by them faſtened upon the ſincere profeſſors thereof; as Waldenſes, Lollards, Hugonots, and Proteſtants themſelves, in their firſt day, as well as more modern Diſſenters. We muſt take our ſhare; it is no new nor ſtrange thing.

But ſuppoſing it to be true, that our endeavours are firſt directed towards the Women, I ſee no evil in our beginning to undeceive, where the Devil began to deceive. If they are ſo eaſy to be perſuaded, why not to good as well as to evil? But theſe idle ſhifts, and pitiful reflections, deſerve rather to be diſdained then conſidered.

Laſtly, (Page 125, 126, 127.) 'For our pretending to higher degrees of holineſs, 'and cracks and boaſts of inſpirations, with our [*] bewitching language, which is no- 'thing but Canting, and Scripture Phraſe fitted to feminine fancies; by which,' he ſays, 'we have the advantage of all other Hereſies;' I return thus much:

Anſ. It is our faith, that God, who made Heaven and Earth, will judge the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that it is not only my duty, but my intereſt, to ſpeak the truth of my conſcience in this matter. We dare pretend to no higher degree than we have attained; but we muſt make a difference between what we were whilſt under the miniſtry of Man, and what we are ſince our being turned to God's powerful Word in the heart, Chriſt's Miniſtry: We ſhould be falſe to God, injurious to our neighbour, and ſmother and belye our own convictions, if we ſhould not ſay, 'That we have found 'our Judge near us, our Guide, Law-giver and Rule very nigh unto us;' and thoſe infirmities, temptations, and corruptions, God has, by this Heavenly Grace, given us power againſt; by which we have known that mortification of ſin, and conformity to the will of God, which the utmoſt of our former profeſſion could never free us from. And if this plain and chriſtian confeſſion muſt be called by all thoſe hard names our adverſary finds for our honeſt intentions, we muſt, as we have done, recommend our cauſe to God, and his Holy Witneſs in all conſciences, and him to be judged by him; to whom we deſire to ſtand and fall in all we ſay, do, and take in hand; to whom alone we owe the honour of our experiences and preſervations.

However, the irreverence of the man deſerves both our notice, and the reproof of all that read him: What! Is ſcripture- language become a Cant; and a ſober and ſeaſonable uſe of it, Canting fitted to feminine fancies? But we think it not more his folly, contradiction and blaſphemy, to ſpeak with that contempt of the Holy Scriptures, and his pretended Rule, than an advantage he gives our cauſe, to tell the world, 'That 'of all others, the Quakers ſpeak and preach the Scripture-Dialect.' But it is the mother-tongue of ſuch frothy minds ſo to prophane; and for all their pretended reſpect to the holy ſcriptures, the Spirit and Life that belong unto them, are made but matter of jeer and mockery: They would not be thought to undervalue Chriſt, the Scripture, nor his Religion, but with the height of formality ſeem to reverence and applaud them all, yet perſecute to the death thoſe that are his holy offspring by the Spirit of Regeneration; which ſhows their eſteem of Chriſt, Scripture and Religion, to be but a kind of blindfold reſpect; and that indeed their very ſpirits turn within them againſt that which is truly Chriſt-like, ſcriptural and religious. The Devil ever underſtood his intereſt better, than to perſecute Truth under that Name; yet for all his fair pretences to ſaintſhip, he conſtantly became a fierce devourer of thoſe that have been the Children of the Truth: And I may truly ſay to this oppoſer, That for all his Religion, Learning, church-communion, and that ſtir he maketh againſt us, as a crew of Hereticks and Impoſtors, he knows not what ſpirit he is of, who has writ a book rather to abuſe than inform us, and inſtigate the civil magiſtrate to deſtroy us, than by ſolid argument to refute or reclaim us. He that has but half an eye may ſee his aim was not ſo much our Converſion, as Diſgrace, and, if poſſible, our utter Ruin; but 'till our adverſary's labours prove as dangerous to us, as his deſign (no doubt) was wicked, we have little cauſe to dread the ſucceſs of his attempts.

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[*] Rainerius the Monk, and a terrible enemy to the poor Waldenſes, made the ſame complaints againſt them, 'They uſed,' ſays he, 'to teach firſt what the Diſciples of Chriſt ought to be, and that none are 'his Diſciples, *but they that imitate his life:* And that the Popes, Cardinals, &c. becauſe they live in pride, 'avarice, and luxury, &c. are not the lawful ſucceſſors of Chriſt, in that they walk not up to his command- 'ments. Thus,' ſays the Monk, 'they win upon the people.' *P. P. Pet. Hiſt. Wald.*

Epiſtle, p. 6. 7, 29, 32, 33, 35, 40, 41, 53, 77. 94, 206, 111, 117, 121, 110, 109.

And that he may ſee a little of himſelf, if he thinks himſelf worth looking upon, let him be pleaſed to take a view of ſome of thoſe many reviling, ſcoffing, rude and contemptuous epithets he is pleaſed to beſtow on us, an entire body of people: 'Heretical Generation of Quakers; Slaves to Pride, Covetouſneſs, Luſt; Poſſeſt by the 'Devil, and a Diabolical Spirit; Apoſtates, Phanaticks, Spiritualiſts; Black, impure 'Hearts and Mouths; Bewitched with their Sorceries and Inchantments; Impertinent 'Cavilling Fellows; Rebellious Quakers; Cheats and Mountebanks; A Beaſtly and 'Quaking Generation; Jugglers; Quaking and Impudent Hereticks; A Sottiſh Sect; 'Illuminado's, Inſpirado's; Their Cheats and Impoſtures; Enthuſiaſtical Hereticks; 'A Goatiſh Herd.'

And of our Principles thus, 'Their Light leads to Hell and the Devil, and carries a 'man like an *Ignis Fatuus*, cauſing him to fall into the Pit of Everlaſting Deſtruc'tion: Who are led by this, are made obnoxious to all the Impoſtures and Injections of 'the Devil, and to lie under Everlaſting Errors and Deceits.'

* To all which I have no other anſwer than what it is to itſelf; for it contains that charge againſt its author, that I ſhall leave him to clear himſelf from, both to God and the whole world; only I cannot be ſo wanting of civility to the perſon he dedicated his book to, as not to let him know, that it is unworthy of his Quality and Repute amongſt men, to have his name uſed to the protection of ſo much Rudeneſs, Irreligion and Abuſe.

I cannot think ſo meanly of him, as that the endeavours of ſo ſcurrilous an author ſhould excite him to any ſeverity againſt that poor people he has ſo baſely wronged; For ſuch a thing were not only beneath that place he holds amongſt men, but would be to intitle himſelf to all our adverſary's ſhameful miſcarriages, and encourage him to perſiſt in what it greatly behoves him to repent of, which God grant, for his mercyſake: Which is my whole anſwer to his ill treatment of us, and the worſt wiſh I have for him.

A CONCLUSION:

To thoſe to whom the Diſcourſe *is dedicated.*

SINCE then it is ſo evidently proved, by Scripture, Reaſon, and Undoubted Precedents, that it is no new or unwonted thing, for † National Churches to be deceived, notwithſtanding they have been endowed with Power, Learning, Nobility, Wealth, and Worldly Glory; and that it hath pleaſed Almighty God, in the moſt ſignal reformations that have been wrought upon the world, to employ a ſort of plain, ſimple and illiterate people; let not our meanneſs, plainneſs and ſimplicity, be any argument with you againſt us, in the mouths of that Decimating Tribe, whoſe Trade it is to oppoſe that reformation, which, in conſcience, can neither own nor pay them; the old enemies of God's appearance in the world, who therefore dread a Free and Univerſal Preaching, becauſe the ingroſſment of it to themſelves has proved ſo profitable.

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* Biſhop Sanderſon highly honours and characterizes the *Light*; he calls it, 'The Eternal Law of Righ'teouſneſs, and a Rule ſufficient to Good Life.' See his book in Latin, intituled, *De Oblig. Jur. premiſſ.*

† I intreat you to read a late piece of Dr. Cave's, called 'Primitive Chriſtianity,' in which the Poverty, Simplicity, Meanneſs, Manner, and Place of Worſhip, Maintenance, Miniſtry, objected Novelty, &c. of the Ancient Chriſtians, are related.

able. Be Gamaliels at leaſt, I beſeech you, and fight not their battles: ‘ If we are *not* of ‘ God, we cannot ſtand :’ And if of God, ‘ they muſt fall.’ Leave us therefore with our ſpiritual weapons to decide this controverſy, without interpoſing your worldly power. It is ſtrange that we ſhould be ſuch *Ignorants*, and *Hereticks* too, whilſt they bleſs themſelves with the name of *learned* and *orthodox*, and yet dread the conſequence of being left by you to a *fair field* with us. Are not their Univerſities, Biſhops and Doctors, enough to ſilence ſuch *Illiterate Whifflers*, as our adverſary is pleaſed to call us, without the argument of your Carnal Sword? Certainly they ill deſerve Fifteen hundred thouſand pounds a year, if at laſt *you* muſt do the buſineſs for them: What leſs can we expect from the worſt of perſons and cauſes? But as this employment is below the dignity of their office, who are public magiſtrates, and much too narrow for that univerſal influence it ſhould have for public good, ſo remember that great ſaying of the late King, to the then Prince of Wales:

‘ Always keep up Solid Piety, and thoſe fundamental Truths which mend both ‘ Hearts and Lives of men, with impartial favour and juſtice. Your prerogative is beſt ‘ ſhown and exerciſed in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of laws, there being ‘ nothing worſe than Legal Tyranny.’ Again, ‘ A Charitable Connivance and Chriſtian Toleration often diſſipates what rougher Oppoſition fortifies :’ Which had been the ſaying and counſel of King James before him. It is a ſure rule in divinity, ‘ That God ‘ never loves to plant his Church by Violence and Bloodſhed.’ And in his Expoſitions on Rev. xx. he ſaith, ‘ That Perſecution is the note of a Falſe Church.’

‘ Hereſy muſt be cut off with the Sword of the Spirit,’ ſaith Jerom. ‘ The Church ‘ doth not Perſecute, but is Perſecuted,’ ſaith Hilary. ‘ If you will, with Blood, with ‘ Evil, and with Torments defend your Worſhip, it ſhall not thereby be defended, but ‘ polluted,’ ſaid Lactantius. I will conclude with Chryſoſtom; ‘ It is not,’ ſaith he, ‘ the manner of the children of God to perſecute about their religion, but an evident ‘ token of Antichriſt.’

Jer. Proœm. lib. 4.
Hilar. contr. Auxent.
Lact. lib. 5. cap. 10.
Relig. Uriſ. pag. 192.

So let your Moderation be known unto all men; the Lord is at hand.

I am

The 16th of the 5th Month, 1673. A Friend to All Men,

Who would have Vice *puniſhed*, Conſcience *tolerated*, and Righteouſneſs *eſtabliſhed*, whoſe End is Peace and Aſſurance for ever.

WILLIAM PENN.

7 AP 59

ENGLAND'S PRESENT INTEREST CONSIDERED,

WITH

HONOUR to the PRINCE,

AND

SAFETY to the PEOPLE,

In ANSWER to this One QUESTION,

What is moſt Fit, Eaſy, and Safe, at this Juncture of Affairs, to be done, for quieting of Differences, allaying the Heat of contrary Intereſts, and making them ſubſervient to the Intereſt of the Government, and conſiſtent with the Proſperity of the Kingdom?

Submitted to the Conſideration of our SUPERIORS.

Lex eſt Ratio ſine Appetitu.

THE INTRODUCTION.

1675. THERE is no law under heaven, which hath its riſe from Nature or Grace, that forbids men to deal honeſtly and plainly with the greateſt, in matters of importance to their preſent and future Good: On the contrary, the dictates of both enjoin every man that office to his neighbour; and from charity among private perſons, it becomes a duty indiſpenſible to the public. Nor do worthy minds think ever the leſs kindly of honeſt and humble monitors; and God knows, that oftentimes Princes are deceived, and Kingdoms languiſh, for want of them. How far the poſture of our affairs will juſtify this addreſs, I ſhall ſubmit to the judgment and obſervation of every intelligent reader.

Certain it is, that there are few kingdoms in the world more divided within themſelves, and whoſe religious intereſts lie more ſeemingly croſs to all accommodation, than that we live in; which renders the magiſtrate's taſk hard, and giveth him a difficulty next to invincible.

Your endeavours for an Uniformity have been many; your Acts not a few to enforce it; but the conſequence, whether you intended it or no, through the barbarous practices of thoſe that have had their execution, hath been the ſpoiling of ſeveral thouſands of the free-born people of this kingdom, of their unforfeited rights. Perſons have been flung into goals, gates and trunks broke open, goods diſtrained, till a ſtool hath not been left to ſit down on: Flocks of cattle driven off, whole barns full of corn ſeized, threſhed, and carried away: Parents left without their children, children without their parents, both without ſubſiſtence.

But that which aggravates the cruelty, is, *The Widow's Mite* hath not eſcaped their hands; they have made her ‘*Cow* the forfeiture of her *Conſcience*;’ not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her. And, which is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, ‘the poor helpleſs orphan's *milk*, boiling over the fire, ‘has been flung to the dogs, and the *ſkillet* made part of their prize:’ So that had not Nature in neighbours been ſtronger than Cruelty in ſuch informers and officers, to open her bowels for their relief and ſubſiſtence, they muſt have utterly periſhed.

Nor can theſe inhuman inſtruments plead conſcience or duty to thoſe laws, who have abundantly tranſcended the ſevereſt clauſe in them; for ‘to ſee the impriſoned,’ has been ſuſpicion enough for a Goal; and ‘to viſit the ſick,’ to make a Conventicle: fining and diſtraining for Preaching, and being at a Meeting, where there hath been neither; and *Forty Pounds* for *Twenty*, at pick and chooſe too, is a moderate advance with ſome of them.

Others, thinking this way too dull and troubleſome, alter the queſtion, and turn, ‘Have you *met*?’ which the Act intends; to, ‘Will you *ſwear*?’ which it intendeth not: So that in ſome places it hath been ſufficient to a *premunire*, that men have had eſtates to loſe; I mean ſuch men, who, through Tenderneſs, refuſe the Oath; but, by Principle, like the Allegiance, not leſs than their adverſaries.

Finding then by ſad experience, and a long tract of time, that the very remedies applied to cure diſſention, increaſe it; and that the more vigorouſly an Uniformity is coercively proſecuted, the wider breaches grow, the more inflamed perſons are, and fixed in their reſolutions to ſtand by their principles, it ſhould, methinks, put an end to the attempt: For beſides all other inconveniences to thoſe that give them trouble, their very ſufferings beget that compaſſion in the multitude, which rarely miſſes of making many friends, and proves often a preparation for not a few Proſelytes. So much more reverend is ſuffering, than making men ſuffer for religion, even of thoſe that cannot ſuffer for their religion, if yet they have any religion to ſuffer for. Hiſtories are full of examples: The *Perſecution* of the Chriſtian Religion made it more illuſtrious than its *Doctrine*. Perhaps it will be denied to Engliſh Diſſenters, that they rely upon ſo good a cauſe, and therefore a vanity in them to expect that ſucceſs. But *Arrianiſm* itſelf, once reputed the fouleſt Hereſy by the Church, was by no artifice of its party ſo diſſeminated, as the ſevere oppoſition of the *Homoouſians*.

Conteſts naturally draw company; and the vulgar are juſtified in their curioſity, if not pity, when they ſee ſo many wiſer men buſy themſelves to ſuppreſs a people, by whom they ſee no other ill, than that, for Nonconformity in matters of religion, they bear injuries and indignities patiently.

To be ſhort: If all the interruptions, informations, fines, plunders, impriſonments, exiles and blood, which the great Enemy of Nature, as well as Grace, hath excited man to, in all ages, about matters of faith and worſhip, from Cain and Abel's time to ours, could furniſh us with ſufficient precedents that the deſign propoſed by the inflictors of ſo much ſeverity was ever anſwered; that they have ſmothered opinions, and not inflamed, but extinguiſhed conteſt; it might perhaps, at leaſt prudentially, give check to our expectations, and allay my juſt confidence in this addreſs: But ſince ſuch attempts have ever been found unproſperous, as well as that they are too coſtly, and have always procured the ‘judgments of God, and the hatred of men; to the ſufferers, miſery; to their ‘countries, decay of people and trade; and to their own conſciences an extreme guilt;’ I fall to the Queſtion, and then the Solution of it: In which, as I declare, I intend nothing that ſhould in the leaſt abate of that love, honour and ſervice that are due to you; ſo, I beſeech you, do me the juſtice to make the faireſt interpretation of my expreſſions: For the whole of my plain and honeſt deſign is, ‘To offer my mite for the ‘increaſe of your true honour, and my dear country's felicity.’

THE QUESTION.

‘WHAT is moſt fit, eaſy and ſafe, at this juncture of affairs, to be done, for ‘compoſing, at leaſt quieting, differences; for allaying the heat of contrary ‘intereſts, and making them ſubſervient to the intereſt of the government, and conſiſtent with the proſperity of the kingdom?’

THE ANSWER.

I. AN inviolable and impartial maintenance of Engliſh Rights.

II. Our Superiors governing themſelves upon a Balance, as near as may be, towards the ſeveral Religious Intereſts.

III. A ſincere promotion of General and Practical Religion.

I ſhall briefly diſcourſe upon theſe three things, and endeavour to prove them a ſufficient, if not the only beſt anſwer, that can be given to the queſtion propounded.

CHAP. I.

Of ENGLISH RIGHTS.

I. *Of* Engliſh *Rights, in the* Britiſh, Saxon *and* Norman *Times. Particularly of* Liberty *and* Property. *Of* Legiſlation. *Of* Juries. *That they are* Fundamental *to the Government, and but* Repeated *and* Confirmed *by the* Great Charter. The Reverence *paid them by* Kings and Parliaments, and their Care to preſerve them. *The* Curſe *and* Puniſhment *that attended the* Violators. *More General Conſideration of* Property, &c. *The* Uncertainty *and* Ruin of Intereſts, *where it is not maintained: Divers Precedents:* That *it is the Prince's Intereſt to preſerve it Inviolably:* That *it is not juſtly* Forfeitable for Eccleſiaſtical Non-Conformity; *and that where the* Property *is Sacrificed for it, the* Government *is changed from* Civil *to* Eccleſiaſtical, *from the* Parliament Houſe *to the* Veſtry.

Chap. I.

THERE is no Government in the world, but it muſt either ſtand upon *Will* and *Power*, or *Condition* and *Contract:* The one rules by Men, the other by Laws. And above all kingdoms under heaven, it is England's felicity to have her conſtitution ſo impartially juſt and free, that there cannot well be any thing more remote from arbitrarineſs, or more zealous of preſerving the laws, by which its rights are maintained.

Theſe laws are either fundamental, and ſo immutable; or more ſuperficial and temporary, and conſequently alterable.

By *Superficial Laws*, we underſtand ſuch acts, laws or ſtatutes, as are ſuited to preſent occurences, and emergencies of ſtate; and which may as well be abrogated, as they were firſt made, for the Good of the kingdom: For inſtance, thoſe ſtatutes that relate to Victuals, Clothes, Times, and Places of Trade, &c. which have ever ſtood, whilſt the Reaſon of them was in force; but when that benefit, which did once redound, fell by freſh accidents, they ended, according to that old maxim, *Ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat lex.*

By *Fundamental Laws*, I do not only underſtand ſuch as immediately ſpring from *Syntereſis* (that eternal Principle of Truth and Sapience, more or leſs diſſeminated through mankind,) which are as the corner ſtones of human ſtructure, the baſis of reaſonable ſocieties, without which all would run into heaps and confuſion; to wit, *Honeſtè vivere, Alterum non lædere, jus ſuum cuiq; tribuere*, that is, 'To live honeſtly, not to hurt 'another, and to give every one their right,' (excellent principles, and common to all nations) though that itſelf were ſufficient to our preſent purpoſe; but thoſe rights and privileges which I call *Engliſh*, and which are the proper Birth-right of Engliſhmen, and may be reduced to theſe three.

I. *An Ownerſhip, and Undiſturbed Poſſeſſion: That what they have, is Rightly theirs, and no Body's elſe.*

II. *A Voting of every Law that is made, whereby that Ownerſhip or Propriety may be maintained.*

III. *An Influence upon, and a Real Share in, that Judicatory Power that muſt apply every ſuch Law; which is the Ancient, Neceſſary and Laudable Uſe of Juries: If not found among the* Britons, *to be ſure practiſed by the* Saxons, *and continued through the* Normans *to this very Day.*

That theſe have been the ancient and undoubted rights of Engliſhmen, as three great roots, under whoſe ſpacious branches the Engliſh People have been wont to ſhelter themſelves againſt the ſtorms of arbitrary government, I ſhall endeavour to prove.

I. *An Ownerſhip and undiſturbed Poſſeſſion.*

This relates both to Title and Security of *Eſtate*, and Liberty of *Perſon*, from the violence of Arbitrary Power.

It is true, the foot-ſteps of the *Britiſh* Government are very much overgrown by time. There is ſcarcely any thing remarkable left us, but what we are beholden to ſtrangers for: Either their own unſkilfulneſs in letters, or their depopulations and conqueſts by invaders, have deprived the world of a particular ſtory of their laws and cuſtoms, in peace or war. However, Cæſar, Tacitus, and eſpecially Dion, ſay enough to prove their nature and their government to be as far from ſlaviſh, as their breeding and manners were remote from the education and greater ſkill of the Romans. Beda and M. Weſtminſter ſay as much.

Cæſar's Com. Tacit. in Vit. Agrip. Dion. l. 6. M. Weſt. Anno 416. l. 1. c. 17.

The law of *Property* they obſerved, and made thoſe laws that concerned the preſervation of it.

The *Saxons* brought no alteration to theſe two fundamentals of our Engliſh government;

ment; for they were a *free people*, governed by laws, of which they themſelves were the makers: That is, there was no law made without the conſent of the People; *de majoribus omnes*, as Tacitus obſerveth of the *Germans* in general. They loſt nothing by tranſporting themſelves hither; and doubtleſs found a greater conſiſtency between their laws, than their ambition. For the learned collector of the "Britiſh Councils," tells us, that Ethelſton, the Saxon king, pleading with the people, told them, 'Seeing I, according 'to your law, allow what is yours, do ye ſo with me.' Whence three things are obſervable. Firſt, That ſomething was *theirs*, that nobody elſe could diſpoſe of. Secondly, That they had *property* by their own law; therefore had a *ſhare* in making their own Laws. Thirdly, that the law was *umpire* between king and people; neither of them ought to infringe: This Ina, the great Saxon king, confirms. 'There is no Great 'Man,' ſaith he, 'nor any in the whole kingdom, that may aboliſh Written Laws.' It was alſo a great part of the Saxon oath, adminiſtered to the kings, at their entrance upon the government, 'To maintain and rule according to the laws of the nation.'

Hiſt. Germ.

Concil. Brit. p. 397.

Ll. Inæ. Lamb.

Mirror. c. 1. §. 2.

Their parliament they called *Micklemote*, or *Wittangemote*. It conſiſted of *King*, *Lords*, and *People*, before the *Clergy* interwove themſelves with the Civil Government. And Andrew Horn, in his "Mirror of Juſtice," tells us, 'That the grand aſſembly of 'the kingdom in the Saxon time, was to confer of the government of God's people, 'how they might be kept from *ſin*, in *quiet*, and have *right* done them, according to 'the cuſtoms and laws.'

Ibid. c. 1. §. 2. 3. Juſt. c. 4. §. 11.

Nor did this law end with the *Saxon* race: William the conqueror, as he is uſually called, quitting all *Claim* by *Conqueſt*, gladly ſtooped to the laws obſerved by the Saxon kings, and ſo became a king by leave; valuing a title by *Election*, before that which is founded in *Power* only. He therefore, at his coronation, made a ſolemn covenant, 'To maintain the good, approved, and ancient laws of this kingdom, and to inhibit all 'ſpoil and unjuſt judgment.'

M. Paris in vit. Gulielm.

And this Henry the Firſt, his third ſon, among other his titles, mentioned in his charter to make Ely a biſhoprick, calls himſelf, 'Son of William *the Great*, who by 'hereditary right, (not *Conqueſt*) ſucceeded king Edward (called the Confeſſor) in this 'kingdom.'

Spicileg.

An ancient chronicle of Litchfield ſpeaks of a council of lords that adviſed William of Normandy, 'To call together all the nobles and wiſe men throughout their counties of 'England, that they might ſet down their own laws and cuſtoms;' which was about the fourth year of his reign: Which implies that they had fundamental laws, and that he intended their confirmation.

And one of the firſt laws made by this king, which, as a notable author ſaith, 'may 'be called the Firſt Magna Charta in the *Norman* times (by which he reſerved to himſelf nothing of the freemen of this kingdom, but their free-ſervice) in the concluſion of it, ſaith, 'That the lands of the inhabitants of this kingdom were granted to them in in'heritance of the king, and by the common council of the whole kingdom:' Which law doth alſo provide, 'That they ſhall hold their lands and tenements well or quietly, and 'in peace, from all unjuſt tax and tillage:' Which is farther expounded in the laws of Henry the Firſt, chap. 4. 'That no tribute or tax ſhould be taken, but what was due in 'Edward the Confeſſor's time.' So that the *Norman* kings claim no other right in the lands and poſſeſſions of any of their ſubjects, than according to *Engliſh* law and right.

Ll. Gulielm. 55.

And ſo tender were they of *Property* in thoſe times, that when *Juſtice* itſelf became importunate in a caſe, no diſtreſs could iſſue without public warrant obtained: Nor that neither, but upon three complaints firſt made. Nay, when *Rape* and *Plunder* were rife, and men ſeemed to have no more Right to their own than they had Power to maintain, even then was this law a ſufficient ſanctuary to the oppreſſed, by being publicly pleaded at the bar againſt all *Uſurpation*; though it were under the pretence of their conqueror's right itſelf; as by the caſe of Edwin of Sharnbourn, in "Camden's Britannia," plainly appears.

The like obligation to maintain this fundamental law of *Property*, with the appendent rights of the people, was taken by William Rufus, Henry the Firſt, Stephen, Henry the Second, Richard the Firſt, John, and Henry the Third: Which brings me to that famous law called *Magna Charta*, or "The Great Charter of England," of which more anon; it being my deſign to ſhew, that nothing of the eſſential rights of Engliſhmen was thereby, *de novo*, granted, as in civility to king Henry the Third it is termed; but that they were therein only repeated and confirmed. Wherefore I ſhall return to antecedent times, to fetch down the remaining rights.

The ſecond part of this firſt fundamental is, *Liberty of Perſon*. The Saxons were ſo tender in the point of impriſonment, that there was little or no uſe made of it: Nor would they ſo puniſh their bond-men; *vinculis coercere rarum eſt*.

In caſe of debt or damage, the recovery thereof was either by a delivery of the juſt value in Goods; or, upon the ſheriff's ſale of the goods, in Money; and if that ſatisfied not, the Land was extended: And when all was gone, they were accuſtomed to make their laſt Seizure upon the party's Arms, and then he was reputed an undone man, and caſt upon the charity of his friends for ſubſiſtence: But his perſon was never impriſoned

Ll. Edw.

for the debt: No, not in the King's caſe. And to the honour of King Alfred be it ſpoken, ' He impriſoned one of his Judges for impriſoning a man in that caſe.'

Ll. Alfr. cap. 1. and 31.

We find among his laws this paſſage, *Qui immerentem paganum vinculis conſtrinxerit, decem ſolidis noxam ſarcito:* ' That if a man ſhould impriſon his vaſſal or bond-man unjuſtly, his purgation of that offence ſhould not be leſs than the payment of ten ſhillings:' A ſum very conſiderable in thoſe days, more than ten pounds now.

Ll. Gulielm. cap. 42. 49. 55.
Ll. Hen. 1. cap. 5.

Nor did the revolution from *Saxon* to *Norman* drop this privilege: For beſides the general confirmation of former rights by William, ſurnamed the Conqueror, his ſon Henry the Firſt particularly took ſuch care of continuing *this part of property* inviolable, that, in his time, no perſon was to be impriſoned for committing of mortal crime itſelf, unleſs he were firſt attainted by the verdict of twelve men; that is, a jury, which was to be of the neighbourhood.

Thus much for the firſt of my three fundamentals, *Right of Eſtate*, and *Liberty of Perſon:* That is to ſay, I am no man's Bond-man, and what I poſſeſs is *abſolutely mine own.*

II. *A Voting of every Law that is made, whereby that Ownerſhip or Property may be maintained.*

This ſecond fundamental of our Engliſh government, was no incroachment upon the kings of more modern ages, but extant long before the *Great Charter* made in the reign of Hen. III. even as early as the *Britons* themſelves; and that it continued to the time of Hen. 3. is evident from ſeveral inſtances.

Lib. 5. 6.

Cæſar, in his Commentaries, tells us, ' That it was the cuſtom of the Britiſh cities to ' elect their General or Commander in chief, in caſe of War?' Dion aſſures us, in the life of Severus the Emperor, ' That in Britain the People held a ſhare in Power and Government; which is the modeſteſt conſtruction his words will bear. And Tacitus, in the Life of Agrippa, ſays, ' They had a Common Council; and that one great reaſon of their overthrow by the Romans, was, their not *conſulting with*, and *relying upon*, their *Common Council.* Again, both Beda and Mat. Weſtminſter tell us, ' That the *Britons* ' ſummoned a Synod, choſe their Moderator, and expelled the Pelagian Creed.' All which ſuppoſes popular aſſemblies, with power to order national affairs.

Cap. 12.

And indeed, the learned author of the " Britiſh Councils" gives ſome hints to this purpoſe, ' That they had a Common Council, and called it *Kyfr-y-then.*'

The *Saxons* were not inferior to the *Britons* in this point; and ſtory furniſheth us with more and plainer proofs. They brought this Liberty along with them, and it was not likely they ſhould loſe it, by tranſporting themſelves into a country where they alſo found it. Tacitus reports it to have been generally the *German* Liberty; like unto the *Concio* of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

They called their freemen *Frilingi;* and theſe had votes in the making and executing the general laws of the kingdom.

Concil. Brit. 162.
Ll. Sax. Lam.

In Ethelbert's time, after the monk Auſtin's inſinuations had made his followers a part of the government, the *Commune Concilium* was *tam Cleri quam Populi*, ' as well Clergy ' as People.' In Ina's time, *ſuaſu & inſtituto epiſcoporum, omnium ſenatorum & natu majorum ſapientum populi;* ' Biſhops, Lords, and Wiſe Men of the People.' Alfred after him reformed the former laws, *conſulto ſapientum*, ' by the advice of the ſages of ' the kingdom.' Likewiſe matters of public and general charge, in caſe of war, &c. we have granted in the aſſembly, *Rege, Baronibus & Populo;* ' by the King, Barons ' and People.' And though the *Saxon* word properly imports ' the Meeting of Wiſe ' Men,' yet *All* that would come might be preſent, and interpoſe their like or diſlike of the preſent propoſition: As that of Ina, *in magnâ ſervorum Dei frequentiâ.* Again, *Commune concilium ſeniorum & populorum totius regni;* ' the Common Council of the ' Elders or Nobles, and People of the whole Kingdom.' The Council of Winton, Ann. 855. is ſaid to be in the preſence of the Great Men, *aliorumq; fidelium infinitâ multitudine;* ' and an infinite multitude of other faithful people;' which was nigh Four hundred years before the *Great Charter* was made.

Ll. Sax. Lam. p. 1.
Concil. Brit. 19. Ingulph.

Spelm. Gloſſ. Tit. Gemote, f. 261.

My laſt inſtance of the Saxon ages ſhall be out of the *Gloſſary* of the learned Engliſh Knight, H. Spelman: ' The Saxon *Wittangemote*, or parliament,' ſaith he, ' is a Convention of the *Princes*, as well *Biſhops* as *Magiſtrates*, and the *Free People* of the kingdom:' And that the ſaid *Wittangemote* conſulted of the Common Safety in peace and war, and for the promotion of the common good.

Ll. Gulielm. c. 55.

William of Normandy choſe rather to rely upon the People's *Conſent*, than his own *Power* to obtain the Kingdom. He ſwore to them to maintain their *Old Laws* and *Privileges;* they to him *Obedience*, for his ſo governing of them: For, as a certain author hath it, ' He bound himſelf to be *juſt*, that he might be *great;* and the people to ſubmit to *juſtice*, that they might be *free.*' In his Laws, C. 55. ' We by the Common ' Council of the whole Kingdom, have granted the People's Lands to them in Inheritance, according to their Ancient Laws.'

Matters of general expence upon the whole body of the people, were ſettled by this Great Council, eſpecially in the *charge of arms* impoſed upon the ſubject. The law ſaith it to have been done by the *commune concilium* of the *Kingdom*. Ll. Gulielm. Cap. 58.

So W. Rufus and Henry the Firſt, were received by the *common conſent* of the *people*. And Stephen's words were, *Ego* Stephanus, *Dei gratia, aſſenſu cleri & populi in regno Angliæ electus*, &c. 'I Stephen, by the Grace of God, and Conſent of the Clergy and People, choſen King of England,' &c. So King John was choſen, *tam cleri quam populi unanimi conſenſu & favore*; 'By the Favour and Unanimous *Conſent* of the 'Clergy and People: And his Queen is ſaid to have been crowned *de communi conſenſu & concordi voluntate archiepiſcoporum, comitum, baronum, cleri & populi totius regni*, i. e. 'By the common aſſent and unanimous good-will of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Counts, 'Barons, Clergy and People of the whole Kingdom.' King Edw. I. alſo deſired money of the *commune concilium*, or Parliament, 'As you have given in my time, and that 'of my progenitors, Kings,' &c. Spicileg. W. Malmſ. C. Hiſt. p. 101. Cart. moder. fœder. mag. ſigil. Anno 1. Joh. ex Vet. Reg. in Arch. Cantuar. Archiepiſcop. Rot. Cart. Ann. 5. Joh. Memb. 5. n. 29.

All which ſhows, that it was *antecedent* to the Great Charter; not the rights therein *repeated* and *confirmed*, but the *Act itſelf*.

And King John's reſignation of the crown to the Pope, being queſtioned upon ſome occaſion in Edward III.'s time, it was agreed upon, 'That he had no *Power* to do it, 'without the Conſent of the Dukes, Prelates, Barons, and Commons.' Rot. Par. 40. Ed. 3. n. 78.

And as paradoxical as any may pleaſe to think it, 'tis the great intereſt of a Prince, that the People ſhould have a *ſhare* in the making of their own laws: Where 'tis otherwiſe, they are no Kings of Free-men, but Slaves, and thoſe their enemies for making them ſo. *Leges nullâ aliâ cauſâ nos tenent, quam quod judicio populi receptæ ſunt*; 'The laws,' ſaith Ulpian, 'do therefore *oblige* the people, becauſe they are allowed of 'by their *judgment*.' And Gratian, in Dec. Diſtinct. 4. *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modo inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*: 'It is then,' ſaith he, 'that human laws have their due force, when they ſhall 'not only be deviſed, but confirmed by the approbation of the people.'

1. It makes men diligent, and increaſeth Trade, which advances the revenue: For where men are not free, they will never ſeek to improve, becauſe they are not ſure of what they have, and leſs of what they get.

2. It frees the Prince from the jealouſy and hate of his people; and conſequently, the troubles and danger that follow; and makes his province eaſy and ſafe.

3. If any inconvenience attends the execution of any law, the Prince is not to be blamed: It is their own fault that made it.

I ſhall now proceed to the Third Fundamental, and by plain evidence prove it to have been a material part of the government, before the Great Charter was enacted.

III. *The People have an Influence upon, and a Great Share in, the Judicatory Power, &c.*

That it was a *Britiſh* cuſtom, I will not affirm, but have ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe: For if the *Saxons* had brought it with them, they would alſo have left it behind them, and in all likelihood there would have been ſome footſteps in *Saxony* of ſuch a law or cuſtom, which we find not. I will not enter the liſts with any about this: This ſhall ſuffice me, that we find it early among the *Saxons* in this country; and if they, a Free people in their own country; ſettling themſelves here as a new planted colony, did ſupply what was defective in their own government, or add ſome new freedom to themſelves, as all planters are wont to do; which are as thoſe firſt and corner-ſtones, their poſterity, with all care and ſkill, are to build upon, *That* itſelf will ſerve my turn to prove it a *Fundamental*: That is, ſuch a Firſt Principle in our Engliſh government, by the agreement of the People, as ought not to be violated. I would not be underſtood of the number, but of the way of trial: I mean, 'That men were not to be condemned but by the Votes of the Freemen.'

N. Bacon thinks that in ruder times the multitude tried all among themſelves; and fancies it came from the *Grecians*, who determined controverſies by the ſuffrage of 34, or the major part of them.

Be it as it will, *Juries* the *Saxons* had; for in the laws of King Etheldred, about Three hundred years before the entrance of the Norman Duke, we find enacted, *In ſingulis centuriis*, &c. thus Engliſhed, 'In every hundred let there be a court, and let 'twelve ancient freemen, together with the Lord of the Hundred, be ſworn, that 'they will not condemn the innocent, or acquit the guilty.' And ſo ſtrict were they of thoſe ages, in obſerving this fundamental way of judicature, that Alfred put one of his judges to death, for paſſing ſentence upon a verdict (corruptly obtained) upon the votes of the jurors, *Three* of *Twelve* being in the negative. If the *Number* was ſo ſacred, what was the *Conſtitution it ſelf?* Ll. Sax. Lam. Ann. 675.

The very ſame King executed another of his judges, for paſſing ſentence of death upon an *Ignoramus* returned by the jury; and a third, for condemning a man upon an inqueſt taken *ex officio*, when-as the delinquent had not put himſelf upon their trial. More of his juſtice might be mentioned even in this very caſe.

There was alſo a law made in the time of Ætheldred, when the *Britons* and *Saxons* began to grow tame to each other, and intercommon amicably, that ſaith, ‘Let there be Twelve Men of Underſtanding, &c. Six *Engliſh*, and Six *Welſh*, and let them deal juſtice, both to *Engliſh* and *Welſh*.’

Ll. Etheld. cap. 3. Lamb. Ll. Inæ. Ll. Canut.

Alſo in thoſe ſimple times, if a crime extended but to ſome *Shameful Puniſhment*, as *Pillory* or *Whipping* (the laſt whereof, as uſual as it has been with us, was inflicted only upon their Bondmen) the penance might be reduced to a *Ranſom*, according to the nature of the fault; but it muſt be aſſeſſed in the preſence of the Judge, and by the *Twelve*, that is, the Jury of *Frilingi*, or Freemen.

Hitherto ſtories tell us of *Trials by Juries*, and thoſe to have conſiſted, in general terms, of *Freemen*: But *Per Pares*, or by *Equals*, came after, occaſioned by the conſiderable *Saxons* neglecting that ſervice, and leaving it to the *inferior* people, who loſt the Bench, *Their Ancient Right*, becauſe they were not thought company for a Judge or Sheriff: And alſo from the growing pride of the *Danes*, who ſlighted ſuch a *Rural Judicature*, and deſpiſed the fellowſhip of the mean *Saxon Freemen* in publick ſervice. The wiſe *Saxon* King perceiving this, and the dangerous conſequence of ſubmitting the *Lives* and *Liberties* of the *inferior* (but not leſs *uſeful* people) to the dictates of any ſuch *Haughty Humour*; and, on the other hand, of ſubjecting the *Nobler Sort* to the ſuffrage of the *inferior rank*, did, with the advice of his *Wittangemote*, or *Parliament*, provide a third way, more equal and grateful, and by agreement with Gunthurn the *Dane*, ſettled the *Law of Peers*, or *Equals*; which is the *Envy of Nations*, but the *Famous Privilege* of our *Engliſh People*: One of thoſe Three Pillars the fabrick of this ancient and Free Government ſtands upon.

This benefit gets ſtrength by time, and is received by the Norman Duke and his ſucceſſors; and not only confirmed in the lump of other privileges, but in One Notable Caſe for all; which might be brought to prove, that the Fundamental Privileges, mentioned in the Great Charter, 9 of Hen. 3. were *before it*. The ſtory is more at large delivered by our learned Selden: But thus, ‘William having given his half brother Odo a large territory in Kent, with the Earldom, and he taking advantage at the King's being diſpleaſed with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome of the Lands of that See, Landfrank, that ſucceeded the Archbiſhop, informed hereof, petitioned the King for juſtice, *ſecundum legem terræ*, according to the law of the land: Upon which the King ſummoned a *County Court*, where the debate laſted three days, before the *Freemen* of *Kent*, in the preſence of *Lords* and *Biſhops*, and others ſkilful in the law, and the judgment paſſed for the Archbiſhop, *Upon the Votes of the Freemen*.’

Spicileg. 197.

By all which it is, I hope, ſufficiently and inoffenſively manifeſted, that theſe three principles, viz.’

1. *That* Engliſh *men have the alone right of poſſeſſion and diſpoſition of what is theirs*;
2. *That they are parties to the laws of their country, for the maintenance thereof*;
3. *That they have an influence upon, and a real ſhare in, the Judicatory Power, that applies thoſe laws*;

have been the *ancient rights* of the Kingdom, and common *baſis* of the Government; that which Kings, under all revolutions, have ſworn to maintain, and hiſtory affords us ſo many precedents to confirm. So that the *Great Charter* made in the 9th of Henry III. was not the *nativity*, but *reſtoration* of ancient *privileges* from abuſes. No grant of *new rights*, but a *new* grant, or *confirmation* rather, of *ancient laws* and *liberties*, violated by King John, and reſtored by his ſucceſſor, at the expence of a long and bloody war; which ſhewed them as reſolute to keep, as their anceſtors had been careful to make, thoſe excellent laws.

And ſo I am come to the *Great Charter*, which is comprehenſive of what I have already been diſcourſing, and which I ſhall briefly touch upon, with thoſe ſucceſſive *Statutes* that have been made in honour and preſervation of it.

I ſhall rehearſe ſo much of it as falls within the conſideration of the foregoing matter (which is a great deal in a little), with ſomething of the formality of *Grant* and *Curſe*; that this age may ſee with what Reverence and Circumſpection our Anceſtors governed themſelves in confirming and preſerving of it.

9 Hen. 3.

‘Henry by the Grace of God King of England, &c. To all Archbiſhops, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Provoſts, Officers, unto all Bailiffs, and our faithful Subjects, who ſhall ſee this preſent Charter, Greeting: Know ye, that we, unto the Honour of Almighty God, and for the Salvation of the Souls of our Progenitors, and our Succeſſors, Kings of England, to the Advancement of Holy Church, and Amendment of our Realm, of our *meer and free will* have given and granted to all Archbiſhops, &c. and to all *Freemen* of this our Realm, theſe Liberties underwritten, to be holden and kept in this our Realm of England for evermore.’

Tho' in honour to the King, it is ſaid to be out of his *mere and free will*, as if it were his mere favour, yet the qualification of the perſons he is ſaid to grant the enſuing liberties to, ſhews, that they are terms of formality, viz. *To all Freemen of this Realm.* Which ſuppoſes there were *Freemen* before this grant; and that character alſo implies they muſt have had *Laws* and *Liberties*: conſequently, this was not an infranchiſing of them, but a *confirming* to Freemen their juſt privileges they had before. The words of the charter are theſe:

' A *Freeman* ſhall not be *amerced* for a ſmall fault, but *after the quantity of the fault*; Cap. 14.
and for a great fault, after the manner thereof, ſaving to him his *Contenements or Freehold*: And a *Merchant* likewiſe ſhall be amerced, ſaving to him his merchandize; and none of the ſaid amercements ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by the oath of good and honeſt men of the vicinage.'

' No Freeman ſhall be taken or *impriſoned*, nor be *diſſeiſed of his Freehold* or *Liberties*, or *free Cuſtoms*; or be outlawed or exiled, or any other ways deſtroyed; nor we Cap. 29.
ſhall not paſs upon him, nor condemn him, but by *lawful judgment of his Peers*, or *by the Law of the Land*. We ſhall ſell to no man, we ſhall deny or defer to no man, either juſtice or right.'

I ſtand amazed, how any man can have the confidence to ſay, ' Theſe privileges were extorted by the Barons Wars,' when the King declares, that what he did herein, was done *freely*: Or that they were new privileges, when the very tenor of the word proves the contrary: For *Freehold*, *Liberties*, or *Free Cuſtoms*, are by the Charter itſelf ſuppoſed to be in the poſſeſſion of the Freemen at the making and publiſhing thereof. For obſerve, *No Freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned*: Then he was free: This Liberty is his Right. Again, *No Freeman ſhall be diſſeiſed of his Freehold, Liberties, & Free Cuſtoms.* Then certainly he was in poſſeſſion of them: And that great Doctor in the laws of England, Chief Juſtice Cook, in his Proem to the 2d Part of his *Inſtitutes*, tells us, that ' theſe laws and liberties were gathered and obſerved, amongſt others, in an intire volume, by King Edward the Confeſſor; confirmed by William, ſurnamed the Conqueror; which were afterwards ratified by Henry the Firſt; enlarged by Henry the Second, in his Conſtitutions at Clarendon; and after much conteſt, and blood ſpilt, between King John and the Barons concerning them, were ſolemnly eſtabliſhed at Running-Mead by Stanes: And laſtly, brought to their former ſtation, and publiſhed by this King Henry the Third, in the 9th year of his reign.'

And though evil Counſellors would have provoked him to void his father's act and his own, as if the firſt had been the effect of *Force*, the other of *Non-age*; yet it ſo pleaſed Almighty God, who hath ever been propitious to this ungrateful iſland, that in the 20th year of his reign, he did confirm and compleat this Charter, for a perpetual eſtabliſhment of liberty to all *Free-born Engliſhmen*, and their heirs for ever: Ordaining, *Quod contravenientes per dominum regem, cum convicti fuerint, graviter puniantur*, i. e. ' That whoſoever ſhould act any thing contrary to theſe laws, upon conviction, ſhould be grievouſly puniſhed by our Lord the King.' And in the 22d year of his reign, it was confirmed by the Statute of Marleb, Chap. 5. And ſo venerable an eſteem have our anceſtors had for this Great Charter, and ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary have they thought it to their own and poſterity's felicity, that it hath been above Thirty times ratified and commanded, under great penalties, to be put in execution.

Here are the three fundamentals comprehended, and expreſſed to have been the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen.

I. Ownerſhip, *conſiſting of Liberty and Property. In that it ſuppoſes* Engliſhmen *to be* free, *there's* Liberty: *Next, that they have* Freeholds, *there's* Property.

II. *That they have the* Voting of their own Laws: *For that was an ancient free cuſtom, as I have already proved, and all ſuch cuſtoms are expreſſly confirmed by this* Great Charter: *Beſides, the People helped to make it.*

III. *An influence upon, and a real* Share in, the Judicatory Power, *in the Execution and Application thereof.*

This is a ſubſtantial part, thrice provided for in thoſe ſixteen lines of the Great Charter before rehearſed: " 1. That no Amercement ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by oath of good and honeſt men of the vicinage. 2. Nor we ſhall not paſs upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his peers. 3. Or by the law of the land:" Which is ſynonimous, or a ſaying of equal ſignification, with lawful judgment of peers: For *Law of the Land*, and *Lawful Judgment of Peers*, are the *proprium quarto modo*, or eſſential qualities, of theſe chapters of our Great Charter; being communicable *omni ſoli & ſemper*, to all and every clauſe thereof alike.

Chief Juſtice Cook well obſerves, in his Second Inſtitutes, that *per legem terræ*, or by the law of the land, imports no more than a " Trial by Proceſs, and Writ origi-

"ginally at Common Law;" which cannot be without the lawful judgment of *Equals*, or a *Common Jury*: Therefore *per legale judicium parium*, by the lawful judgment of Peers, and *per legem terræ*, by the law of the land, plainly ſignify the ſame privilege to the people. So that it is the judgment of the *Freemen* of *England*, which gives the *Caſt*, and turns the *Scale*, in Engliſh Juſtice.

Theſe being ſo evidently proved by long uſe, and ſeveral laws, to have been the Firſt Principles, or Fundamentals, of the Engliſh Free Government, I take leave to propoſe this queſtion: ‘May the Free People of England be juſtly diſſeiſed of all, or ‘any, of theſe Fundamentals without their Conſent Collectively?’

Anſw. With ſubmiſſion, I conceive, *Not*; for which I ſhall produce, firſt my Reaſons, then Authorities.

I. Through the Britiſh, Saxon, and Norman times, the people of this iſland have been reputed and called *Freemen* by Kings, Parliaments, Records and Hiſtories: And as a *Son* ſuppoſes a *Father*, ſo *Freemen* ſuppoſe *Freedom*. This qualification imports an abſolute Right: Such a right as none has right to diſſeiſe or diſpoſſeſs an Engliſhman of: Therefore an unalterable fundamental part of the government.

II. It can never be thought, that they intruſted any Repreſentatives with theſe capital privileges, farther than to uſe their beſt ſkill to ſecure and maintain them. They never ſo delegated or impowered any men, that, *de jure*, they could deprive them of that qualification? And *à facto ad jus, non valet argumentum*: For the queſtion is not, "What *may* be done?" but "What *ought* to be done?" Overſeers and Stewards are impowered not to *alienate*, but preſerve and improve, other mens inheritances. *No Owners* deliver their ſhip and goods into any man's hands to give them away, or run upon a rock; neither do they conſign their affairs to agents or factors without Limitations. All *Truſts* ſuppoſe ſuch a fundamental Right in them that give them, and for whom the truſts are, as is altogether indiſſolvable by the Truſtees. The Truſt is, the Liberty and Property of the People; the Limitation is, that it ſhould not be invaded, but inviolably preſerved, according to the Law of the Land.

III. If *ſalus populi* be *ſuprema lex*, the ſafety of the people the higheſt law (as ſay ſeveral of our ancient famous lawyers and law-books); then, ſince the aforeſaid Rights are as the Sinews that hold together this Free Body Politick, it follows, they are at leaſt a part of the Supreme Law, and therefore ought to be a rule and limit to all ſubſequent legiſlation.

IV. The Eſtate goes before the Steward; the Foundation before the Houſe; People before their Repreſentatives; and the Creator before the Creature. The Steward lives by preſerving the Eſtate; the Houſe ſtands by reaſon of its Foundation; the Repreſentative depends upon the People, as the Creature ſubſiſts by the Power of its Creator.

Every *Repreſentative* may be called, the *Creature of the People*, becauſe the People make them, and to them they owe their being. Here is no Tranſeſſentiating, or Tranſubſtantiating of Being, from People to Repreſentative; no more than there is an abſolute Transferring of a Title in a *Letter of Attorney*.

The very term *Repreſentative* is enough to the contrary; wherefore as the Houſe cannot ſtand without its Foundation, nor the Creature ſubſiſt without its Creator; ſo can there be no *Repreſentative* without a *People*, nor that *People free*, (which all along is intended, as inherent to, and inſeparable from, the Engliſh People) without *Freedom*; nor can there be any *Freedom* without ſomething be *Fundamental*.

In ſhort, I would fain know of any man how the Branches can cut up the Root of the Tree that bears them? How any Repreſentative, that has not only a meer *Truſt to preſerve Fundamentals*, the People's Inheritance; but that is a Repreſentative that makes Laws, by virtue of this Fundamental Law, viz. *That the People have a Power in Legiſlation* (the 2d Principle proved by me) can have a right to remove or deſtroy that Fundamental? The Fundamental makes the People *Free*; this Free People makes a *Repreſentative*: Can this Creature unqualify its Creator? What Spring ever roſe higher than its Head? the Repreſentative is at beſt but a true Copy, an Exemplification; the Free People are the Original, not cancellable by a Tranſcript: And if that Fundamental which gives to the people a Power of *Legiſlation*, be not nullable by that Repreſentative, becauſe it makes them what they are; much leſs can that Repreſentative diſſeiſe men of their Liberty and Property, the Firſt Great Fundamental, that is, Parent of this other; and which intitles to a Share in making Laws for the preſerving of the firſt inviolable.

Nor is the Third Fundamental other than the neceſſary production of the two firſt, to intercept *Arbitrary Deſigns*, and make *Power Legal*: For where the people have not a *Share in Judgment*, this is, in the application, as well as making of the law, the other two are imperfect; open to daily invaſion, ſhould it be our infelicity ever to have a violent Prince. For as Property is every day expoſed, where thoſe that have it are deſtitute of power to hedge it about by *Law-making*; ſo thoſe that have both, if they have not a Share in the Application of the Law, how eaſily is that hedge broken down?

And indeed, as it is a moſt juſt and neceſſary, as well as ancient and honourable Cuſtom, ſo it is the Prince's intereſt: For ſtill the people are concerned in the inconveniences with him, and he is freed from the temptation of doing arbitrary things, and their importunities, that might elſe have ſome pretence for ſuch addreſſes, as well as from the miſchiefs that might enſue ſuch actions. It might be enough to ſay, that there are above *Fifty Statutes* now in print, beſides its venerable antiquity, that warrant and confirm this *legale judicium parium ſuorum*, or the "Trial of Engliſhmen by their "Equals."

But I ſhall hint at a few inſtances: The firſt is, the Earl of Lancaſter, in the 14th of Edw. II. adjudged to die without lawful trial of his Peers: And afterwards Henry Earl of Lancaſter, his brother, was reſtored. The reaſons given were two: 1. 'Be-'cauſe the ſaid Thomas was not *arraigned* and put *to anſwer*. 2. That he was put 'to death *without anſwer*, or *lawful judgment* of his *Peers*.' The like proceedings were in the caſe of John of Gaunt, p. 39. *Coram Rege*. And in the Earl of Arundel's caſe. *rot. parl.* 4 Edw. III. N. 13. Alſo in Sir John Alee's caſe, 4 Edw. III. N. 2. Such was the deſtruction committed on the Lord Haſtings in the Tower of London, by Richard III. But above all, the attainder of Thomas Cromwel, Earl of Eſſex, who was attainted of high treaſon, as appears, *rot. parl.* 32 Hen. VIII. of which, ſaith Chief Juſtice Cook, as I remember, 'Let oblivion take away the memory of ſo 'foul a fact, if it can; if not, however, let ſilence cover it.'

'Tis true, there was a ſtatute obtained in the 11th of Henry VIIth, in defiance of the Great Charter, which authorized ſeveral exactions, contrary to the free cuſtoms of this realm; particularly in the caſe of *Juries*, both *aſſeſſing* and *puniſhing* by *Juſtices* of *Aſſize*, and of the *Peace*, without the fining and preſentment of *Twelve Freemen*. Empſon and Dudley were the great actors of thoſe oppreſſions; but they were hanged for their pains, and that illegal ſtatute repealed in the firſt of Henry the VIIIth. Ch. 6.

The conſequence is plain; that Fundamentals give rule to *Acts of Parliament*; elſe why was the Statute of the 8th Edw. IV. Ch. 2. of *Liveries* and *Information*, by the diſcretion of the judges, to ſtand as an *Original*, and this of the 11th of Henry the VIIth, repealed as *illegal?* For therefore any thing is unlawful, becauſe it tranſgreſſeth a law. But what law can an *Act of Parliament* tranſgreſs, but that which is fundamental? Therefore *Trial* by *Juries*, or lawful judgment of *Equals*, is by *Acts of Parliament* confeſſed to be a *fundamental* part of our government. And becauſe Chief Juſtice Cook is ſo generally eſteemed an Oracle of the Law, I ſhall in its proper place preſent you with his judgment upon the whole matter.

V. Theſe Fundamentals are unalterable by a *Repreſentative*, which were the reſult and agreement of *Engliſh Freemen*, collectively; the ancienter times not being acquainted with Repreſentatives: For then the *Freemen* met in their own Perſons. In all the *Saxon* ſtory we find no mention of any ſuch thing; for it was the *King*, *Lords* and *Freemen*: The *Elders* and *People*. And at the Council of Winton, in 855. is reported to have been preſent, "The great men of the kingdom, and an *Infinite mul-* Ll. Sax. Lam.
"*titude* of other faithful people." Alſo at that of King Ina, "The Common Coun-
"cil of the Elders and People of the whole kingdom:" That is, the moſt or genera- Concil. Brit.
lity of the Freemen of the kingdom; for all might come that pleaſed. It is not to 219. Ingulph.
be doubted but this continued after the *Norman* times; and that at *Running-Mead*, by *Stanes*, the *Freemen* of *England* were perſonally preſent at the *Confirmation* of that *Great Charter*, in the reign of King John. But as the ages grew more humane, and free with reſpect to *Villains* and *Retainers*, and that the Number of *Freemen* increaſed, there was a *neceſſity* for a *Repreſentative*; eſpecially, ſince Fundamentals were long ago agreed upon, and thoſe *Capital Privileges* put out of the reach and power of a little number of men to endanger. And ſo careful were the Repreſentatives of the People, in the time of Edward the Third, of ſuffering their Liberties and Free Cuſtoms to be infringed, that 'in matters of extraordinary weight, they would not Cook 4. Inſt.
'determine, till they had firſt returned to, and conferred with, their ſeveral Counties Fol. 14. n. 34.
'or Boroughs that delegated them.' Thus the *Parl. Rolls* of his time.

Several Authorities *in confirmation of the* Reaſons *before mentioned.*

So indubitably are theſe Fundamentals the *People's Right*, and ſo neceſſary to be preſerved, that Kings have ſucceſſively known no other ſafe or legal paſſage to their crown and dignity, than their ſolemn obligation inviolably to maintain them. 'So ſacred 'were they reputed in the days of Henry the IIId, that not to continue or confirm 'them, was to affront God, and to damn the ſouls of his progenitors and ſucceſſors; 'and to depreſs the Church, and deprave the Realm: That the Great Charter, com-'prehenſive of them, ſhould be allowed as the *Common Law of the Land*, by all Offi-

‘ cers of Juſtice; that is, the *Lawful Inheritance of all Commoners:* That all Statute Laws or Judgments whatſoever, made in oppoſition thereunto, ſhould be null and void: That all the Miniſters of State, and Officers of the Realm, ſhould conſtantly be ſworn to the obſervation thereof.’ And ſo deeply did after-parliaments reverence it, and ſo careful were they to preſerve it, that they both confirmed it by *Thirty-two ſeveral Acts,* and enacted *Copies* to be taken and lodged in each cathedral of the realm, to be read four times a year publickly before the People: As if they would have them more obliged to their Anceſtors for redeeming and tranſmitting thoſe privileges, than for begetting them: And that ‘ twice every year, the Biſhops, apparelled in their Pontificals, with tapers burning, and other ſolemnities, ſhould pronounce the greater excommunication againſt the infringers of the *Great Charter,* though it were but in word or counſel;’ for ſo ſaith the Statute. I ſhall, for farther ſatisfaction, repeat the Excommunication or Curſe pronounced both in the days of Henry the Third and Edward the Firſt.

The Sentence of the Curſe given by the Biſhops, with the King's Conſent, againſt the Breakers of the Great Charter.

‘ IN the year of our Lord 1253, the third day of May, in the great Hall of the King at Weſtminſter, in the preſence, and by the conſent, of the Lord Henry, by the Grace of God King of England, and the Lord Richard, Earl of Cornwall, his brother; Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, Marſhal of England; Humphrey, Earl of Oxford; John, Earl Warren; and other eſtates of the realm of England; We Boniface, by the Mercy of God, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of England, F. of London, H. of Ely, S. of Worceſter, E. of Lincoln, W. of Norwich, P. of Hereford, W. of Saliſbury, W. of Durham, R. of Exceſter, M. of Carlile, W. of Bath, A. of Rocheſter, T. of St. David's, Biſhops, apparelled in Pontificals, with tapers burning, againſt the breakers of the Church's Liberties, and of the Liberties and other Cuſtoms of this Realm of England, and namely theſe which are contained in the Charter of the common Liberties of England, and Charter of the *Foreſt,* have denounced ſentence of excommunication in this form: By the authority of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, &c. of the bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul, and of all Apoſtles, and of all Martyrs, of bleſſed Edward King of England, and of all the Saints of Heaven; we excommunicate and accurſe, and from the benefit of our Holy Mother, the Church, we ſequeſter, all thoſe that hereafter willingly and maliciouſly deprive or ſpoil the Church of her right; and all thoſe that by any craft or willingneſs do violate, break, diminiſh, or change the Church's Liberties, and Free-Cuſtoms contained in the Charters of the common Liberties, and of the *Foreſt,* granted by our Lord the King, to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of England, and likewiſe to the Earls, Knights, and other Freeholders of the Realm; and all that ſecretly and openly, by deed, word, or counſel, do make ſtatutes, or obſerve them being made, and that bring in Cuſtoms, to keep them, when they be brought in, againſt the ſaid Liberties, or any of them, and all thoſe that ſhall preſume to judge againſt them; and all and every ſuch perſon before mentioned, that wittingly ſhall commit any thing of the premiſes, let them well know, that they incur the aforeſaid ſentence, *ipſo facto.*’

The Sentence of the CLERGY, againſt the Breakers of the *Articles* before-mentioned.

IN the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, Amen. Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, to the honour of God, and of Holy Church, and for the common profit of the realm, hath granted for him, and his heirs for ever, theſe articles above-written, Robert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, admoniſhed all his province once, twice and thrice, becauſe that ſhortneſs will not ſuffer ſo much delay as to give knowledge to all the People of England, of theſe preſents in writing: We therefore enjoin all perſons, of what eſtate ſoever they be, that they and every of them, as much as in them is, ſhall uphold and maintain theſe articles granted by our Sovereign Lord the King, in all points: And all thoſe that in any point do reſiſt or break, or in any manner hereafter procure, counſel, or in any wiſe aſſiſt to reſiſt or break thoſe ordinances, or go about it, by word or deed, openly or privily, by any manner of pretence or colour; We, the aforeſaid Archbiſhops, by our authority in this writing expreſſed, do excommunicate and accurſe, and from the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and from all the company of Heaven, and from all the ſacraments of holy church, do ſequeſter and exclude.

We may here ſee, that in the obſcureſt times of *Popery,* they were not left without a ſenſe of Juſtice, and a care of Freedom; and that even *Papiſts,* whom many think no friends to Liberty and Property, under dreadful penalties, enjoin an inviolable obſervance of this Great Charter, by which they are confirmed. And though I am no Roman-Catholick, and as little value their other Curſes pronounced upon Religious Diſſenters, yet I declare ingenuouſly, I would not, for the world, incur this Curſe; as every man deſervedly doth, that offers violence to the fundamental freedoms thereby repeated and confirmed. And that any Church, or Church Officers, in our age, ſhould have ſo little reverence to Law, Excommunication or Curſe, as to be the men that either vote or countenance ſuch ſeverities as bid defiance to the Curſe, and tear this Memorable Charter in pieces, by diſſeiſing Freemen of England of their Freeholds, Liberties and Properties, without *Juries*, or merely for the inoffenſive exerciſe of their conſcience to God in matters of religion, is a civil ſort of ſacrilege.

I know it is uſually objected, ‘That a great part of the Charter is ſpent on the behalf of the Roman Church, and other things, now aboliſhed; and if one part of the Great Charter may be repealed, or invalidated, why not the other?’

But to this I anſwer, That the True Fundamentals in the Charter are not the leſs firm or forceable, or inviolable for that; becauſe they do not ſtand upon that *Act*, though it was in honour of them, but the *Ancient* and *Primitive Inſtitution* of the *Kingdom*. If the *Petition of Right* were repealed, the *Great Charter* were nevertheleſs in force; it not being the Original Eſtabliſhment, but a Declaration and Confirmation of that Eſtabliſhment. But thoſe things that are abrogable, or abrogated in the Great Charter, were never a part of the Fundamentals, but hedged in by the *Clergy*, and allowed by the *Barons* upon preſent emergency. Beſides, that which I have hitherto maintained to be the Common and Fundamental Law of the Land, is ſo reputed, and farther ratified, by the *Petition of Right*, 3 Car. I. which was long ſince the *Church of Rome* loſt her ſhare in the *Great Charter*. Nor did it relate to matters of Faith and Worſhip, but Temporalities only; the Civil Intereſt, or Propriety, of the Church. But with what pretence to mercy or juſtice, can the *Proteſtant Church* retain the *Engliſh Part* of the Charter, without conforming to *Rome*, and yet now *cancel* the Engliſh Part itſelf to every *Free-born Engliſhman* that will not conform to *her*? But no more of this at this time; only give me leave to remind a ſort of active men in our times, that the cruel Infringers of the People's Liberties, and Violaters of theſe Noble Laws, did not eſcape with bare Excommunications and Curſes; for ſuch was the venerable eſteem our Anceſtors had for theſe Great Privileges, and deep ſolicitude to preſerve them from the defacings of time, or uſurpation of power, that king Alfred executed *Forty Judges*, for warping from the Ancient Laws of the Realm. Hubert de Burgo, Chief Juſtice of England, in the time of Edw. I. was ſentenced by his peers in open Parliament, for adviſing the king againſt the *Great Charter*. Thus the Spencers, both father and ſon, for their *Arbitrary rule* and *evil counſel* to Edw. II. were exiled the realm. No better ſucceſs had the actions of Treſilian and Belknap: And as for Empſon and Dudley, though perſons of quality, in the time of King Henry the Seventh, the moſt ignominious death of our country, ſuch as belongs to Theft and Murder, was hardly ſatisfaction enough to the kingdom, for their *uncharteral* proceeding. I ſhall chuſe to deliver it in the words of Chief Juſtice Cook, a man whoſe learning in law hath, not without reaſon, obtained him a venerable character of our Engliſh nation.

‘There was,’ ſaith he, ‘an Act of Parliament made in the 11th year of King Henry the Seventh, which had a fair flattering preamble, pretending to avoid divers miſchiefs; which were, Firſt, To the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God. Secondly, The great let of the common law. And, Thirdly, The great let of the wealth of this land. And the purven of that act tended, in the execution, contrary, *ex diametro*, viz. To the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and the great let, nay, the utter ſubverſion, of the common law, and the great let of the wealth of this land, as hereafter ſhall appear; the ſubſtance of which act follows in theſe words:’

THAT from henceforth, as well juſtices of aſſize, as juſtices of the peace, in every county, upon information for the king before them made, without any finding or preſenting by Twelve men, ſhall have full power and authority, by their diſcretion, to hear and determine all offences, as riots, unlawful aſſemblies, &c. committed and done againſt act or ſtatute made, and not repealed, &c.

‘By pretext of this law, Empſon and Dudley did commit upon the ſubject inſufferable preſſure and oppreſſions; and therefore this ſtatute was juſtly, ſoon after the deceaſe of Hen. VII. repealed at the next parliament, by the ſtatute of 1 Hen. VIII. chap. 6.

‘A good caveat,’ ſays he, ‘to parliaments, to leave all cauſes to be meaſured by the golden and ſtrait metwand of the law, and not to the uncertain and crooked cord of diſcretion.’ He goes on,

‘It is almoſt incredible to foreſee, when any maxim, or fundamental law of this realm is altered (as elſewhere hath been obſerved) what dangerous inconveniences do follow: Which moſt expreſſly appears by this *Moſt Unjuſt* and *Strange Act* of the 11th of Hen, VII. For hereby not only Empſon and Dudley themſelves, but ſuch juſtices of peace (corrupt men) as they cauſed to be authorized, committed moſt grievous and heavy oppreſſions and exactions: Grinding the faces of the poor ſubjects by penal laws (be they never ſo obſolete or unfit for the time) by Information only, without any Preſentment or Trial by Jury, *Being the Ancient Birthright of the Subject*; but to hear and determine the ſame by their diſcretions; inflicting ſuch penalty as the ſtatutes, not repealed, impoſed. Theſe and other like oppreſſions and exactions, by the means of Empſon and Dudley, and their inſtruments, brought infinite treaſure to the king's coffers; whereof the king himſelf, at the end, *with great grief and compunction repented,* as in another place we have obſerved.

'This ſtatute of the 11th of Hen. VII. we have recited, and ſhewed the juſt inconveniences thereof; to the end that the like ſhould never hereafter be attempted in any court of parliament; and that others might avoid the fearful end of thoſe two time-ſervers, Empſon and Dudley, *qui eorum veſtigiis inſiſtant, exitus perhorreſcant.*' Thus much Chief Juſtice Cook.

I am ſure, there is nothing I have offered in defence of Engliſh Law-doctrine, that riſeth higher than the judgment and language of this great man; the preſervation and publication of whoſe labours became the care of a Great Parliament. And it is ſaid of no inconſiderable lawyer, that he ſhould thus expreſs himſelf in our occaſion, viz. 'The Laws of England were never the Dictates of any Conqueror's Sword, or the Placita of any King of this nation; or,' ſaith he, 'to ſpeak impartially and freely, the reſult of any Parliament that ever ſat in this land.'

Thus much for the nature of *Engliſh Rights*, and the reaſon and juſtice for their inviolable maintenance. I ſhall now offer ſome more general conſiderations, for the preſervation of Property, and therein hint at ſome of thoſe miſchiefs that follow ſpoiling it for Conſcience ſake, both to prince and people.

I. The reaſon of the Alteration of the Law ought to be the diſcommodity of Continuing it; but there can never be ſo much as the leaſt inconveniency in continuing that of *Liberty* and *Property*; therefore there can be no juſt ground for infringing, much leſs abrogating, the laws that ſecure them.

II. No man in England is born Slave to another; neither hath one right to inherit the ſweat of the other's brow, or reap the benefit of his labour, but by Conſent; therefore no man ſhould be deprived of his Property, unleſs he injure another man's, and then by legal judgment.

III. But certainly nothing is more unreaſonable, than to ſacrifice the Liberty and Property of any man (being his Natural and Civil Rights) for *Religion*, where he is not found breaking any law relating to natural and civil things. Religion, under any modification, is no part of the Old Engliſh Government. *Honeſtè vivere, alterum non lædere, jus ſuum cuique tribuere*, are enough to intitle every native to Engliſh privileges. A man may be a very good *Engliſhman*, and yet a very indifferent *Churchman*. Nigh three hundred years before Auſtin ſet his foot on Engliſh ground, had the inhabitants of this iſland a *Free Government*. It is want of diſtinguiſhing between It and the Modes of Religion, which fills every clamorous mouth with ſuch impertinent cries as this, "Why do not you ſubmit to the *Government?*" As if the Engliſh Civil Government came in with *Luther*, or were to go out with *Calvin*. What prejudice is it for a *Popiſh Landlord* to have a *Proteſtant Tenant*; or a *Preſbyterian Tenant* to have an *Epiſcopalian Landlord?* Certainly, the *Civil Affairs* of all Governments in the world, may be peaceably tranſacted under the different *Liveries* or *Trims* of Religion, where Civil Rights are inviolably obſerved.

Nor is there any intereſt ſo inconſiſtent with Peace and Unity, as *That* which dare not ſolely rely upon the Power of Perſuaſion, but affects Superiority, and ſeeks after an Earthly Crown. This is not to act the Chriſtian, but the *Cæſar*; not to promote Property, but Party, and make a Nation drudges to a Sect.

Be it known to ſuch narrow ſpirits, we are a Free People by the Creation of God, the Redemption of Chriſt, and careful Proviſion of our (never to be forgotten) Honourable Anceſtors: So that our claim to theſe Engliſh privileges riſing higher than the date of Proteſtancy, can never juſtly be invalidated for Nonconformity to any form of it. This were to loſe by the Reformation; which God forbid! I am ſure it was to enjoy Property, with Conſcience, that promoted it. Nor is there a much better definition of Proteſtancy, than "*Proteſting againſt ſpoiling Property for Conſcience.*" I muſt therefore take leave to ſay, that I know not how to reconcile what a great man lately delivered in his eloquent ſpeech to the Houſe of Lords: His words are theſe:

'For when we conſider Religion in Parliament, we are ſuppoſed to conſider it as a Parliament ſhould do, and as Parliaments in all ages have done; that is, as it is a Part of our Laws; a Part, and a neceſſary part, of our Government: For as it works upon the Conſcience, as it is an *Inward Principle* of the *Divine Life*, by which good men

‘ do govern all their actions, *the State hath nothing to do with it*: It is a thing which ‘ belongs to another kind of commiſſion, than that by which we ſit here.’

I acquieſce in, and honour, the latter part of this diſtinction, taking it to be a venerable truth; and would to God mankind would believe it, and live it: But how to agree it with the former, I profeſs ignorance: For if the Government had nothing to do with the Principle itſelf, what more can ſhe pretend over the Actions of thoſe men, who live that *good life?* Certainly, if Religion be an Inward Principle of *Divine Life*, exerting itſelf by holy living, and that, as ſuch, it belongs not to the commiſſion of our ſuperiors, I do with ſubmiſſion conceive, that there is very little elſe of Religion left for them to have to do with: The reſt merits not the name of Religion, and leſs doth ſuch a Formality deſerve Perſecution. I hope ſuch circumſtances are no neceſſary part of Engliſh Government, that cannot reaſonably be reputed a neceſſary part of Religion: And, I believe he is too great a divine and lawyer, upon ſecond thoughts, to repute that ‘ a Part of our Laws, a Part and a Neceſſary Part of our Government,’ that is ſuch a part of religion as is neither the “ Divine Principle,” nor yet the “ Actions immediately “ flowing from it;” ſince the Government was moſt complete and proſperous many ages without it, and hath never known more perplexed conteſts and troubleſome interruptions, than ſince it hath been received and valued as a part of the Engliſh Government: And God, I hope, will forbid it, in the hearts of our ſuperiors, that Engliſhmen ſhould be deprived of their *Civil Inheritance* for their *Nonconformity* to Church Formality: For “ no Property out of the Church” (the plain Engliſh of public ſeverity for Nonconformity) is a maxim that belongs not to the Holy Law of God, or Common Law of the Land.

IV. If Liberty and Property muſt be the forfeit of Conſcience for Nonconformity to the Prince's Religion, the prince and his religion ſhall only be loved as the next beſt acceſſion to other mens eſtates; and the prince perpetually provoked to expoſe many of his inoffenſive people to Beggary, for what is no fault at Common Law.

V. It is our ſuperiors intereſt, that Property be preſerved, becauſe it is their own caſe; None have more property than themſelves. But if property be expoſed for religion, the civil magiſtrate expoſes both his conſcience and property to the Church, and diſarms himſelf of all defence upon any alteration of judgment. This is plainly for the *Prince* to hold under the *Prelate*, and the *State* to ſuffer itſelf to be rid by the *Church*.

VI. It obſtructs all Improvement of Land and Trade; for who will labour that hath Property, or hath it expoſed to an unreaſonable ſort of men, for the bare exerciſe of his conſcience to God? And a poor Country can never make a rich and powerful Prince. Heaven is therefore Heaven, to good and wiſe men, becauſe they are to have an *Eternal Propriety* therein.

VII. This ſort of procedure, hitherto oppoſed, on the behalf of Property, puts the whole nation upon miſerable uncertainties, that are followed with great diſquiets and diſtractions; which certainly it is the intereſt of all government to prevent: The reigns of Hen. VIII. Edward VI. Q. Mary and Q. Eliz. both with relation to the Marriages of the firſt, and the Religious Revolutions of the reſt, are a plain proof in the caſe.

King *Henry* voids the Pope's Supremacy, and aſſumes it himſelf. Comes *Edw.* VI. and enacts *Proteſtancy*, with an oath to maintain it. 1 Q. *Mary*, Ch. 1. this is abrogated: *Popery* ſolemnly reſtored; and an oath inforced to defend it: And this queen repeals alſo all laws her father made againſt the *Pope*, ſince the 12th of Hen. VIII. Next follows Q. *Elizabeth*, and repeals *her* laws, calls back *Proteſtancy*, ordains a new oath, to un-oath queen *Mary*'s oath; and all this under the penalty of loſing *Eſtate*, *Liberty*, and ſometimes *Life* itſelf; which, thouſands, to avoid, lamentably perjured themſelves, *four or five times over*, within the ſpace of twenty years. In which ſin, the clergy tranſcended: *Not an hundred for* every *thouſand*, but left their Principles for their Pariſhes. Thus hath conſcience been debauched by force, and property toſſed up and down by the impetuous blaſts of ignorant zeal, or ſiniſter deſign.

VIII. Where Liberty and Property are violated; there muſt always be a State of Force: And though I pray God that we never need thoſe cruel remedies, whoſe calamitous effects we have too lately felt, yet certainly, ſelf-preſervation is of all things deareſt to men; inſomuch that being not conſcious to themſelves of having done an ill thing, they, to defend their unforfeited privileges, chearfully hazard all they have in this world: So very ſtrangely vindictive are the ſons of men, in maintenance of their rights. And ſuch are the cares, fears, doubts and inſecurities of that adminiſtration, as render empire a ſlavery, and dominion the worſt ſort of bondage to the poſſeſſor. On the contrary, nothing can give greater chearfulneſs, confidence, ſecurity and honour to any Prince, than ruling by Law; for it is a conjunction of Title with Power, and attracts Love as well as it requires Duty.

Give me leave, without offence (for I have God's evidence in my own conſcience, I intend nothing but a reſpectful caution to my ſuperiors) to confirm this reaſon, with the judgment and example of other times. The governors of the Eleans held a ſtrict hand over

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over the people; who, deſpairing of relief at home, called in the Spartans, and by their help freed all their cities from the ſharp bondage of their natural Lords.

The ſtate of Sparta was grown powerful, and oppreſſed the Thebans: They, though but a weak people, whetted by deſpair, and the proſpect of greater miſeries, did, by the Athenians, deliver themſelves from the Spartan yoke.

Nor is there any other conſiderable reaſon given for the ruin of the Carthaginian ſtate, than avarice and ſeverity. More of this is to be found in Rawleigh's Hiſtory of the World, l. 3. who hath this witty expreſſion in the ſame ſtory, l. 5. of a Severe Conduct: 'When a forced government,' ſaith he, 'ſhall decay in ſtrength, it will ſuffer, as did the old Lion, for the oppreſſion done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, goared by the Bull, and *kicked* alſo by the *Aſs*:' The ſenſeleſs mob.

This loſt Cæſar Borgia his new and great conqueſts in Italy. No better ſucceſs attended the ſevere hand held over the people of Naples, by Alphonſo and Ferdinand. It was the undue ſeverity of the Sicilian governors, that made the Syracuſians, Leontines and Meſſenians ſo eaſy a conqueſt to the Romans. An harſh anſwer to a petitioning people loſt Rehoboam Ten Tribes. On the contrary, in Livy, Dec. 1. l. 3. we find, That Petilia, a city of the Brutians in Italy, choſe rather to endure all extremity of war from Hannibal, than upon any condition to deſert the Romans, who had governed them moderately, and by that gentle conduct procured their *Love*; even then, when the Romans ſent them word, 'they were not able to relieve them, and wiſhed them to provide for their own ſafety.'

N. Machiavel, in his Diſcourſes upon Livy, p. 542. tells us, 'That one act of Humanity was of more force with the conquered Faliſci, than many violent acts of Hoſtility:' Which makes good that ſaying of Seneca, *Mitius imperanti melius paretur*; 'They are beſt obeyed, that govern moſt mildly.'

IX. If theſe ancient Fundamental Laws, ſo agreeable with Nature, ſo ſuited to the diſpoſitions of our nation, ſo often defended with Blood and Treaſure, ſo carefully and frequently ratified by our anceſtors, ſhall not be, to our great pilots, as Stars or Compaſs for them to ſteer the veſſel of this kingdom by, or Limits to their Legiſlature; no man can tell how long he ſhall be ſecure of his coat, enjoy his houſe, have bread to give his children, liberty to work for bread, and life to eat it. Truly, this is to juſtify what we condemn in Roman Catholicks. It is one of our main objections, that their *Church* aſſumes a power of impoſing *Religion*, thereby denying men the liberty of walking by the rules of their own *Reaſon* and *Conſcience*, and Precepts of *Holy Writ*: To whom we oppoſe both. We ſay, the Church is tied to act nothing contrary to Reaſon; and that Holy Writ is the declared Law of Heaven; which to maintain, power is given to the True Church. Now let us apply this argument to our civil affairs, and it will certainly end in a reaſonable Limitation of our Legiſlators, that they ſhould not impoſe that upon our underſtandings, which is inconſiſtent with them to embrace; nor offer any the leaſt violation to common right. Do the Romaniſts ſay, "Believe as the Church believes?" Do not the Proteſtants, and, which is harder, Legiſlators ſay ſo too? Do we ſay to the Romaniſts, at this rate, "Your obedience is blind, and your ignorance is the mother of devotion?" Is it not alſo true of ourſelves? Do we object to them, "This makes your religion uncertain, one thing to-day, and another to-morrow?" Doth not our own caſe ſubmit us to the like variation in Civils? Have we not long told them, that, "under pretence of obeying the Church, and not controuling her power, ſhe hath raiſed a ſuperſtructure inconſiſtent with that foundation ſhe pretends to build upon?" And are not we the men in Civils, that make our privileges rather to depend upon Men than Laws, as ſhe doth upon Councils, not Scripture? If this be not Popery in Temporals, what is?

It is humbly beſeeched of ſuperiors, that it would pleaſe them to conſider what reflection ſuch ſeverity juſtly brings upon their proceedings; and remember, that in their ancient delegations, it was not to define, reſolve, and impoſe matters of religion, and ſacrifice civil privileges for it; but, to maintain the people's properties, according to the ancient fundamental laws of the land, and to add ſuch ſtatutes only, as were conſiſtent with, and preſervative of, thoſe fundamental laws.

Laſtly, To conclude this head: My plain and honeſt drift has been, to ſhow that *Church* Government is no eſſential part of the old *Engliſh* Government, and to diſintangle Property from Opinion; the untoward knot, which the clergy for ſeveral ages have tied, which is not only the people's right, but our ſuperiors intereſt to undo; for it galls both people and prince. For, where property is ſubjected to Opinion, the Church interpoſes, and makes ſomething elſe requiſite to enjoy property, than belongs to the Nature of property; and the reaſon of our poſſeſſion is not our Right by, and Obedience to, the *Common Law*, but Conformity to *Church Law*, or Laws for Church Conformity. A thing dangerous to civil government, ſince it is an alteration of old Engliſh tenure, a ſuffering the Church to trip up and ſupplant the State; and a making people to owe their protection not to the *Civil* but *Eccleſiaſtical* authority. For let the Church be my friend, and all is well; make her my foe, and I am made her prey, let *Magna Charta* ſay what ſhe will for me: Hy horſes, cows, ſheep, corn, goods, go firſt, my perſon to goal next, for all that: Behold, ſome *Church Trophies* made at the conqueſt of a peaceable Diſſenter!

This is that anxious thing: May our ſuperiors pleaſe to weigh it in the equal ſcale of "doing as they would be done by:" Let thoſe Common Laws that fix and preſerve Property, be the Rule and Standard of their legiſlation and adminiſtration. Make *Engliſhmens* Rights as inviolable, as *Engliſh Church* Rights: Diſintangle and diſtinguiſh them: And let no man ſuſtain *Civil Puniſhments* for *Eccleſiaſtical Faults*, but for ſins againſt the ancient, eſtabliſhed *Civil Government* only; that the natures of acts and rewards may not be confounded. So ſhall the civil magiſtrate preſerve law, ſecure his civil dignity and empire, and make himſelf beloved of Engliſhmen; whoſe cry is, and the cry of whoſe laws hath ever been, 'Property rather than Opinion; Civil Rights 'not concerned with Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, nor forfeitable for Religious Nonconformity.'

But tho' an inviolable preſervation of Engliſh Rights of all things beſt ſecureth to our ſuperiors the love and allegiance of the people; yet there is ſomething farther, that, with ſubmiſſion, I offer to their ſerious conſideration, which in the ſecond place concerns their intereſt, and the people's felicity; and that is their Diſagreement about Religion, notwithſtanding their unanimous cry for Property; a prudent management of which may turn to the great quiet, honour and profit of the king and kingdom.

CHAP. II.

Of our Superiors governing themſelves upon a Ballance, as near as may be, towards the ſeveral religious Intereſts.

II. *Of a Ballance, reſpecting Religious Differences. Eight Prudential Reaſons why the Civil Magiſtrate ſhould embrace it. Three Objections anſwered. A Comprehenſion conſidered, but a Toleration Preferred, upon Reaſon and Example.*

TO perform my part in this point, being the ſecond branch of my anſwer to the queſtion, I ſhall not at this time make it my buſineſs to manifeſt the inconſiſtency that there is between the Chriſtian Religion, and a forced Uniformity; not only becauſe it hath been ſo often and excellently done by men of wit, learning and conſcience, and that I have elſewhere largely delivered my ſenſe about it; but becauſe every free and impartial temper hath of a long time obſerved, that ſuch barbarous attempts were ſo far from being indulged, that they were moſt ſeverely prohibited by Chriſt himſelf; who inſtructed his diſciples, "to love their Enemies," and not to perſecute their Friends for every difference in Opinion: That the Tares ſhould grow with the Wheat: That his kingdom is not of *this* world: That *Faith* is the gift of GOD: That the *Will* and *Underſtanding* of men are faculties not to be worked upon by any corporal penalties: That TRUTH is all-ſufficient to her own relief: That *Error* and *Anger* go together: That *Baſe Coin* only ſtands in need of *impoſition* to make it current, but that *true metal* paſſeth for its own *intrinſick value*; with a great deal more of that nature. I ſhall therefore chuſe to oppoſe myſelf, at this time, to any ſuch ſeverity, upon mere prudence; that ſuch as have *no* religion (and certainly they that *perſecute* for religion, have as little as need to be) may be induced to tolerate them that have. Firſt, However adviſable it may be, in the judgment of ſome worldly-wiſe men to prevent, even by force, the ariſing of any *New Opinion*, where a kingdom is univerſally of another mind; eſpecially if it be odious to the people, and inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the government; it cannot be ſo, where a kingdom is of *many* minds, unleſs ſome one party hath all the Wiſdom, Wealth, Number, ſober Life, Induſtry and Reſolution on its ſide; which I am ſure is not to be found in England. So that the wind hath plainly ſhifted its corner, and conſequently obliges to another courſe: I mean, England's circumſtances are greatly changed, and they require new expedients and another ſort of application.

Phyſicians vary their medicines according to the revolution and the mixture of diſtempers. They that ſeek to tie the government to abſolute and inadequate methods (ſuppoſing them once apt, which Cruelty in this caſe never was) are not friends to its intereſt, whatever they may be to their own. If our ſuperiors ſhould make it their buſineſs ſo to prefer *one party*, as to depreſs or deprive the *reſt*, they inſecure themſelves, by making their friends their enemies, who before were one another's. To be ſure it createth hatred between the party advanced, and thoſe depreſſed. Jacob's preferring Joſeph, put his brethren upon that conſpiracy againſt him.

I will allow that they may have a more particular favour for the Church party, than for any other perſuaſion, but not more than for all other parties in England: That certainly would break the Ballance; the keeping up of which, will make every party to owe its tranquillity to their prudence and goodneſs, which will never fail of returns of love and loyalty. For ſince we ſee each intereſt looks jealouſly upon the other, 'tis reaſonable to believe, they had rather the dominion ſhould lodge where it is, while impartial in their judgment, than to truſt it with any one ſort of themſelves.

Many inquiſitive men into human affairs have thought, that the Concord of Diſcords hath not been the infirmeſt baſis government can riſe or ſtand upon: It hath been obſerved, that leſs ſedition and diſturbance attended Hannibal's army, that conſiſted of many Nations, than the Roman Legions, that were of one People. It is marvellous how the wiſdom of that General ſecured them to his deſigns: Livy ſaith, 'That 'his army for thirteen years, that had roved up and down the Roman Empire, made 'up of many countries, divers languages, laws, cuſtoms, religions, under all their 'ſucceſſes of war and peace, *never mutinied*.' Malvetzy, as well as Livy, aſcribes it to that Variety, well managed by the General.

By the like prudence Jovianus and Theodoſius Magnus brought tranquillity to their Empire, after much rage and blood for Religion.

In Nature we alſo ſee, all heat conſumes, all cold kills; that three degrees of cold to two of heat, not only allay the heat, but introduce the contrary quality, and overcool by a degree: But two degrees of cold, to two of heat, make a *poize* in elements, and a *balance* in nature.

The like in Families: It is not probable that a maſter ſhould have his work ſo well done, at leaſt with that love and reſpect, who continually ſmiles upon *one* ſervant, and ſeverely frowns upon all the *reſt*; on the contrary, it is apt to raiſe feuds amongſt ſervants, and turn duty into revenge, at leaſt contempt. In fine, it is to make our ſuperiors dominion leſs than God made it, and to blind their eyes, ſtop their ears, and ſhut up their breaſts, from beholding the miſeries, hearing the cries, and redreſſing the grievances of a vaſt number of people under their charge, vexed in this world, for their *belief* and inoffenſive *practice* about the next.

Secondly, It is the intereſt of governors to be put upon no thankleſs offices; that is, to blow no coals in their own country, eſpecially when it is to conſume their people, and, it may be, themſelves too: Not to be the Cat's Foot, nor to make work for themſelves, or fill their own hands with trouble, or the kingdom with complaints. It is to forbid them the uſe of Clemency, wherein they ought moſt of all to imitate God Almighty, "whoſe Mercy is above all his works;" and renders them a ſort of Extortioners to the people, the moſt remote from the end and goodneſs of their office. In ſhort, it is the beſt receipt that their enemies can give, to make them uneaſy to the country.

Thirdly, It not only makes them enemies, but there is no ſuch excitement to revenge, as a raped conſcience. He that hath been forced to break his peace, to gratify the humour of another, muſt have a great ſhare of mercy and ſelf-denial to forgive that injury, and forbid himſelf the pleaſure of retribution upon the authors of it: For revenge, in other caſes condemnable of all, is here looked upon by too many to be the next way to expiation. To be ſure, whether the grounds of their diſſent be rational in themſelves, ſuch ſeverity is unjuſtifiable with them; for this is a maxim with ſufferers, 'Whoever is in the wrong, the *perſecutor* cannot be in the *right*.' Men, not conſcious to themſelves of evil, and harſhly treated, not only reſent it unkindly, but are bold to ſhew it.

Fourthly, Suppoſe the Prince, by his ſeverity, conquers any into a compliance, he can upon no prudent ground aſſure himſelf of their fidelity, whom he hath taught to be treacherous to their own convictions. Wiſe men rarely confide in thoſe whom they have debauched from truſt to ſerve themſelves: At beſt it reſembleth but forced marriages, that ſeldom prove happy to the parties. In ſhort, Force makes *Hypocrites*, 'tis *Perſuaſion* only that makes Converts.

Fifthly, This partiality, of ſacrificing the Liberty and Property of all Diſſenters to the promotion of a ſingle Party, be they good or ill men, as it is the lively repreſentation of J. Calvin's *Horrendum Decretum*; ſo the conſequences of the one belong unto the other; it being but that ill-natured principle put into *practice*. Men are put upon the ſame deſperate courſes, either to have no conſcience at all, or to be hanged for having a conſcience not faſhionable: For, let them be virtuous, let them be vicious, if they fall not in with that *mode* of religion, they muſt be *reprobated* to all civil and eccleſiaſtical intents and purpoſes. Strange! that men muſt either deny their Faith and Reaſon, or be deſtroyed for acting according to them, be they otherwiſe never ſo peaceable. What power is this, or rather what principle? But that men are to be protected upon Favour, not Right or Merit; and that no merit out of the public church-dreſs ſhould find acceptance, is ſevere. We juſtly blame that father, that narrows his paternal love to ſome one of his children, though the reſt be not one jot leſs virtuous than the favourite: Such injuſtice can never flow from a ſoul actuated by Reaſon, but a mind governed by Fancy, and enſlaved to Paſſions.

Sixthly, Conſider, Peace, Plenty, and Safety, the three great inducements to any country to honour the Prince, and love the Government, as well as the beſt allurements to Foreigners to trade with it and tranſport themſelves to it, are utterly loſt by ſuch partialities; for inſtead of Peace, Love and good Neighbourhood, behold Animoſity and Conteſt! One neighbour watches another, and makes him an offender for his conſcience: This divides them, their families and acquaintance; perhaps, with them, the Towns and Villages where they live: And moſt commonly, the Sufferer hath the Pity, and the Perſecutor the Odium, of the Multitude. And truly when people ſee cruelty practiſed upon their inoffenſive neighbours, by a troubleſome ſort of men, and thoſe countenanced by a law, it breedeth ill blood againſt the government. Certainly, haleing people to goals, breaking open their houſes, ſeizing of their eſtates, and that without all proportion; leaving wives without their huſbands, and children without their parents, and their families, relations, friends and neighbours, under amaze and trouble, is almoſt as far from the peace of a well-governed kingdom, as it is from the Meekneſs of Chriſtianity.

Plenty will be hereby exchanged for Poverty, by the deſtruction of many thouſand families within this realm, who are greatly inſtrumental for the carrying on of the moſt ſubſtantial Commerce therein; men of Virtue, good Contrivance, great Induſtry; whoſe labours not only keep the pariſhes from the trouble and charge of maintaining them and theirs, but help to maintain the Poor, and are great contributors to the King's Revenue by their Traffick. This very ſeverity will make more Bankrupts in the kingdom of England in ſeven years, than have been in it upon all other accounts in ſeven ages: Which conſequence, how far it may conſiſt with the credit and intereſt of the government, I leave to better judgments.

This ſort of great ſeverity that hath been lately, and ſtill is, uſed amongſt us, is like to prove a great check to that readineſs, which otherwiſe we find in foreigners to trade with the inhabitants of this kingdom; for if men cannot call any thing their *own*, under a Different Exerciſe of Conſcience from the National Way of Religion, their correſpondents may juſtly and prudently ſay, 'We will not farther concern ourſelves 'with men that ſtand upon ſuch tickliſh terms: What know we but ſuch perſons are 'ruined in their eſtates, by reaſon of their *Non-Conformity*, before ſuch time as we 'ſhall be reimburſed for money paid, or goods delivered: Nay, we know not how ſoon 'thoſe who are Conformiſts, may be Non-conformiſts, or what revolutions of coun'cils may happen, ſince the Fundamental Laws, ſo jealous of the People's Property, 'are ſo little valued by ſome of their own magiſtrates; for though we are told of very 'worthy and excellent laws in England, for the ſecurity of the People's Rights, yet 'we are alſo told, that they all hang at the Church's Girdle; inſomuch as no *Church-'Conformity*, no *Property*; which is, *No Churchman*, *No Engliſhman*. So that in 'effect the Rights of their Country depend upon the Rights of their Church; and 'thoſe Churches have taken their turn ſo often, that a body knows not how to ma'nage one's ſelf ſecurely to one's own affairs, in a correſpondence with any of them. 'For in King Henry the Eighth's days, *Popery* was the only orthodox religion, and 'Zuinglius, Luther, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, &c. were great Hereticks. In 'Edward the Sixth's time, they were Saints, and *Popery* was Idolatry. A few years 'after, Queen Mary makes the *Papiſts* Holy Church, and *Proteſtancy* Hereſy. About 'ſix years compleats her time, and Queen Elizabeth enters her reign, in which Pro'teſtants are *Good Chriſtians*, and the Church of Rome the *Whore of Babylon*. In 'her reign, and that of King James, and King Charles the Firſt, ſprung the *Puritans*, 'who divided themſelves into *Preſbyterians*, and *Independents*; the Biſhops exclaim'ed againſt them for *Schiſmaticks*, and they againſt the Biſhops for *Papiſtical* and '*Antichriſtian*. In the Long Parliament's time, the *Preſbyterian* drives out the *Biſhop*; 'O. Cromwel defeating them, and ſending the Preſbyterian to keep company with 'the Biſhop, confers it moſtly upon the *Independent* and *Anabaptiſt*, who kept it 'through the other fractions of government, till the *Preſbyter* and *Biſhop* got it *from* 'them: And the *Biſhop* now from the *Preſbyter*: But how long it will reſt there, who 'knows?' Thus a foreigner may juſtly argue.

Nor is my ſuppoſition idle or improbable, unleſs moderation take place of ſeverity, and *Property* the room of puniſhment for Opinion; for that muſt be the laſting ſecurity, as well as that it is the fundamental right of *Engliſh People*.

There is alſo a farther conſideration, and that is, the rendering juſt and very good debts deſperate, both at home and abroad, by giving opportunity to the debtors of Diſſenters to detain their dues. Indeed it ſeems a natural conſequence with all, but men of mercy and integrity: 'What ſhould we pay them for,' may they ſay, 'that are 'not in a capacity to demand or receive it, at leaſt to compel us?' Nay, they may plead a ſort of kindneſs to their creditors, and ſay, 'We had as good keep it; for if we pay 'it them, they will ſoon loſe it; 'tis better to remain with us, than that they ſhould 'be pillaged of it by informers;' though want ſhould in the mean time overtake the right owners and their families.

Nor is it unworthy of the moſt deliberate thoughts of our ſuperiors, that the land already ſwarms with beggars; and that there is hardly ſo ready a courſe to increaſe their number, as the ſevere proſecution of Diſſenters, both by making *them* ſuch, and thoſe that their employs have kept from begging all this while: So that though they immediately ſuffer, the kingdom, in the end, muſt be the loſer. For beſides a decay of trade, &c. this driving away of flocks of ſheep, and herds of cattle, ſeizing of barns full of corn, breaking open of doors and cheſts, taking away the beſt goods that thoſe inſtruments of cruelty can find, ſometimes *all*, even to a bed, a blanket, wearing apparel, and the very tools of trade, by which people honeſtly labour to get their bread, till they leave men, women and children, deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, will neceſſitate an extreme advance of the poor's rate in every pariſh of England, or they muſt be ſtarved. O that it would pleaſe them that are in authority, to put a ſtop to this inhuman uſage, leſt the vengeance of the juſt God break forth farther againſt this poor land!

Safety, another requiſite to an happy government, muſt needs be at an end, where the courſe oppugned is followed, by tempting people to irregular methods to be eaſy, or to quit the land. And truly it is but ſome prudent Prince's proclaiming Liberty of Conſcience within his territories, and a door is opened for a Million of people to paſs out of their native ſoil; which is not ſo extremely improved, that it ſhould not want Two or Three hundred thouſand families more than it hath, to advance it; eſpecially at this time of day, when our foreign iſlands yearly take off ſo many inhabitants from us, who, from neceſſity, are made unable to ſtay at home. And as of contraries there is the ſame reaſon, ſo let the government of England but give that prudent invitation to Foreigners, and ſhe maketh herſelf miſtreſs of the arts and manufactures of Europe. Nothing elſe hath preſerved Holland from truckling under the Spaniſh Yoke, and being ruined above Threeſcore years ago, and given her that riſe to wealth and glory.

Seventhly, Nor is this ſeverity only injurious to the affairs of England, but the whole Proteſtant World: For beſides that it calls the ſincerity of their proceedings againſt the Papiſts into queſtion, it furniſheth them with this ſort of unanſwerable interrogatory: 'The Proteſtants exclaim againſt us for Perſecutors, and are they not now the *very* '*men themſelves*? Was ſeverity an inſtance of weakneſs in *our* religion, and is it be- 'come a valid argument in *theirs*? Are not *our* actions (once void of all excuſe with 'them) now defended by *their own* practice? But if men muſt be reſtrained upon pru- 'dential conſiderations from the exerciſe of their conſciences in England, why not the 'ſame in France and Germany, where matters of State may equally be pleaded?' Certainly whatever ſhifts proteſtants may uſe to palliate theſe proceedings, they are thus far condemnable upon the foot of prudence.

Eighthly, Such procedure is a great reflection upon the juſtice of the government, in that it enacts penalties inadequate to the fault committed; viz. That I ſhould loſe my Liberty and Property, fundamental civil privileges, for ſome Error in Judgment about Matters of Religion: As if I muſt not be a *Man*, becauſe I am not *ſuch* a ſort of religious man as the *Government* would have me; but muſt loſe my claim to all Natural Benefits, though I agree with them in Civil Affairs, becauſe I fall not in with the judgment of the Government in ſome points of a Supernatural Import, tho' no real part of the Ancient Government. Perhaps, inſtead of going to the Left-hand, I go to the Right: And whereas I am commanded to hear A. B. I rather chuſe to hear C. D. my reaſon for it being, 'the more religious influence the latter hath over me, 'than the former; and that I find by experience, I am better affected, and more re- 'ligiouſly edified to good living.' What Blemiſh is this to the Government? What Inſecurity to the Civil Magiſtrate? Why may not this man ſell, buy, plow, pay his rents, be as good a ſubject, and as true an *Engliſhman*, as any *Conformiſt* in the Kingdom? Howbeit, fines and goals are very ill arguments to convince ſober mens Underſtandings, and diſſuade them from the continuance of ſo harmleſs a practice.

Laſtly, But there is yet another inconvenience that will attend this ſort of ſeverity, that ſo naturally follows upon our ſuperiors making Conformity to the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church of England, the *ſine quâ non*, or inlet to all Property, and ground of claim to all Engliſh Civil Privileges; to wit, 'That they make a rod, for 'aught they know, to whip their own *Poſterity* with;' ſince it is impoſſible for them to ſecure their *Children* to the Engliſh Church: And if it happen that any of them are never ſo conſcientiouſly of another perſuaſion, they are liable to all the miſeries that may attend the execution of thoſe laws. Such a *King* muſt not be *King*, ſuch *Lords* and *Commons* muſt not ſit in Parliament: Nay, they muſt not adminiſter any Office, be it never ſo inferior, within the Realm, and they never ſo virtuous and capable to do it: Their very *Patrimony* becomes a prey to a pack of lewd Informers, and their perſons expoſed to the abuſe of men, poor or malicious.

But there are Three Objections that ſome make againſt what I have urged, not unfit to be conſidered. The firſt is this: 'If the Liberty deſired be granted, what know 'we but Diſſenters may employ their meetings to inſinuate againſt the Government, 'inflame people into a diſlike of their Superiors, and thereby prepare them for Miſ- 'chief?'

Anſ. This objection may have ſome force, ſo long as our ſuperiors continue ſeverity; becauſe it doth not only ſharpen and excite Diſſenters, but it runs many of them into ſuch holes and corners, that if they were diſpoſed to any ſuch Conſpiracies, they have the ſecureſt places and opportunities to effect their deſign. But what Diſſenter can be ſo deſtitute of Reaſon, and of love to common Safety, as to expoſe himſelf and family, by plotting againſt a Government that is *kind* to them, and gives him the Liberty he deſires, and that he could only be ſuppoſed, in common Senſe, to plot for?

To be ſure, Liberty to worſhip God, according to their ſeveral profeſſions, will be, as the People's Satisfaction, ſo the Government's greateſt Security: For if men enjoy their Property, and their Conſcience, which is the *nobleſt* part of it, without moleſtation, what ſhould they object againſt, or plot for? MAD men only burn their own houſes, kill their own children, and murder themſelves? Doth Kindneſs, or Cruelty, moſt take with men that are themſelves? H. Grotius, with Campanella, well obſerved, 'That a fierce and rugged hand was very improper for Northern Countries.' Engliſhmen are gained with Mildneſs, but inflamed by Severity. And many that do not ſuffer, are apt to compaſſionate them that do. And if it will pleaſe our ſuperiors to make trial of ſuch an Indulgence, doubtleſs they will find peace and plenty to enſue. The practice of other nations, and the trade, tranquillity, power and opulency that have attended it, is a demonſtration in the caſe, and ought not to be ſlighted by them that aim at as high and honourable things for their country. And if we had no other inſtance than our own 'Intervals of Connivance,' they were enough to ſatisfy reaſonable men, how much more Moderation contributes to publick good, than the Proſecution of people for their religious diſſent; ſince the one hath ever produced Trade and Tranquillity; the other, greater Poverty and Diſſenſion.

The ſecond objection, and by far the more weighty, runs thus:

Object. 'The King and Parliament are ſworn to maintain and protect the *Church of England*, as eſtabliſhed, &c. therefore to tolerate *other* opinions is againſt their oath.'

Anſ. Were the conſequence true, as it is not, it were highly unreaſonable to expect Impoſſibilities at their hands. Kings and Parliaments can no more make brick without ſtraw than Captives: They have not ſworn to do things beyond their Ability; if they have, their oaths are void. Had it been in his and their time and choice, when the Church of England had been firſt diſturbed with Diſſenting Opinions, it might have reflected more colourably a kind of neglect upon them: But ſince the Church of England was no ſooner a Church, than ſhe found *ſome* ſort of Diſſenters, and that the utmoſt policy and ſeverity of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles the Firſt, were not ſucceſsful towards an Abſolute Uniformity, why ſhould it reflect upon them, that the Church of England hath not yet rid herſelf of Diſſenting Parties? Beſides, it is notorious, that the late wars gave that opportunity to Differing Perſuaſions to *ſpread*, that it was utterly impoſſible for them to hinder, much leſs during the ſeveral years of the King's Exile; at what time the preſent Parliament was no Parliament, nor the Generality of the Members of it ſcarce of any Authority.

Let it be conſidered, that it was the ſtudy of the age to make people *anti-papiſtical* and *anti-epiſcopal*, and that Power and Preferment went on that ſide. Their circumſtances therefore, and thoſe of their anceſtors, are not the ſame; they found the kingdom divided into ſeveral intereſts; and it ſeems a difficulty inſuperable to reduce them to any *One* Perſuaſion; wherefore, to render themſelves maſters of their affections, they muſt neceſſarily govern themſelves towards them on a *Balance*, as is before expreſſed; otherwiſe, they are put upon the greateſt hazards, and extremeſt difficulties to themſelves and the kingdom, and all to perform the uncharitable office of ſuppreſſing many thouſands of inoffenſive inhabitants, for the different Exerciſe of their Conſciences to God.---It is not to make them reſemble Almighty God, the Goodneſs of whoſe Nature extends itſelf Univerſally, thus to narrow their bowels, and confine their clemency to One Single Party.---It ought to be remembered, that *Optimus* went before *Maximus* of old; and that Power without Goodneſs, is a frightful ſort of a thing.

But Secondly, I deny the conſequence, viz, 'That the King is therefore obliged to perſecute Diſſenters, becauſe he, or the Parliament, hath taken an oath to maintain the Church of England:' For it cannot be ſuppoſed or intended, that by maintaining *her*, they are to deſtroy the *reſt* of the inhabitants. Is it impoſſible to protect her without knocking all the reſt on the head? Do they allow any to ſupplant her clergy, invade her livings, poſſeſs her emoluments, exerciſe her authority? What would ſhe have? Is ſhe not Church of England ſtill, inveſted with the ſame power, bearing the ſame character? What grandeur or intereſt hath ſhe loſt by them? Are they not manifeſtly her protector? Is ſhe not National Church ſtill? And can any of her children be ſo inſenſible, as either to challenge her ſuperiors with want of integrity, becauſe they had not performed impoſſibilities; or to excite them to that harſhneſs, which is not only deſtructive of many thouſands of inhabitants, but altogether injurious to their own intereſt, and diſhonourable to a Proteſtant Church? Suppoſe Diſſenters not to be of the Viſible Church, are they therefore unfit to live? did the Jews treat ſtrangers ſo ſeverely, that had ſo much more to ſay than herſelf? Is not the King Lord of Waſtes and Commons, as well as Incloſures? Suppoſe God hath elected *ſome* to ſalvation, doth it therefore follow he hath reprobated *all the reſt?* And becauſe he was God of the *Jews*, was he not therefore God of the *Gentiles?* Or were not the Gentiles his *People*, becauſe the Jews were his *peculiar* people?

To be brief, they have anſwered their obligation, and conſented to Severe Laws, and commanded their execution, and have not only preferred her *above* every intereſt in *England*, but *againſt* them, to render her more powerful and univerſal; till they have good reaſon to be tired with the lamentable conſequences of thoſe endeavours, and conclude, that the *Uniformity* thereby intended, is a thing impracticable, as well as miſchievous.

And I wonder that theſe men ſhould ſo eaſily forget that great ſaying of King Charles the Firſt, whom they pretend ſo often, and with ſo much honour, to remember, in his advice to the preſent King, where he ſaith,

'Beware of exaſperating any factions, by the croſſneſs and aſperity of ſome mens' 'paſſions, humours, or private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon their 'differences in leſſer matters, which are but the ſkirts and ſuburbs of religion, where- 'in a *Charitable Connivance*, and *Chriſtian Toleration*, often diſſipates their ſtrength, 'whom rougher oppoſition fortifieth, and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed party into 'ſuch combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge upon thoſe they 'count their perſecutors; who are commonly aſſiſted with that vulgar commiſeration, 'which attends all that are ſaid to ſuffer under the common notion of Religion.'

So that we have not only the King's Circumſtances, but his Father's Counſel, upon experience, who yet ſaw not the end of one half of them, defending a Charitable Connivance, and Chriſtian Toleration of Diſſenters.

Obj. 3. But it may be farther alledged, 'This makes way for *Popery*, or *Preſbytery*, 'to undermine the Church of England, and mount the chair of preferment; which is 'more than a prudential indulgence of different Opinions.'

Anſ. And yet there is not any ſo probable an expedient to vanquiſh thoſe fears, and prevent any ſuch deſign, as keeping all intereſts upon the Balance; for ſo the *Proteſtant* makes at leaſt Six Parties againſt *Popery*, and the *Church* of *England* at leaſt Five againſt *Preſbytery:* And how either of them ſhould be able to turn the ſcale againſt Five or Six, as free and thriving intereſts as either of them can pretend to be, I confeſs I cannot underſtand. But if *One* only intereſt muſt be tolerated, which implies a reſolution to ſuppreſs the reſt, plain it is, that the Church of England ventures her ſingle party againſt Six growing intereſts, and thereby gives *Preſbytery* and *Popery* by far an eaſier acceſs to ſupremacy; eſpecially the latter, for that it is the religion of thoſe parts of Europe which neither want inclination nor ability to proſper it. So that beſides the conſiſtency of ſuch an indulgence with the nature of a Chriſtian Church, there can be nothing more in prudence adviſeable for the Church of England, than to allow of the Balance propounded: In the firſt, no perſon of any real worth will ever the ſooner decline her; on the contrary, it will give her a greater reputation in a country ſo hating ſeverity: And next, it gives her opportunity to turn the ſcale againſt any one party that may aſpire to her pulpits and endowments; and ſhe never need to fear the agreement of all of them to any ſuch deſign; *Epiſcopacy* being not more intolerable than *Preſbytery* in power, even to an Independency itſelf; and yet between them lies the narroweſt difference that is among the diſſenting intereſts in this kingdom.

But this ſeems too large and yielding, and therefore to find a Medium, ſomething that may compaſs the happy end of good correſpondence and tranquillity, at leaſt ſo to fortify the Church of England, as that ſhe may ſecurely give law to all other religious intereſts, I hear a *Comprehenſion* is pitched upon, and diligently purſued by both Epiſcopalians and Preſbyterians, at leaſt ſome of each party.

But if it becomes wiſe men to look before they leap; it will not be unadviſeable for them to weigh the Conſequences of ſuch an endeavour.

For, in the firſt place, there is no people I know in England, that ſtands at a greater diſtance from her doctrine, as it is maintained by her preſent ſons, then the *Preſbyterians*, particularly about *Abſolute Reprobation*, the *Perſon* of *Chriſt*, *Satisfaction* and *Juſtification:* And he muſt be a ſtranger in the religious conteſts of our times, that knows not this.

2. In the next place, none have governed themſelves with a plainer denial, and more peremptory contempt of Epiſcopacy, and the whole diſcipline and worſhip of the Church of England, than the Preſbyterians have ever done: let them put me to prove it, if they pleaſe, even of their 'Moſt Reverend Fathers.'

3. Who knows not that their reciprocal heats about theſe very things, went a great way towards our late lamentable civil wars? Now if the ſame principles remain with

each party, and that they are ſo far from repenting of their tenaciouſneſs, that on the contrary they juſtify their diſſent from one another in theſe matters, how can either party have faith enough to rely upon each other's kindneſs, or ſo much as attempt a Comprehenſion? What muſt become of the labours of Biſhop Whitgift, R. Hooker, Biſhop Bancroft, Biſhop Laud, &c. in rebuke of the "Preſbyterian Separation," and the names of thoſe leading Diſſenters, as Cartwright, Dod, Bradſhaw, Rutherford, Galaſpee, &c. ſo famous among the preſent Preſbyterians, and that for their oppoſition to the Church? This conſidered, what reaſon can any render, why the Epiſcopalians ſhould ſo ſingularly provide for, and confide in, an intereſt that hath already been ſo deſtructive to theirs? On the other hand, with what prudence may the Preſbyterians embrace the other's offer, who, to be ſure, intend it not in ſtark kindneſs to them, and who, they muſt needs think, cannot but owe revenge, and retain deep grudges for old ſtories? But

4. The very reaſon given for a Comprehenſion, is the greateſt that can be urged againſt it; namely, 'The ſuppreſſion of other diſſenting perſuaſions.' I will ſuppoſe a Comprehenſion, and the conſequences of it, to be an eradication of all *other* intereſts, the thing deſired: But if the two remaining parties ſhall fall out, as it is not likely that they will along agree, what can the Preſbyterian have to balance himſelf againſt the ruling power of Epiſcopacy? Or the Epiſcopalian to ſecure himſelf againſt the aſpirings of Preſbytery? They muſt either *All* become *Epiſcopalians*, or *Preſbyterians*, elſe they will mix like *Iron* and *Clay*, which made ill legs for the image in Daniel: Nor is it to be thought, that *their* legs ſhould ſtand any better upon a Comprehenſion.

But ſome are ready to ſay, 'That their difference is very minute:' Grant it; Are they ever the more deſerving for that? Certainly, Forbearance ſhould carry ſome proportion with the Greatneſs of the difference, by how much it is eaſier to comply in ſmall than great matters. He that diſſents *fundamentally*, is more excuſable than thoſe that ſacrifice the peace and concord of a ſociety about *little circumſtances*; for there cannot be the ſame inducement to ſuſpect men of obſtinacy in an *eſſential*, as *circumſtantial* non-conformity.

Beſides, how far can this accommodation extend with ſecurity to the Church of England? Or, on what better terms will the Preſbyterians conform to her diſcipline and formal acts of devotion, than thoſe upon which Peter du Moulin offered to preach the Goſpel at Rome? viz. 'That if the Pope would give him leave to preach at 'Rome, he would be contented to preach in a *Fool's Coat*.' I queſtion if the Preſbyterian can go ſo far; I am ſure he could not; and as ſure, that Peter du Moulin hoped, by preaching there in a Fool's Coat, to inculcate that doctrine which ſhould *un-mitre* the Pope, and alter his Church; the very thing the Church of England fears and fences againſt. For Peter du Moulin intended to preach in a Fool's Coat no longer, than till he had preached the people wiſe enough to throw it *off* again. So the Preſbyterians; they may conform to certain ceremonies (once as ſinful to them, as a Fool's Coat could be ridiculous to Peter du Moulin) that they may the better introduce their alterations both in doctrine and diſcipline.

But that which ought to go a great way with our ſuperiors in their judgment of this matter, is not only the benefit of a Balance againſt the preſumption of any One Party, and the probability, if not certainty, of their never being overdriven by any One Perſuaſion, whilſt they have others that will more than poize againſt the growing power of it; but the conceit itſelf, if not altogether impracticable, is at leaſt very difficult to the promoters, and an office as thankleſs from the parties concerned.

This appears in the endeavours uſed for a Comprehenſion of *Arrians* and *Homoouſians* under *One Orthodoxy*, related not only in our common Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, but more amply in the writings of Hilary, an enemy to the Arrians, and Mariana's Spaniſh Hiſtory. Their public teſts, or comprehenſive creeds, were many, Nice, Ariminum, Sirmium, &c. in order to reconcile both parties, that neither might ſtigmatize the other with the odious crime of Hereſy: But the conſequence of all this convocation and prolix debate was, that neither party could be ſatisfied, each continuing their former ſentiments, and ſo grew up into ſtronger factions, to the diviſion, diſtraction, and almoſt deſtruction of the whole empire; recovered a little by the prudent moderation of Jovianus, and much improved, not by a 'Comprehenſion,' but reſtauration of a 'Seaſonable Liberty of Conſcience,' by Theodoſius Magnus.

Alſo in Germany, about the time of the Reformation, nothing ſeemed more ſincere than the deſign of Union between the Lutherans and Zuinglians: For Luther and Zuinglius themſelves, by the earneſt endeavours of the Landgrave of Heſſen, came together; but the ſucceſs was ſo ſmall, notwithſtanding the Grave's mediation, that they parted ſcarcely civil: To be ſure, as far from Unity as Controverſy is.

Luther and Cardinal Cajetan met for a compoſure of the breach betwixt the *Proteſtants* and the *Pope*, but it was too wide for thoſe conferences to reconcile: No Comprehenſion could be practicable. A ſecond eſſay to the ſame purpoſe, was by Melancthon,

lancthon, Caſſander, and others; the conſequence of it was, that the parties were diſpleaſed, and the heads ſuſpected, if not hated of their followers. Nor had Bucer's meeting with Julius Pflugg any better ſucceſs.

And how fruitleſs their endeavours have been, that with greateſt art and induſtry have, of a long time, endeavoured a reconciliation of *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, is well known to thoſe that are acquainted with the affairs of Germany: And ſuch as are not, may furniſh themſelves from the publick relations given by thoſe that are employed about that accommodation: Where, beſides a dull and heavy progreſs, the reader may be a witneſs of their complaint; not only that both parties are too tenacious, but that the mediators ſuffer detraction for their good endeavours; each ſide grudging every tittle they yield, and murmuring as if they were to loſe their religion. And if perſons ſo diſintereſted, and worthy in their attempts, have had no better iſſue, I cannot ſee how thoſe, who ſeem compelled by Worldly Intereſt, more than Conſcience, to ſeek and propagate a Comprehenſion, eſpecially when it determines in the Perſecution of the rejected perſuaſions, can, with any reaſon, expect from God, or good men, any better ſucceſs.

Laſtly, There is nothing any man, touched with juſtice and mercy, can alledge for a Comprehenſion, that may not much better be urged for a Toleration; for the Church is leſs in danger when ſhe knows the worſt, than where the danger is hid: Five enemies without doors being not ſo miſchievous as one within. But they are alſo Men, and Engliſhmen, as well as thoſe of other perſuaſions: Their faith is as Chriſtian, they believe as ſincerely, live as conſcientiouſly, are as uſeful in the kingdom, and manage their diſſent with as much modeſty and prudence, the Church of England herſelf being in great meaſure judge, as thoſe on whoſe account a Comprehenſion may be deſired: To be ſure they are Engliſhmen, and have an equal claim to the civil rights of their native country, with any that live in it; whom to perſecute, whilſt others, and thoſe no better men in themſelves, are more than tolerated, is, as I have already ſaid, ‘The unreaſonable and unmerciful doctrine of *Abſolute Reprobation* put in practice in *Civils*: From which the Lord deliver us.’

CHAP. III.

A ſincere Promotion of General and Practical Religion.

III. *Of* General *and* Practical Religion. *That the Promotion of it is the only* Way *to* take in, *and ſtop the Mouth of, all Perſuaſions, being the Center to which all Parties* verbally *tend, and therefore the Station for a prudent* Magiſtrate *to meet every intereſt in: The Neglect of it pernicious: Inſtances: That it is the* Unum Neceſſarium *to Felicity here and hereafter.*

I Am now come to the laſt, which, to be ſure, is not the leaſt part of my anſwer to the queſtion propounded, viz. ‘The ſincere promotion of *general* and *practical* Religion;’ by which I mean the *Ten Commandments*, or *Moral Law*, and *Chriſt's Sermon* upon *the Mount*, with other heavenly ſayings, excellently improved, and earneſtly recommended, by ſeveral paſſages in the Writings of his Diſciples, which forbid *Evil*, not only in *Deed*, but *Thought*; and enjoin *Purity* and *Holineſs*, as without which, *no man*, be his pretences what they will, *ſhall ever ſee God*. In ſhort, General, True and Requiſite Religion, in the Apoſtle James's definition is, ‘To viſit the widow and fatherleſs, and to keep ourſelves,’ through the Univerſal Grace, ‘unſpotted of the world.’ This is the moſt eaſy and probable way, to fetch in all men profeſſing God and Religion: Since every perſuaſion acknowledges this in words, be their lives never ſo diſagreeable to their confeſſion. And this being the *Unum Neceſſarium*, that one thing needful, to make men happy here and hereafter, why, alas! ſhould men ſacrifice their accord in this great point, for an unity in minute or circumſtantial things, which perhaps is inobtainable; and if it were not, would ſignify little or nothing, either to the good of human ſociety, or the particular comfort of any, in the world which is to come?

No one thing is more unaccountable and condemnable among men, than their uncharitable conteſts about Religion! indeed about Words and Phraſes! whilſt they all verbally meet in the moſt, if not only, neceſſary part of Chriſtian Religion: For nothing is more certain, than if men would but live up to one half of what they know in their own conſciences they ought to practiſe, their edge would be taken off, their blood would be ſweetened by mercy and truth, and this unnatural ſharpneſs qualified. They would quickly find work enough at home, each man's hands would be full by the unrulineſs of his own paſſions, and in ſubjecting of his own will; and inſtead of devouring one another's good name, liberty, or eſtate, compaſſion would riſe, and mutual deſires to be aſſiſtant to each other, in a better ſort of living. Oh! how decent, and how delightful would it be, to ſee mankind, the creation of One God, that hath upheld them to this day, of One Accord, at leaſt in the Weighty things of God's Holy Law!

It is want of Practice, and too much Prate, that have made way for all the Incharity and Ill-living that is in the world. No matter what men *ſay*, if the Devil keep the houſe. Let the Grace of God, the *Principle* of *Divine Life* (as a great man lately called it in his ſpeech) but be heartily and reverently entertained of men, that teaches us to deny all ungodlineſs, and converſe ſoberly, righteouſly and godly, in this preſent evil world, and it is not to be doubted but Tranquillity, at leaſt a very Amicable Correſpondence, will follow.

Men are not to be reputed good by their *Opinions* or *Profeſſions* of Religion: Nor is it that which ought to engage the Government, but *Practice*; it is this that muſt *ſave* or *damn*. Chriſt, in his repreſentation of the Great Day, doth not tell us, that it ſhall be ſaid to men, "Well *ſaid*, or well *talked*," but "Well *done*, good and faithful ſervant:" Neither is the 'Depart from me,' directed to any, but the *workers* of *iniquity*. *Error* is now tranſlated from the ſignification of an *evil life*, to an *unſound propoſition*; as *Philoſophy* is from the *mortification* of *eivil deſires*, and *well-living*, to an *unintelligible way* of *wrangling*. And a man is more bitterly harraſſed for a *miſtaken notion*, though the party holding it thinks it not ſo, and the party charging it denies an infallible judgment (ſo that it may as well be true as falſe, for all them) than for the *moſt diſſolute* or *immoral life*. And truly it is high time that men ſhould give better teſtimony of their Chriſtianity: For *Cruelty* hath no ſhare in Chriſt's religion; and *Coercion* upon Conſcience is utterly inconſiſtent with the very nature of his kingdom. He rebuked that zeal which would have "Fire come down from heaven, to devour Diſſenters," tho' it came from his own Diſciples; and forbad them to pluck up the *Tares*, though none had a more gentle or infallible hand to do it with.

He preferred Mercy, before Sacrifice; and therefore we may well believe, that the unmerciful ſacrifices ſome men now offer, I mean 'Impriſoning Perſons, ſpoiling of 'Goods, and leaving whole Families deſtitute of Subſiſtence,' as well as diſinheriting them of all civil privileges in the Government, are far from being grateful to him, who therefore came into the world, and preached that heavenly doctrine of Forbearing, and Loving of enemies, and laid down his moſt innocent life for us, whilſt we were rebels, that by ſuch peaceable Precepts, and ſo patient an Example, the world might be prevailed upon to leave thoſe barbarous courſes. And doubtleſs, very lamentable will their condition be, who at the coming of the Great Lord, ſhall be found "Beaters of their "Fellow-ſervants."

In vain do men go to Church, pray, preach, and ſtile themſelves Believers, Chriſtians, Children of God, &c. whilſt ſuch acts of ſeverity are cheriſhed among them; and any diſpoſition to moleſt harmleſs neighbours for their Conſcience, ſo much as countenanced by them. A courſe quite repugnant to Chriſt's example and command. In ſhort, the promoting of this General Religion, by a ſevere Reprehenſion and Puniſhment of Vice, and Encouragement of Virtue, is the Intereſt of our Superiors, ſeveral ways:

1. In that it meets with, and takes in, all the religious perſuaſions of the kingdom; for all pretend to make this their Corner-ſtone. Let them be equally encouraged to ſquare their building by it. 'Penal laws for Religion, is a Church with a ſting in her 'tail;' take that out, and there is no fear of the people's love and duty: And what betber obligation or ſecurity can the civil magiſtrate deſire? Every man owns the Text; it is the *Comment* that is diſputed. Let it but pleaſe him to make the *Text only* Sacred and Neceſſary, and leave men to keep company with their own meanings or conſequences, and he does not only prudently take in all, but ſuppreſſeth nice ſearches, fixes unity upon materials, quiets preſent differences about things of leſſer moment, retrieves humanity, and chriſtian clemency, and fills the kingdom with love and reſpect to their ſuperiors.

2. Next, a promotion of general religion, which, being in itſelf practical, brings back ancient virtue. Good living will thrive in this ſoil: Men will grow honeſt, truſty, and temperate; we may expect good neighbourhood and cordial friendſhip: One may then depend more upon a Word, than now upon an Oath. How lamentable is it to ſee people afraid of one another; men made and provided for of One God, and that muſt be judged by that One Eternal God, yet full of diffidence in what each other ſays, and moſt commonly interpret, as people read Hebrew, all things backward!

3. The third benefit is, that men will be more induſtrious, more diligent in their lawful callings; which will increaſe our manufactures, ſet the idle and poor to work for their livelihood, and enable the ſeveral counties with more eaſe and decency to maintain the aged and impotent among them. Nor will this only help to make the lazy conſcientiouſly induſtrious, but the induſtrious and conſcientious man chearful at his labour, when he is aſſured to keep what he works for, and that the ſweat of his brows ſhall not be made a forfeit for his conſcience.

4. It will render the magiſtrate's province more facile, and government a ſafe as well as eaſy thing. For, as Tacitus ſays of Agricola's inſtructing the Britons in arts and ſciences, and uſing them with more humanity than other governors had done, that it made them fitter for government; ſo if Practical Religion, and the Laws made to maintain it, were duly regarded, the very nature of men, now wild and froward, by a prejudiced education and croſs and jealous intereſts, would learn moderation, and ſee it to be their greateſt intereſt to purſue a ſober and amicable converſation; which would eaſe the magiſtrate of much of his preſent trouble, and increaſe the number of men fit to govern; of which the Parliament-times are an undeniable inſtance. And the truth is, it is a piece of ſlavery to have the regiment of ignorants and ruffians; but there is true glory in having the government of men, inſtructed in the juſtice and prudence of their own laws and country.

Laſtly, It is out of this nurſery of virtue, men ſhould be drawn to be planted in the government; not what is their Opinion, but what are their Manners and Capacity? Here the field is large, and the magiſtrate has room to chooſe good officers for the public good. Heaven will proſper ſo natural, ſo noble, and ſo chriſtian an eſſay; which ought not to be the leaſt conſideration with a good magiſtrate; and the rather, becauſe the neglect of this Practical Religion hath been the ruin of kingdoms and commonwealths, among Heathens, Jews and Chriſtians. This laid Tarquin low, and his race never roſe more. How puiſſant were Lacedæmon and Athens of Greece, till luxury had eaten out their ſeverity, and a pompous living, contrary to their excellent laws, rendered their execution intolerable? And was not Hannibal's army a prey to their own idleneſs and pleaſure; which, by effeminating their natures, conquered them, when the whole power of Rome could not do it? What elſe betrayed Rome to Cæſar's ambition, and made way for the after-rents and diviſions of the Empire; the merit, as well as conqueſt and inheritance, of a well-governed people for ſeveral ages, as long as their manners laſted? The Jews likewiſe were proſperous, while they kept "the judgments "and ſtatutes of their God;" but when they became rebellious and diſſolute, the Almighty either viſited them from heaven, or expoſed them to the fury of their neighbours. Nothing elſe ſent Zedekiah to Babylon, and gave him and the people a victim to Nebuchadnezzar and his army.

'Neglect of Laws, and Diſſolute Living,' Andrew Horne, who lived in the time of Edward the Firſt, as before cited, tells us, 'was the cauſe of the miſerable Thraldom 'and Deſolation the Britons ſuſtained by Invaders and Conquerors.' And pray, what elſe hath been the Engliſh of our ſweeping Peſtilence, dreadful Fires, and outrageous Factions of late years? Hundreds of examples might be brought in this caſe; but their frequency ſhall excuſe me.

Thus have I honeſtly and plainly cleared my conſcience for my Country; and anſwered, I hope, modeſtly, and tho' briefly, yet fully, the import of the queſtion propounded, with Honour to the Magiſtrate, and Safety to the People, by an happy Conjunction of their Intereſts. I ſhall conclude,

That as greater honour and wiſdom cannot well be attributed to any ſort of men, than for our ſuperiors, under their circumſtances, to be ſought to by all Perſuaſions, confided in by all Perſuaſions, and obeyed by all Perſuaſions; and to make thoſe Perſuaſions know that it is their Intereſt ſo to do, as well as that it is the intereſt of our Superiors they ſhould, and to which the expedients propoſed naturally tend; ſo, for a farther inducement to embrace it, let them be conſtantly remembered, that the intereſt of our Engliſh Governors is like to ſtand longer upon the legs of the Engliſh *People* than of the Engliſh *Church*; ſince the one takes in the ſtrength of *all* intereſts, and the other leaves out all but *her own:* And it may happen that the Engliſh *Church* may fail, or go travel again; but it is not probable that the Engliſh *People* ſhould do either; eſpecially while *Property* is preſerved, a Balance kept, General Religion propagated, and the World continues.

May all this prevail with our ſuperiors to make the beſt uſe of their little time: Remembering, in the midſt of all their Power and Grandeur, that they carry Mortality about them, and are equally liable to the ſcrutiny and judgment of the Laſt Day, with the pooreſt Peaſant; and that they have a great Stewardſhip to account for: So that Moderation and Virtue being their courſe, they, for the future, ſhall ſteer, after having faithfully diſcharged that great truſt repoſed in them, by God and this Free People, they may, with Comfort to their Souls, and Honour to their Names and Actions, ſafely anchor in the haven of eternal bleſſedneſs: So prays, with much ſincerity,

An Engliſh Chriſtian Man,

And their True Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

A COROLLARY.

THAT the people are under a great diſſatisfaction: That the way to quiet Differences, and render contrary Intereſts ſubſervient to the intereſt of the Government, is,

Firſt, To maintain inviolably the Rights of it, viz. *Liberty* and *Property*, *Legiſlation* and *Juries*, without neglect. That ſlighting and infringing them hath been the Injury of *Prince* and *People*, and early or late the Ruin of the Contrivers of ſo ill deſigns; and when all has been done, the only expedient has been, to come back again to *Engliſh Law*. This takes in all, pleaſes all, becauſe it ſecures and profits all. Sacrificing Privileges for the ſake of Conformity, makes a breach upon the Civil Government, alienates the People's affections from their Prince, lodges Property in the Church, ſo as none can come at it, but through Obedience to her Rites, for ſhe at this rate has the Keeping of it; a thing unknown, as well as unſafe, to the Ancient Engliſh Government.

2dly. That the Prince govern himſelf upon a Balance towards all Religious Intereſts: That this beſt poizes Parties to his Security, renders him Maſter of an Univerſal Affection, and makes him truly and ſafely Prince of all his Country: But the contrary courſe narrows his Juſtice and Mercy, makes the Government to ſhine but upon One Part of the Kingdom, to be juſt but to One Party, and diſinherit the reſt from their Birthright: That this courſe ends in great diſadvantage to the Peace, Plenty, and Safety of Prince and People.

3dly, and laſtly, Inſtead of being uncharitable, ſevere and cruel for Modifications, let the debate about them ſleep, and General and Practical Religion be promoted, that which receives an Amen in every man's Conſcience, from the *Principle* of *Divine Life* (as the Lord Keeper well called it) in every breaſt; that all agree in the *moſt weighty* doctrines; and that nothing will ſooner ſweeten mens blood, and mollify their natures, than employing that time and pains they beſtow on fruitleſs Conteſts, in *living up* to what they both *know*, *believe* and *accord in*: That this leaves men to keep company with their *own* Comments, and makes the *Text only* ſacred, and Holy Living *neceſſary*, not only to heavenly but earthly places, I mean Preferments: Whence *Virtue* becomes the door to *Favour*, and *Conſcience* (now ſmothered in the croud of ſiniſter intereſts) the Noble Rule of Living.

God Almighty, if it pleaſe him, beget noble reſolutions in the hearts of our ſuperiors to uſe theſe plain and ſafe expedients; that Charity may ſupplant Cruelty, Conteſt yield to Good Life, and preſent Diſtances meet in a juſt and kind neighbourhood.

Great and honourable is that Prince, and free and happy that People, where theſe things take place.

WILLIAM PENN.

SAUL

SAUL SMITTEN TO THE GROUND:

BEING A BRIEF BUT FAITHFUL

NARRATIVE

OF THE

DYING REMORSE of a late LIVING ENEMY

TO THE

PEOPLE called QUAKERS, and their FAITH and WORSHIP,

MATTHEW HIDE.

Atteſted by EYE and EAR-WITNESSES, whereof his WIDOW is one.

Publiſhed, in Honour to GOD, for a Warning to Gainſayers, and a Confirmation to the Honeſt-hearted. With an APPENDIX, both to Foes and Friends, on this Occaſion.

By WILLIAM PENN.

> *Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was inſtructed, I ſmote upon my thigh; I was aſhamed, yea, even confounded.* Jer. xxxi.

WHEREAS after near Twenty Years Public Oppoſition, made by Matthew Hide, againſt the People called Quakers, and their Principle of the Light within, in their Public Aſſemblies, chiefly in and about London; it hath pleaſed the Lord immediately and ſecretly to ſmite and awaken him in his conſcience, and to bring the burden of his iniquity upon him a few days before his death (though he was not the worſt of open oppoſers and diſturbers) ſo that he was neceſſitated to make a ſolemn confeſſion thereof, and unto the Truth, in the preſence of Almighty God, and ſeveral of the ſaid people, his wife, and ſome others, before he could quietly or with ſatisfaction depart this life: This is given out as a true and faithful narrative of his laſt and dying words, as a teſtimony for God's Truth and People, againſt all apoſtates, gainſayers and oppoſers thereof, that ſuch may take warning, for whom there yet remains a place of repentance.

THE NARRATIVE.

1675. ON the 19th of the 12th Month, 1675, Cotton Oades, hearing that Matthew Hide was willing to ſpeak to ſome of our Friends, called Quakers, went to him, and told him, If he had any thing to ſay, to clear himſelf, he might ſpeak; ſeeing he had oppoſed Friends in their Declarations and Prayers.

M. Hide ſignified thus much, 'That he was ſorry for what he had done; for they 'were the People of God.'

C. Oades aſked him, If he had any thing in his mind to any particular Friends; nominating G. Whitehead and W. Gibſon, or any other; and whether he would be willing any of them ſhould be ſent for?

M. Hide replied, 'As many as pleaſe may come.'

Whereupon Cotton Oades preſently ſent for George Whitehead, who accordingly went with the meſſenger to viſit Matthew Hide after the ninth hour in the night. So the ſaid George Whitehead, Cotton Oades, and John Ball, near the tenth hour in the night, viſited Matthew Hide on his ſick bed, tho' ſo weak, that it was very hard for him to utter words, yet theſe were underſtood from him, when ſpoken to, as followeth: C. O. told him, 'Here is George Whitehead come to ſee thee, Matthew.'

G. W. 'I am come in love and tenderneſs to ſee thee.'

M. Hide. I am glad to ſee you.

G. W. 'If thou haſt any thing on thy conſcience to ſpeak, I would have thee to clear thy conſcience.

M. Hide. What I have to ſay, I ſpeak in the Preſence of God: As Paul was a Perſecutor of the People of the Lord, ſo have I been a Perſecutor of *you*, his People, as the World are, who perſecute the Children of God: (with more words which then could not be underſtood.)

G. W. 'Thy underſtanding being darkened, when Darkneſs was over thee, thou 'haſt gainſaid the Truth and People of the Lord; and I knew that that LIGHT, 'which thou oppoſedſt, would riſe up in judgment againſt thee: I have often, with 'others, laboured with thee, to bring thee to a right underſtanding.'

M. Hide. This I declare, in the preſence of God, and of you here, I have done *evil* in perſecuting you, who are the Children of God, and I am ſorry for it: The Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhew mercy unto me, and the Lord increaſe your number, and be with you!

G. W. (after ſome pauſe) 'I would have thee, if thou art able to ſpeak, to eaſe 'thy conſcience as fully as thou canſt: My ſoul is affected to hear thee thus confeſs 'thy evil, as the Lord hath given thee a ſenſe of it. In repentance, there is mercy 'and forgiveneſs; in confeſſing and forſaking ſin, there is mercy to be found with the 'Lord; who in the midſt of judgment remembers mercy, that he may be feared.' (The ſaid M. H. being then much oppreſſed, ſtriving for breath, and lying on his back, ſo that it was very hard for him to ſpeak, G. W. got John Ball to turn him on one ſide, that he might the better ſpeak.)

M. Hide. I have done evil in oppoſing you in your *Prayers:* The Lord be merciful unto me! And as I have been an inſtrument to turn many *from* God, the Lord raiſe up *many Inſtruments* to turn many *to* him!

G. W. (after ſome ſilence) 'I deſire thou mayſt find mercy and forgiveneſs at 'the hand of the Lord. How is it with thy ſoul? Doſt not thou find ſome eaſe?'

M. Hide. I hope I do: And if the Lord ſhould lengthen my days, I ſhould be willing to bear a teſtimony *for* you, *as publickly* as I have appeared againſt you.

(His wife then ſaid, ''Tis enough; what can be deſired more?')

G. W. 'If the Lord ſhould not lengthen out thy days, doſt thou deſire what 'thou ſayeſt ſhould be ſignified to others?'

M. Hide. Yes, I do; you may: I have ſaid as much as I can ſay.

G. W. (after ſome ſilence) 'If this company be weariſome unto thee, I think we may withdraw.'

M. H. You may uſe your freedom.

G. W. 'I ſhall leave thee to the Lord, deſiring he may ſhew mercy and for'giveneſs unto thee, as I hope he will.'

M. Hide. The Lord be with your ſpirits.

Theſe things were expreſſed about two hours before his death, in the preſence of George Whitehead, John Ball, Cotton Oades, George Browne, and the Wife of Matthew Hide, and ſome others.

It is to be obſerved, before ſome of the people called Quakers came to him, I, perceiving him to be much troubled in his mind, aſked him, 'If he would ſpeak with 'any of thoſe People?' He ſmote his hand upon his breaſt, and ſaid, '*With all my* '*Heart.*' I aſked him again, 'If he would ſpeak with ſome of the *Quakers.*' And he ſmote his hand upon his breaſt, and ſaid, '*With all my Soul;*' ſo ſome were invited to come. Again, after they had been with him, he did oftentimes deſire, 'That 'he might live till *morning*; it being the Firſt-day of the Week; and that he might bear, 'on that day, a teſtimony for the TRUTH, he had on that day ſo often oppoſed.' He alſo ſaid, 'He had ſince found ſome Eaſe to his Spirit.' And I being a Silver-Spinſter, and he underſtanding that I wrought to people that were great in the world, he took me by the hand, and did preſs it much upon me, 'That I ſhould uſe the

‘ Plain Language, as *Thee,* and *Thou*; and if they would not receive it, I ſhould let ‘ my trade go.’ And after ſome more words to this purpoſe ſpoken by him, in a good underſtanding, he ſtretched himſelf out, and died very quietly.

To the ſubſtance of this relation concerning my Huſband's expreſſions, on his death-bed, concerning the people called Quakers, I was an ear-witneſs, and Mary Fooks too.

Elizabeth Hide.
Mary Fooks.

To all Atheiſtical, Perſecuting, and Contentious Oppoſers of the Univerſal Light of Jesus in the Conſcience, *and particularly thoſe that are Diſturbers and Vilifiers of them that believe in Him, at their Public Meetings to Worſhip God, according to the Illumination and Motion of that Bleſſed Principle.*

TO you all a warning, in the name and fear of God, that you leave off your vain thoughts, your chaffy, looſe, and unſavoury words, and rebellious practices, againſt the Light of Jesus in your own Conſciences; and that you dread any more to revile, backbite, diſturb, or ſlander his poor people, that have believed in him, and that follow him according to the ſhinings of his bleſſed Light in their hearts: Speak not evilly of that you do not know; much leſs go you on to kick againſt thoſe pricks in your own conſciences, as Saul did, leſt you become entirely hardened in your gainſayings, and the Lord God cut you off in his ſore diſpleaſure. O that you would conſider your latter end, and repent, you vain mortal men! for you know not how ſoon that diſmal trump may overtake any of you, ‘ Are ye ready? Are ye prepared? Have ‘ you the Wedding-garment? Are you of them that have ſuffered with him, being ‘ dead and buried to Self-will, Pride, Envy, Revenge, and the Luſts of this ungodly ‘ World, and riſen with him in the Life, Glory, and Raiment of the Reſurrection?’ If ſo, where are your fruits? If you are not, (as ye are not, I affirm in God's name) then where's your authority for theſe evil fruits you bring forth, ſcoffing, mocking, jangling, diſturbing and bawling againſt us, ſtirring up the ſcum of the multitude to abuſe us? Conſider, before it be too late, who is your Maſter in all theſe things, and whoſe ſervants you are, in whoſe name and errand you go, and what ſpirit ſets you thus to work againſt ſo glorious a Principle, and ſo harmleſs a People, who not being contented with Lifeleſs Worſhips, Human Faiths, and mere Traditional Religions, cry to the God of Heaven to appear and operate in their hearts, and teach them, by his own Holy Spirit, to be his diſciples and children, according to his promiſe, yea, though it croſs the world's life, ſpirit, cuſtoms and faſhions; and therefore cannot longer ſerve God in the Oldneſs of the Letter, by mere Imitation, or, after the manner of the looſe Chriſtians of this world, only with outſide performances, but “ in the Newneſs “ of the Spirit, in the immediate Leadings and Guidings of the Holy Ghoſt,” according to Rom. viii. 14. though they were never ſo much made a reproach and by-word, and be encompaſſed about with loſs and danger. I ſay, have a care of reſiſting, reviling and diſturbing theſe poor people, theſe Believers, theſe Aſſertors, theſe Followers and Children, of the Light of Jesus, begotten again of the everlaſting Day of Righteouſneſs, leſt you treaſure up wrath againſt the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous fierce judgments of God, and your portion be appointed you in that day with the workers of iniquity for ever.

And as I warn you to forſake your vain, frothy, envious, and contentious courſes, ſo do I exhort you, in God's fear, to unfeigned repentance; and invite you, in love, to the *true* Peace of Conſcience, even *that* Conſcience which is ſprinkled from Unbelief, Hatred, Malice, and all Ungodlineſs, which is only obtained by an humble and ſincere walking in the Light of the Son of God, as 1 John i. taking heed to, and not deſpiſing, this holy and ſpiritual appearance of *Chriſt within*, to dethrone Satan, and deſtroy ſin, and to bring in his own everlaſting righteouſneſs, as the Jews did Jeſus, whom they only knew after the Fleſh, crying out, “ Is not this the Carpenter's ſon? “ this fellow; and if thou art the Chriſt, or Son of God, ſhow us a ſign, and tell “ who ſmites thee, and come off from the Croſs, and ſave thyſelf.” I ſay, cavil not thus at the Light of Chriſt in your Conſciences; deſpiſe not his Sufficiency with your carnal mind, neither turn his Grace, Mercy and Forbearance into a profane preſumption, and bold tempting of the living God; for then very woful will your end be! Behold, read, ponder, and meditate on the latter end of this poor man! let his caſe be both a Warning and Viſitation, to all that oppoſe the Light of Chriſt within, and the Children of it, that you may conſider your latter end, find mercy, and be ſaved. When I read the Narrative of his Dying Condition, O my heart was much broken before the Lord; and I could not but reverently magnify his glorious Power, Mercy and Truth, that had wrought ſo ſtrange, ſo great, and ſo bleſſed a work for his Name's Defence, his People's Vindication, and, I hope, for the poor man's Soul too! O let him have the glory for ever; for who is like unto him, in heaven or in earth, whoſe goings are in the deep, and whoſe ways are paſt finding out, but in his own time!

And truly, pity roſe in my ſoul towards all you whoſe day is not over, and a ſecret ſtrong groan to God, that you might all ſee your folly, and repent, before you go hence and be no more ſeen.

This man I have known many years, being one whom he hath often oppoſed in public meetings. His main ſtroke was againſt the doctrine of "Chriſt, the True Light, enlightening every man that comes into the world, with a divine and ſaving light:" The Sufficiency and Univerſality of this to ſalvation, he conſtantly and reſolutely withſtood; not furiouſly, madly, and frothily, like outrageous mockers; as ſome ſtill too evidently and frequently ſhew themſelves againſt us; but with great external Sobriety and Gravity, as well as Zeal; reaſoning, after his manner, and not bawling againſt us. Nor was his Converſation *ſcandalous*, but honeſt and exemplary in worldly things towards men, for aught that I ever heard upon enquiry. So that his preſent *Convictions*, as they were not the effect of any affrighting diſcourſe, inſinuations, or beſetments of *ours* in his ſickneſs, neither could they be interpreted to be any trouble for a Diſſolute Life, in which he might be thought to condemn himſelf *generally* and *confuſedly*: Nor yet did his *Remorſe* only ariſe from the *Way* of his oppoſing us, as if he ſtill retained his *Judgment*; but the very Ground of the whole Trouble and Exerciſe of Spirit, for which he was willing to ſee any of us, and utter the foregoing pathetical expreſſions, "was his *gainſaying* us, the People called Quakers, in the Way of our *Faith* and *Worſhip*;" and ſo much his own words teſtify. Let all take heed of the *Reviling Thief*'s ſtate upon the *Croſs*, leſt they enter not into the Paradiſe of God for ever.

And now, my dearly beloved Friends and Brethren, who have hearkened to the holy reproofs of this inſtructing Light of JESUS in the Conſcience, and by it been redeemed from the wickedneſs of this world, and taught in deep and heavenly things, and made, through your cheerful obedience, to partake in meaſure of the great ſalvation of God, though it hath been through very many bitter exerciſes, and deep tribulations of body and ſpirit; O! what cauſe have you to keep covenant with the Lord, to abide in your heavenly habitation, in a living faith, ſtedfaſt hope, and conſtant patience to the end; caſting your care upon him, and committing your cauſe and concerns to him, who is not only able, but willing and ready, to ſuccour you, and maintain the glory of his own famous and honourable name, deeply concerned in you. O! let us dwell with him for ever, that his Holy Spirit may more and more enliven us, his Power ſtrengthen us, and his great Wiſdom conduct us through the work of our day: It is true, "That many are the troubles of the righteous," but, bleſſed be our God for ever, "he will as certainly deliver out of them all."

And though we want not the evidence of his Holy Spirit, that his own Right Arm gathered us, and that we are his People, bought by his Blood, redeemed by his Power, and made partakers of his Divine Life; yet it ought to be no ſmall evidence of the Lord's goodneſs, and therefore both matter of comfort and confirmation to us, that he hath conſtrained a teſtimony to *His own Bleſſed Light within*, and us his poor deſpiſed People, (that have believed in it, and, above all the families of the earth, contended and ſuffered for it) out of the mouth of an old and conſtant Oppoſer of both, and that upon his *Dying-bed* too, when no fears nor flatteries, no gains nor temptations from men, juſtly can be thought to have prevailed upon him, but the powerful workings only of that *very* Light he had ſo long reſiſted: This ſmote him in ſecret; this made his dying-bed uneaſy, and proved its own Sufficiency upon him, awakening his Conſcience, opening his Underſtanding, breaking his Heart, and drawing a very plain, tender, and ſincere Confeſſion from his mouth! O bleſſed be the name of our God for ever, who is a God glorious in holineſs, fearful in praiſes, working wonders for them that commit their cauſe to him.

And whatever were his provocations to us, I can ſay it, in the fear of God, my heart was much more filled with Pity than Diſpleaſure towards him; and this very Repentance is both an effectual Anſwer of my Prayers, and a plain Accompliſhment of my Prophecy, with ſome more of my Brethren: For as I often earneſtly, and more than ordinarily of late, deſired of the Lord this poor man's *Convincement* and *Repentance*, and that with an *unuſual* Tenderneſs of Spirit, even when he was ſtrong in his gainſayings; ſo have I frequently told him, in the Name of God, and Preſence of many People, at our Meetings, (when he came on purpoſe to withſtand us) 'That God would plead with him, by his righteous Judgments; and that the Time would come, wherein he ſhould be forced to confeſs to the *Sufficiency* of that Light he then oppoſed; and to acknowledge that God was *with* us, of a truth:' All which, bleſſed be the Name of the Lord, is fulfilled, by the foregoing Narrative; where he confeſſeth himſelf a *Saul*, deſires Forgiveneſs, teſtifies to us that we are the Lord's People, and prays for our Increaſe. Thus hath our God vindicated his glorious Name.

1675. Nor do I inſiſt on this ſo much, as if we had been hitherto barren of the like inſtances that might encourage us; for a great volume would not contain what we could ſay, of the *living* and *dying teſtimonies* given by great and harſh *oppoſers* to this bleſſed way of God we are turned unto: But foraſmuch as this man was ſo lately, and ſo publickly, a Gainſayer, and ſo generally known of thoſe that frequent our meetings to have been ſuch; and for that it was his own Deſire, as well as that the caſe is extraordinary, and that the Lord's honour, and many mens ſouls, are concerned, therefore is this publiſhed. And I pray God, with my whole ſoul and ſpirit, that it may be a warning to all oppoſers, of what ſort ſoever, that they gainſay not themſelves into eternal deſtruction (for none of their weapons ſhall ever proſper; the Lord hath ſaid it;) but that they may turn unto the Light of Jeſus in their own hearts, and follow the reproofs and inſtructions of it, "whoſe ways are ways of purity, and all his paths are peace;" for he viſits the creatures to lead out of Sin, which is the only Cauſe of Trouble: And my deſire farther is, that we, who have believed therein, may keep covenant, ſtand our ground, and not again turn into folly. O! have a care of a ſlothful mind; that which can ſit at home and cenſure, but is not diligent in the work of the Lord: Let us go on, and preſs forward, towards the glorious recompence. This keeps in the Univerſal Spirit, out of murmurings and grudgings, and herein ſhall we proſper, and be preſerved for ever: And let this be the godly uſe we make of this great obligation which the Lord hath now eminently laid upon us, to watch and perſevere, that we may hold out to the end, and give no juſt occaſion to any to ſpeak evil of this bleſſed way of the Lord, that hath ſo ſignally been borne witneſs to, (even by ſuch as have ſpoken evil of it) when they came to die; as this Narrative (though briefly, yet fully) proves.

And as to the Perſecution that now threatens, you know this, it comes all from the ſame Root; and he that drew a teſtimony from this Oppoſer (and Perſecutor, as he confeſſeth he was) will, in due time, give witneſs to his holy Way, and you his People, from the Conſciences of your Perſecutors, as you know full well he hath frequently done in divers places of this nation. Therefore never heed it, neither be ye moved at it, but be of good cheer; for the ſhout of an Immortal King is amongſt us, who is the only *Sacred Majeſty*, *Dread Sovereign*, *King*, *Prince*, and *Lord* of *Conſcience*, and no mortal Man whatever: For *he* only can be *Lord* of Conſcience, who is *greater* than Conſcience, and author of Conſcience; but that no Man is, becauſe Conſcience is the Chiefeſt Part that conſtitutes that man; therefore no *Man* can be *Lord* of Conſcience. And be it known to all Powers on earth, it is this Great Lord that hath reached to your ſouls, even Iſrael's God: Wherefore keep you with him, hearken to his holy voice, and obey it diligently unto all holineſs, and all ſhall go well with you in the end: "Say unto the Righteous, it ſhall go "*well* with them; but ſay unto the Wicked, it ſhall go *ill* with them:" This God gave his prophet in charge of old, and it ſtands true to our day, and ſhall while a good and a bad man live upon the earth.

You know, my Brethren, in whom you have believed, and have good experience of his power and faithfulneſs: Call to mind his noble acts, and valiant deeds, his great ſalvation in all ages; how ſure, how ready, how willing, and how able he hath been to deliver our anceſtors; and you know he is the ſame now at this day: Truſt there for ever; for "he is greater that is in you, than he that is in the world;" and I know aſſuredly that all theſe things ſhall work together for good, to them that keep in the Faith, the Royal Faith, the Victorious Faith, that Faith that ſtands all Trials, and ſurmounts all Temptations, and, through patient Sufferings, triumphs over Rage, Darkneſs and the Grave: 'Tis this exceeding precious Faith, that makes the Good Chriſtian, the Good Man, the Good Subject, and keeps man's Conſcience void of offence towards God and all men; and as we keep it, of right may we ſay, "The Lord is our Light, whom "ſhould we fear? The Lord is the Strength of our Life, of whom ſhould we be afraid?" O! thoſe that flee before Informers, and run at the ſight of Perſecutors (yea, though an Army of them) either never had, or have parted from, this *Noble Faith*, which is pure Confidence in God, and intire Reſignation to his divine Will, come what will come. Chriſt will not have one Coward in his ſpiritual army: "Fear not what Man "can do unto you," was a great part of his inſtruction to his Diſciples, the Pilgrim Preachers of his holy Goſpel to the world: But Conſulters with Fleſh and Blood, thoſe that uſe baſe ſtratagems to ſave themſelves, that will not abide the day, but ſlink from the ſhock of Sufferings, and hide in ſtormy Times, they betray God's Prerogative, Conſcience's Liberty, fling up the Cauſe, and bring a Spot upon "Conſcientious Separation;" ſuch ſhall become an abhorrence, and utter deteſtation, in the ſight of the pure jealous God, and all good people.

My Brethren, I hope that few or none of theſe will be found amongſt us: Howbeit, theſe things may be permitted for a winnowing, that many may be proved, that ſo their integrity may be the better manifeſted; for a ſincere, holy, and ſelf-denying people, God will have to delight himſelf in: "Bleſſed are they whoſe God is the Lord, and "whoſe truſt is in him for ever, for they ſhall never be moved."

Into his bleſſed care and protection, with myſelf, do I commit you all; and the Lord of heaven and earth preſerve us all in his holy fear, love, and patience, to the end. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

LETTERS, &c.

ON

SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

WRITTEN IN THE YEARS

1676 and 1677.

TO THE

PRINCESS and COUNTESS,†

AT

HERTFORD in GERMANY.

JESUS be with your ſpirits; the immaculate Lamb of God, and glorious Light of the World, his pure Spirit redeem you from the Evil and Ignorance that are in it, and repleniſh you with his everlaſting righteouſneſs, whoſe end is peace and aſſurance for evermore. 1676.

Noble of *this* world, but *more* noble for your enquiry after the TRUTH, and Love to it, the fame whereof hath ſounded to the ears of ſome of us in this iſland, whom God hath made both his certain witneſſes and meſſengers, through many and great tribulations: Eternal, heavenly praiſes to his holy and powerful name, who lives and reigns over all principalities, and powers, and thrones, and dominions for ever.

I have had you, *worthy women*, often in my remembrance, with that honour which is not of this world; even then, when my ſoul has been in its pureſt retirements, not only from all viſibles, but from their very ideas in the mind, and every other imagination; reſting with the Lord in his own ſabbath, which is the *true ſilence* of all fleſh indeed, which profits above the formal Chriſtian's bodily exerciſe. And in theſe heavenly ſequeſtrations of ſoul, and true reſignation unto the divine will of my Father, have I taken a moſt clear proſpect of you, and every circumſtance that may be fit for me to know; your education, your quality, your dignity, the envy of the clergy, the fury of the rabble, and the ſtrength and power of temptation, ariſing from all theſe conſiderations, if poſſible to ſmother your bleſſed beginnings; and, as ſo many Bands of Soldiers, employed and commiſſioned of their great Prince of Darkneſs, to watch, and hinder JESUS from riſing in you. In a weighty ſenſe of all which, my heart opens itſelf unto you in God's counſel, after this manner: Be faithful to that you know, and obedient to that which God by the Light of his Son makes manifeſt in your own conſciences. Conſult not away the pure and gentle ſtrivings of the Holy Ghoſt: Drown not his *ſtill voice* with the croud of careful thoughts, and vain contrivances: Break not the bruiſed reed, neither quench the ſmoking flax in yourſelves. O! if you truly love Jeſus, hear him:

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† Princeſs Elizabeth of the Rhine, and Anna Maria de Hornes, Counteſs of Hornes.

1676. And ſince it hath pleaſed God in ſome meaſure, as with Paul, to reveal his bleſſed Son in you, conſult not with fleſh and blood, that are below the heavenly things; for that inherits not the kingdom of God: But, with ſincere Mary, from a deep ſenſe of the beauty, virtue and excellency of that Life that is hid with Chriſt in God, wait out of all cumber, free from that running, willing, ſacrificing ſpirit that is in the world, in the pure obedience, humiliation, godly death, or ſilence, at the feet of Jeſus, chuſing the better part, which ſhall never be taken from you: And Jeſus will be with you, he will ſhed his peace abroad in the midſt of you, even that which flows from the cryſtal ſtreams of Life, that ariſe from under the Throne of God. Prepare, prepare to meet the Lord; for aſſuredly Jeſus is riſen, the Faithful and True Witneſs; and he is come, in "ten thouſands of his ſaints," to judge this fallen chriſtian world. He that was dead, during the "Times, Time, and Half a Time," is now alive, and lives for ever: Nor ſhall hell, death, or the grave, get the dominion any more; but life and immortality ſhall ſpring as the morning without clouds. The ſet-time of the Father is come; and all faces ſhall gather paleneſs, yea, and all knees ſhall ſmite and bow, and tongues ſhall confeſs to this his appearance; ſome to joy, others to miſery: Ages and generations have not known him; the earth has been covered with violence, oppreſſion, uncleanneſs, rewards, gifts, blood, wrath, malice, pride, covetouſneſs: Yet God profeſſed, and Chriſt confeſſed: A glorious Church, a pompous Worſhip, and as much Religion (ſuch as it was) as the world could hold: But, O the idolatry! O the falſe witneſs! O the blaſphemy and lying! O the prophaneneſs of thoſe, and theſe days! And why? Becauſe their hearts thirſted after their carnal pleaſures, more than after the living God. Their care was, and is, after what they ſhall eat and drink, and put on, the *Old Heathen Life*, and not after the kingdom of God, and the righteouſneſs of it; that Jeſus, the true Saviour, the immaculate Son of God, who by doing his Father's will faithfully and patiently, even unto death, left us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps, and not live unto ourſelves. And this is the abominableſt idolatry, that of the ſoul to any other object, than the Lord and God of the ſoul. This is to ſet up ſomething as God, over all that is called God, debaſing, ſlighting, grieving, and quenching the Holy Spirit in the mean while. O how few think of this deteſtable idolatry! here is the Firſt Commandment broken; how then can people expect to have eternal life? But all the Commands are broken: For God did not only prohibit *Idolatry*, which is worſhipping *another* God; but worſhipping the True God vainly, falſly, with a vain mind, after an unprofitable manner, which is an unſanctified frame of ſoul. And how has Chriſtendom taken God's name in vain, and worſhipped God in vain! What good is come of the ages of worſhip? What luſts are overcome? What evil repelled? Have not all manner of abominations reigned? Has not the Truth been held in Unrighteouſneſs? And have not generations bleſſed God with their mouths, wherewith they have preſently curſed men? Have not violence, avarice, oppreſſion, cruelty, pride, paſſion, wrath, envy, vain ſports, pleaſures and delights, filled the earth, under all the profeſſion that has been made of Chriſt and God? Has he that has named the name of Chriſt, or that has called himſelf by that name, departed from iniquity? O, no; it may be truly ſaid, that ſuch have ſought the Lord in vain. Why? Becauſe not as Jacob's ſeed, who was a plain good man, but of rebellious Eſau's ſtock. "You aſk, and you have not:" Why? Says James, "Becauſe you aſk amiſs." They ſought in a wrong nature, to feed the luſts of the ſame. Though they aſk, they never receive; and though they knock, it will never be opened unto them: Such can never find: For all worſhip towards God muſt ſtand in the Name and Nature of Jeſus, or will never pierce the heavens. It will be in vain, it will profit nothing. So that this Command is alſo broken. To ſay nothing of the frequent uſe of the Name of God about every trivial thing in common converſation: *O God! O Lord Jeſu!* and ſuch-like; for which, among other things, the Lord God will pour out of the vials of his wrath upon the nations: O bleſſed are they that fear always, and remember that ſevere ſaying of Jeſus, "That every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give account thereof in the day of judgment," Mat. xii. 36.

Next, the *True Sabbath* is neglected: For the Goſpel Day is the *Spiritual Sabbath*, the day of redemption, deliverance, and ſalvation: They have ſinned away this day, doing their own works, when they ſhould have been at the true faſt, the myſtical abſtinence, and humbled into the grave, doing the works of God: Yet talk of being freed from under the Law, and under Grace, while they live *without* Law, Grace, Chriſt, and God in the world, being led, not by the Spirit of God, (no, that is Enthuſiaſm, Fanaticiſm, Familiſm, Quakeriſm, &c.) but by their own wills, luſts, intereſts, and unregenerate appetites.

Rebellion has covered the earth: For there has not been an "honouring of their Father and their Mother;" for they have rejected the commands of their Father, caſting his law behind their backs, not glorifying him as God their Father, when they knew him: And they have diſregarded the advice of their Mother, the true Primitive Church, that was redeemed with the precious blood of the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world, and that waſhed her and purged her, not leaving in her either ſpots or wrinkles: For ſo he preſented her to God his Father; ſo that ſhe put off her old converſation, which was after the faſhions and cuſtoms of this world, that ſhe might be adorned with the robes of righteouſneſs; fine linnen, white, the mark of Innocence; fitly trimmed for the delight of her beloved, her Jeſus, her King, her Law-giver, her Maker, and her Huſband too, in whoſe chaſte embraces ſhe lives, his unſpotted dear Spouſe for ever. Now, what is a Church, but the redeemed Flock, Family, Houſhold or People of God? If then the Church of Chriſt muſt be pure, the Members that conſtitute that Church muſt be pure: Not by a vain and fictitious Imputation; but a ſolid and real purgation, redemption, and ſalvation unto righteouſneſs. For Faith in Abraham was a Righteous Act of Obedience in his ſoul; therefore God imputed Righteouſneſs unto him: And bleſſed are his ſpiritual off-ſpring for ever, whoſe Faith overcomes, and is not overcome of, the World. For thoſe are falſe faiths, forced and imaginary conceits, that cleanſe not, which true Faith doth; that works by that Love, which conquers the world, and loves God above all; the high-way to eternal life. So here the world hath been in the breach of another Command, they have diſhonoured their Father and Mother, and therefore have their days been few in the Land of the Living to God.

But the Chriſtian World, ſo called, hath been defiled by Cruelty, even to Blood: "Thou ſhalt not kill," ſaith the Lord: Little did ſome of the Jews think that they broke this law, when they "killed the Prophets, and ſtoned them that were ſent "unto them:" But what ſaid their children? did they ſpeak after the ſame note? No: 'Had we lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have done as they did:' And alas! they did worſe. Where it is worth obſerving, that when the Devil hath perſecuted holy men to death, and finds that the way (to wit, Death) by which he hopes to bury all with them, is the way by which their doctrine and endeavours ſhine more conſpicuouſly and convincingly to others, he turns proſelite too, and ſays, 'Theſe were good men alſo,' and puts his followers upon ſetting up the lamentation for the loſs of thoſe pious men; which, alas! he murdered; and of their Words, and exterior Forms, patches he up a *Viſible Religion*; and then ſits he as God, or like God, in the hearts of men and women. So that he will be viſibly for religion, when he can no longer hinder. But this is to make him the greater deceiver, and to paſs the more unqueſtioned and unſuſpected.

This *Lamentation* for the murdering of the Prophets, admiration of their Works, and building and adorning of their Sepulchres, baffled the judgment of weak and ſimple people; but eſpecially deceived the multitude, and rendered the *Crucifixion* of *Jeſus* more eaſy and tolerable: *Stephen* followed, then *James*, and ſoon after that time the bitter perſecution of the *Chriſtians*: But by that time Kings received Chriſtianity, eaſe and plenty flowed in; who ſo pompous, magnificent, gaudy, worldly, as Chriſtian Biſhops, their Churches, Officers, and People? Self-denying Jeſus loſt in the crowd; the true Life of Religion expired, and Zeal extinguiſhed; Diviſions ariſen, and one Biſhop againſt another, even to Death: Nothing but *Flattery*, *Hypocriſy*, and *Conformity* could well tell how to live in the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries, and ſo to our days. Now the Rivers of Blood ſpilt by *Jews* and *Heathens*, become a great ſwelling *Sea*, by *Chriſtian*, or rather *Antichriſtian Perſecutions*: Now it is that all Councils and Synods are convened in Deſign, held in Faction, and broke up in Self-intereſt. No Liberty of Conſcience in thoſe days; no one muſt dare to buy or ſell, civilly or ſpiritually, but they muſt firſt have the mark of that Church and State: O monſtrous degeneracy! here is Chriſt again crucified in the ſtreets of Sodom and Egypt, in the Hearts and Lives of the Sons and Daughters of Men. So that here are not only thouſands of *Martyrs* of Jeſus; but *Jeſus*, the *Lord*, once more martyred, the True and Faithful Witneſs: And they have, in all ages, hired and ſet ſoldiers, who are killers by profeſſion, to watch againſt his Riſing. Now is the Church in the Wilderneſs, the Place of Obſcurity and Shelter: This was the Winter-Seaſon, the Time of Sackcloth and Aſhes: Now all were merry, ſending gifts one to another, in their revels and maſquerades over the Slain Witneſs of the Lord: Here is the bloodieſt, and therefore the wofulleſt, of all Murders.

But this is not all; they proceed to the next Commandment, "Thou ſhalt not "commit Adultery." And this they have fearfully broken; for Chriſtendom, ſo called, hath committed Adultery moſt notoriouſly; and conſequently broken God's holy Law: For, alas! alas! has ſhe not forſaken the Everlaſting Fountain, the Spring of Immortal Life, that is pure for ever, and hewn out to herſelf ciſterns that will hold no water? Has ſhe not deſerted her firſt Love, and her firſt Works? And has ſhe not flung herſelf into the embraces of another Lover, whereby ſhe has divorced herſelf from the *Living God*, and joined to an *Apoſtate Spirit*, by whom numerous is her unclean iſſue, and many are her abominations that ſhe has brought forth, even ſuch of them as were neither known to Jew or Heathen? This is ſhe that hath "committed for-

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But the day of the terrible vengeance of God is come, and coming, in which ſhe and her gallants and merchants ſhall come to judgment: And the remnant of the True Woman's Seed, that has been ſojourning as poor Pilgrims in the deſolate Wilderneſs with her, are come forth leaning on the breaſt of her Beloved, to whom ſhe has been, though a poor and baniſhed, yet a faithful Spouſe, during this long and tedious reign of Antichriſt, the Whore, Beaſt, Falſe Prophet, and Dragon, which is the Devil: And becauſe her dear Huſband is "King of Kings, and Lord of Lords," and has all power in Heaven and Earth, and that it becomes her to be, if his Wife, a Glorious Queen; therefore hath he ordained that ſhe ſhall no more ſit as one deſolate and forſaken, clothed in Sackcloth, which is the garment of Heavineſs; but ſhall be crowned with the Stars, clothed with the Sun, and the Moon ſhall be under her Feet; that is, The changeable World, with all its temporary glory, ſhall be her foot-ſtool. Then needs muſt ſhe be exalted above the "Whoriſh Woman," whoſe higheſt throne was but the True and Heavenly Woman's Foot-ſtool. In this day Judah ſhall dwell ſafely, and Iſrael ſhall be glad.

But we muſt not ſtop here; for the Prieſts have been like Troops of Thieves by the highway-ſide, that have robbed by conſent, and 'like Prieſt, like People:' For firſt, it has been the practice of the Clergy, of all lands, to inſinuate themſelves, by their policy and flatteries, into the favour of the princes of this world, and thereby procured to themſelves *large Taxes* on the people; not only to their better maintenance, but to their being upheld in worldly pomp and grandeur, and the amaſſing of baſe treaſures to them and their temporal kindred, for which there is neither precept nor example in Holy Scripture, unleſs it be, that the Falſe Prophets were wont to prepare war of old againſt ſuch as refuſed to "put into their mouths;" that is, to incenſe the Civil Magiſtrate againſt them, as enemies to the Government, his Religion eſtabliſhed by Law. O! but the Falſe Chriſtian has herein tranſcended all former ages! How many millions have they got, not for feeding, but ſtarving, the ſouls of millions? And that which greatly aggravates their ſin, is their Forgery, alledging the authority of Heaven by a mere counterfeit commiſſion; impiouſly uſing God's name, to palliate their deſign; and, by the credit his excellent name has with the works of his hands, to obtain to themſelves an almoſt infinite wealth.

But this is not all the robbery I charge Chriſtendom with; for they have, both Prieſt and People, been confederate with the grand Robber, the Devil, in robbing God of his Honour and Prerogative, which is the Hearts and Affections of the ſons and daughters of men: For when the great Creator made his firſt Settlement upon Man and Woman, he gave them the Earth here, and the Heaven hereafter, for their inheritance, and that to them and their Heirs for ever. Providing always, that they gave this Acknowledgment to their great Lord, that their *Hearts* ſhould be *his*; a ſmall and reaſonable Chief-Rent: But they rebelled, and ſo forfeited their Right, and came under the Curſe, from whence Chriſt came to deliver their off-ſpring: Some were reſtored; it was his work to do ſo, and to build upon the waſte places. But not many ages after, an Apoſtacy comes; not as at unawares, or by chance; it was foreſeen, its beginnings, continuance, and end. During this Apoſtacy, the Devil has ſat as God, and therefore is called the "God of this world, and Prince of the power of the air, that rules,"--- Where? in the Saints? in the Sanctified? no ſuch matter! Where then? "In "the Hearts of the Children of Diſobedience, that obey not the Truth as it is in "Jeſus."

Thus hath God been robbed of his Honour, Propriety and Prerogative, and they have been given to another than the only True and Living God. Some have made over their hearts to worldly honour and preferment: others to earthly riches: others to pleaſures: others to uncleanneſs: others to their outward and temporal comforts: O! many ways there are to forget the Lord.

But the robbery ends not here; man loſeth his own Soul: And what can he give, in the dreadful day of account, in exchange for his poor Soul? People have ſold their birthright for a meſs of pottage: They have robbed themſelves of their own peace, and of their eternal inheritance with God, when time ſhall be no more. Which leads me to the next Commandment, as amply broken as any of the reſt, viz. "Thou "ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour." For alas! there has been no true one borne by Chriſtendom, ſince the Primitive Days: And how ſhould ſhe? ſince ſhe has ſlain the Faithful and True Witneſs, and crucified him in her ſtreets: Nay, and done her endeavour to root out all his Friends and Brethren, yea, if poſſible, to extinguiſh the very Life of the Son of God in all that live upon the earth. Nor could ſhe compaſs all theſe tragical deſigns, had ſhe not made uſe of *Falſe Witneſſes*. For ſhe has been induced to hire people to ſwear lies, in all ages, againſt the witneſſes of Jeſus, as the Jews did to Jeſus and his diſciples.

When did ſhe impriſon, baniſh, kill, but under the notion of Schiſmatick, Heretick, Blaſphemer, Enemy to God, Chriſt, and Holy Church, with the like pretences? Is not this to give falſe witneſs againſt innocent neighbours? But this is not all which proves the breach of this Commandment; the whole Life of Chriſtendom does it too amply and too lamentably: For are they not Falſe Witneſſes, who affirm things they never ſaw, and make profeſſion of things they do not know? If ſo, when did Chriſtendom ſee, taſte, and handle of the Word of Eternal Life, which ſhe verbally profeſſeth; which is as a Fire, an Hammer, an Ax, a Two-edged-Sword, the Word of Regeneration, of Reconciliation, and of Patience, an holy *Light* and *Lamp* to the Soul? Which brings me to the laſt head, being the ſubſtance and matter of it, viz. ‘The Blaſ‘phemy and Lying of Chriſtendom, ſo called.’

This great Beaſt roſe out of the Filthy *Sea*, the Corrupt Ages of this World, long after the Primitive Times; hath *Heads*, which is, Perfection of Wit and Policy; and *Ten Horns*, that is, *Mighty Power*: Has had, and yet hath, the name of *Blaſphemy* writ upon all his Heads; that is, a Profeſſion of God in Words, whilſt he is denied in Works; the grand deſtructive *Atheiſm* of the world: It is the Blaſphemy of all Blaſphemies, to call God Father, when born of the Devil: What! to intitle the pure God to ſuch an impure Off-ſpring? To live in the vanities, and pleaſures, and luſts of this world; and yet to ſay, “Is not God our Father, and is not the Lord on our “ſide?” No, He is of purer eyes than to behold Iniquity, much more than to own the Children of Sin, or to have communion with them: “What haſt thou to do to “take my name into thy mouth; that hateſt to be reformed? Though thou crieſt I “will not hear, and though thou calleſt I will not anſwer. Behold, I will make “them known to be of the ſynagogue of Satan, that ſay, they are Jews, and are not.” And this is the greateſt of all lies, the Lye that is in the “Right-hand,” the place of greateſt Strength and Eſteem; Religion and Worſhip: To ſay they are Chriſtians, and are not: To profeſs Chriſt in the Hiſtory, and crucify him in the Myſtery: To confeſs to his Outward Coming, and reſiſt his Inward Appearance in themſelves: To keep the Day of his External Birth, while they make merry over him, ſlain and crucified in their own Heatheniſh *Hearts*; rebelling againſt his *Light* in their own Conſciences, which is Chriſt's *Day* to them, and Chriſt is God's Everlaſting Day: O what will be the end of ſuch! “Ye uncircumciſed in heart and ear, ye do always reſiſt “the Holy Ghoſt, as did your fathers, ſo do ye:” And yet ye call yourſelves the Seed of Abraham, and Children of God, but love and chuſe a Murderer and Barabbas, rather than CHRIST, the Son of the Living God. Oh! What more abominable lye can be told than this? And will not all ſuch be ſhut out, among them that work and make a lye, if they embrace not the Day of their Viſitation, and come to the Truth, and by it be made free from every evil way?

This is that “*Great Iniquity*” which has prophaned the “Holy Place.” That “Curſed Abomination,” which ſtood ſo long till it hath made deſolate the place which God hath ſanctified for himſelf, the *Hearts* of the ſons and daughters of men; the Firſt and Laſt *Living Temple* of *God*: Every beaſt of prey, every unclean bird, has taken up their dwelling there; inſomuch that God has been like a ſtranger to the nobleſt part of the workmanſhip of his own hands.

And though the Lord has not left himſelf without witneſſes in any age; yet they were ſo few, and moſt of them, though accepted according to their day and work, yet ſo ſhort as to the main work, that a remnant can ſay, when the Lord firſt opened the eyes of their underſtanding, the world lay in a great heap of wickedneſs, vanity, and confuſion; all following the deſires of their own hearts, to gratify the luſts of the ſame, living vainly and wantonly upon the earth: Yea, the whole earth looked like one great wilderneſs, full of briars and thorns, birds and beaſts of prey.

And when God poured out of the Spirit of Judgment and of Burning upon us, not only making us ſenſible of his holy Terrors in and for ourſelves, but of that day of Fiery Trial he would ſuddenly overtake the world withal; “our faces gathered “paleneſs, and our knees ſmote together; our hearts fainted; our lips quivered and “our bellies trembled: And all that we might reſt in the day of trouble.”

But while we were under the Lightning and Thunders, and great Earthquakes, Wars, and Rumours of Wars, ſuch as had not been ſince the foundation of the world, as to Us; (for the “Sun became darkened, and the Moon was turned into Blood, “and none of the Stars of the Night appeared,” while our agonies took ſtrong hold “upon us, and we were in the extremity of our pains) O the gazing-ſtock that we were made to all, yea, ſpectacles to God, angels and men: Some ſaid, we were bewitched: Others, that we were ſtrongly poſſeſſed of the Devil: All aſtoniſhed: Parents beating and diſowning of their Children: Children inſulting over their Parents: Maſters evilly entreating of their Servants: Servants abuſing of their Maſters: The Huſband uſing violence to the Wife: The Wife becoming ſtrange and unnatural to her own Huſband: And all moſt cruelly vexed, abuſed and tormented by the Magiſtrates, through the wicked and unwearied inſtigations of the Prieſts of all ſorts, by jails, dungeons, whippings,

1676. pings, ſtocks, pillories, plunders, &c. O the calamity! O the bitter diſtreſs of that day! And though we were but few in that day, and very low, poor, and even deſpicable in our own eyes; yet were we exceeding ſtrong and valiant in the "Lord "Jehovah; our everlaſting ſtrength." For our inward man daily renewed, and we greatly loved one another: But never, till now, did we truly know what CHRIST was, either in Conception, Birth, Reproaches, Sufferings, Death, Reſurrection, or Aſcenſion; a myſtery to the whole Chriſtian World at this day, who are not turned to the Light of Jeſus in their own Conſciences.

And as in the holy watch we kept, not being ſtaggered at the reproaches of the men of this world, but, with Moſes, chuſing them, rather than the treaſures and pleaſures of Egypt, where our dear Lord lay crucified; we exceedingly grew in the grace and favour of God, and we were very tender by any wandering thought, much more by any evil act, to grieve this Holy Spirit, or Babe of Righteouſneſs, born in ourſelves, whom we deſired ſhould reign, being overcome with joy that he was born that brought Life with him to our immortal ſouls. And after we had ſtaid at "Jeruſalem," the City of our God and King, to receive his inſtructions, commiſſion, and authority, abroad we went, upon the "Pourings out of his Holy Spirit." And we went, in the Name and Power of our God, to declare of his judgments, and to tell of his terrible day, to call all to repentance, and to prepare to meet the Lord, to make ready the way of our God; who was coming to lay "judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to "the plummet;" to examine, ſift, and winnow the ſons and daughters of men; to judge in righteouſneſs; who will not be deceived by vain ſhews of religion; for he is a jealous God of his honour, and his glory will he give to no man, neither will he acquit the guilty, or puniſh the innocent.

But after this breaking-forth of ours, and publiſhing our meſſage to the world, eſpecially to profeſſors, the Scribes and Phariſees take the alarm: Finding their Call, Qualification, and Credit, and, which is moſt of all in their eye, their Maintenance, brought in queſtion, and their whole kingdom ſhaking; *man-made* Miniſtry being proved inſufficient, *forced* Maintenance Antichriſtian, and that no man could know, much leſs preach, *divine things* without *divine revelations* and *inſpirations*; and that no man was a true Chriſtian, much leſs a true Miniſter, that was not born of Water and the Spirit, Fire and Holy Ghoſt; they raged greatly, diſpatched their Sauls to Damaſcus, to the Rulers of the nation, crying, 'Help, Help, or Religion is loſt, and the kingdom 'of Chriſt will go down; behold great Deceivers and Seducers, and falſe Prophets; 'Antichriſts are riſen, as was propheſied of, to come in the laſt days: Now they are 'come, beſtir yourſelves, make laws, catch them, whip them, impriſon them, baniſh 'and burn them.'

And truly, they lay in wait for blood, and ſeveral of us were tried for our lives, for blaſphemers, haled out of their ſynagogues for our pure teſtimony's ſake, ſome crying, 'Knock the rogues down: They are Witches,' ſaid others; 'Devils,' ſaid others; 'We have a law, and by our law they ought to die.'

They never wanted falſe evidence to produce, as well as that we were frequently made offenders for our true and ſavory words, whether in reproof or exhortation uttered, with our lives in our hands, in obedience to the heavenly viſion. No juſtice, no mercy: If we eſcaped the Multitude, the Magiſtrate had the ſtocking, impriſoning, or whipping us: If we eſcaped the Magiſtrate, the Multitude, at the inſtigation of the Prieſts, fell like ſo many greedy Wolves or hungry Tygers upon us, beating and kicking and dragging of us, till ſome part of our fleſh has been like a jelly, often breaking our heads and bones; and ſome they have murdered by the like barbarous uſage: Not daring all this while either to fly the place, or return them one railing accuſation; committing our lamentable cauſe to God alone to plead our innocency, having no helper in the earth.

Nor were theſe things all our ſufferings, or the depths of our tribulations: By no means; for the ſharpeſt of our trials were from men of a Religious Profeſſion, whoſe hearts contrived miſchief, and their tongues and pens uttered it with all manner of ſlander and contradiction; inſomuch that when we were not in the hands of the Magiſtrates or Multitude, we were almoſt perpetually employed in Diſputations and Conferences, perſonal or by writings: On which occaſion, the world loving its own, we had great difficulty and wrong; ſuch perverſions of our words and ſayings, ſuch flouts and jeers, ſuch interruptions and noiſes, as would have been abhorred of ſober Heathens.

However, we bore it all, through the holy patience of Jeſus; and in the end of theſe encounters, with Epheſian-like-Beaſts, we rarely miſt of ſome gained to the Faith: And finding, at long run, that they could neither wrangle, ſlander, nor perſecute us out of that teſtimony we had borne for the living God, and perceiving that the multitude began to flagg, and would no longer be the inſtruments of their cruelty, taking notice of our great increaſe, notwithſtanding all theſe oppoſitions; as alſo ſeeing that ſome of their own kindred and acquaintance were converted, whom they always

ways confeſſed to be more religiouſly addicted than themſelves, and that this change augmented both their virtue, and their tender love to their kindred; many gave over this way of proceeding, and ſome moderate reſpite we had for a time; but perſecution by fits; that is, as at any time the Clergy has prevailed with the Civil Magiſtrate: And becauſe moſt, if not all, other ways of Nonconformity hide and ſlink, uſing their politicks for ſelf-preſervation; and that we cannot deſert our ſtandard or teſtimony, (ſince it were to be acceſſory to the prevalency of darkneſs) therefore hath ſuffering been our lot above all other Nonconformiſts; as our nation can witneſs.

But bleſſed be the name of the everlaſting God, who hath been as a "Pillar of Fire " by Night, and a Pillar of Cloud by Day," and a "Rock in a weary land," and a pure Spring by the way-ſide; and has ſuſtained us by the inviſible cordials of his own love, life, peace and joy; and in the Ark of his eternal Teſtament preſerved us, making good to us what he promiſed of old, that the "old lions ſhould be hungry, and the young " lions ſhould lack their food, and the youth ſhould faint; but they that waited upon " the Lord, and truſted in their God, ſhould renew their ſtrength; and no good thing " would be withheld from them: They ſhould walk, and not be weary; they ſhould run, " and not faint." Yea, he often compaſſed us about with many and precious promiſes; and ſo great was our reſolution for the Lord, that, with Habbakkuk, we could ſay; " Though the fig-tree ſhall not bloſſom; neither ſhall fruit be in the vines; the labour " of the olive ſhall fail, and the fields ſhall yield no meat; the flock ſhall be cut of from " the fold, and there ſhall be no herd in the ſtalls; yet we will rejoice in the Lord, we " will joy in the God of our ſalvation: The Lord God is our ſtrength, and he will make " our feet like hind's feet, and he will make us to walk upon the high places;" and that hath he done many a time to our aſtoniſhment; for he hath given us power from on high "to bind kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron, to tread upon the necks " of our enemies, and to poſſeſs the gates of them that once hated us:" O I could write a volume of the judgments and mercies and faithfulneſs of the Lord; who hath kept us, increaſed us, confirmed us, protected us, and comforted us to this very day: For which thouſands are the ſouls and ſpirits, that day and night, in *white linen*, the *raiment* of the *firſt reſurrection*, bow and reverence, honour and praiſe, glorify and exalt him, that ſits upon the throne, and the Lamb who is worthy for ever.

But much of that wonderment, ſuffering and reproach is over; the rigour of our enemies abated; and the bleſſed LIGHT and TRUTH in the Conſcience becomes valuable in the eſteem of many, and the ſincere followers of it greatly reſpected; and that by perſons of very great *Quality*. And tho' the Laws, Oaths, and other Cuſtoms of our Country reſtrain men of authority from entirely falling in with us, or conferring any ſecular employments upon us; yet have they, with great importunity, ſought to us in their own perſonal and family concerns, and repoſed all truſt and confidence in us. And bleſſed be the Lord, who hath kept us in the way of integrity, and that has ſo marvellouſly turned the hearts of the great ones of the earth, inſomuch that we can ſay; when thoſe that would be thought as the *Heavens* have ſought our deſtruction, *the Earth*, mere Worldly Great Men, have often helped the *Woman*, and ſaved us from the raging envy of the Scribes and Phariſees: Bleſſed be the name of the Lord our God; who is a God like unto him?

And farthermore this know: Now that God hath made this paſſage in the land of our nativity, and caſt his firm anchor of Hope in the ſouls of many thouſands in this iſland, he will ſuddenly break in upon the nations about us; and all theſe diſtreſſes, that now are in the bowels of Europe, are to prepare the way of the Lord. God will thin the people: He will pinch, pine, and wither countries; and into confuſion ſhall Europe run more and more: And when their diſtreſs is complete, then ſhall they cry early and earneſtly after the Lord. And welcome, O beauteous, ſhall the feet of them be, that bring glad tidings to the weary, and the diſtreſſed; and when Europe is brought ſo low, as to ſee "there is no helper in the *Earth*," then ſhall *Heaven* be in requeſt; and to Heaven ſhall her inhabitants look; and from thence ſhall HE come into their hungry ſouls, whom they have looked for.

And this is the Word of the Lord, that lives in my ſoul to you: "The Lord, whom " you look for, ſhall ſuddenly come to his temple," even your Hearts. O prepare, prepare; make ready; watch unto his appearing in you, to make you a fit habitation for his holineſs to dwell in. Let him have your whole hearts; let the Mangers be for the Beaſts, and not for the Babe of Glory, whoſe very birth brings "Glory to God " on high, peace on earth, and good-will towards men."

Yet ſorrow goes before, and will gird all nations; for in that day, when they "ſhall " ſee him whom they have pierced, all kindreds, tribes, and families ſhall mourn, as one " would ſorrow for one's firſt-born, and be in bitterneſs as for one's only child." And with ſuch ſhall it be well; for to them will it be not only a day of Viſitation, but Redemption.

But woe unto the *Idol Shepherds*, in that day, who have fed themſelves, and not the flock; who have run, and God never ſent them; and cried, Thus ſaid the Lord, and

1676. God never ſpake to them; and that have preyed upon the flock, and prepared war againſt thoſe, that in Conſcience could not put into their hireling-mouths; that have been the great emiſſaries of the Falſe Prophet; and to all that commit ſin with greedineſs, and will have none of the Lord, nor of the knowledge of his ways; but, with the prieſts and rulers of this world, that have drunk deep draughts of the blood of the Saints, and Martyrs of Jeſus: From the eyes of ſuch ſhall Repentance be hid in that day, and their tongues will be ſcorched with the heat thereof; and they will utter Blaſphemies againſt the Moſt High, and their end will be eternal perdition.

" And behold, I ſtand at the door, and knock," ſaith the Lord God; " I am ready " to be *revealed*. It ſhall not be ſaid, " The fathers have eaten ſour grapes, and the " childrens teeth are ſet on edge:" But thus ſaith the Lord, " Every ſoul ſhall bear his " *own* burden; and for the *iniquity* that he hath done, ſhall he *die*; unleſs he die to ſin " by unfeigned Repentance: For my ſwift Witneſs, who is faithful and true, is ari- " ſing, and by him will I plead with all fleſh."

" Wherefore, Woe to all the inhabitants of the earth, that have caſt my law behind " their back, and grieved my Holy Spirit: That have taken counſel, and not of me, " and that have forgotten me days without number: That have lived wantonly upon " the earth, and conſumed their days in Pleaſures: That have multiplied Sacrifices " unto me, but have not hearkened unto my Word: That ſerve me with their Lips, " while their Hearts are far from me. That offer unto me Incenſe, and yet oppreſs the " Holy One of Iſrael with their Iniquities: My Soul loaths your Aſſemblies, and your " Sacrifices are an Abomination unto me."

" O Repent, Repent: Turn unto me; (why will you die?) that I may give you " Life: Obey the Light of my Son in your hearts, and ye ſhall yet live before " me."

" And all you that ſeparate yourſelves from the multitude, in whom my Spirit has " been ſtirring, but have quenched it with your own ſtirrings, and have made a fire of " the ſticks that you have gathered; and that compaſs yourſelves about in the ſparks of " the fire that you have kindled, (which is not the Fire that comes from Heaven) be- " hold, this ſhall you have at my hand; you ſhall all lie down in ſorrow."

" Wherefore, Hear and Live: My ſacrifice is in mine own Spirit; whoſe motions do " thou wait for, in the ſilence of all fleſh; and give up thyſelf in obedience unto the " ſame, and I will touch thy Heart with a coal from my own Holy Altar; and a *living* " ſacrifice ſhalt thou offer unto me on my *ſabbath-day*, in which thou ſhalt reſt from " *thy own* works, and therein ſhall my Soul be delighted, and thou ſhalt rejoice before " me: For with me, the Lord, is everlaſting wiſdom, ſtrength and refreſhment."

This is the ancient way of the Lord; this is the path of our God. To you I write, worthy and great women, that you may walk in it, and be of that number, which at this day, (wherein one cries, " Lo here," another, " Lo there") may lay hold on the ſkirt of the True Jew, the Spiritual Circumciſion, revealing himſelf, it may be but as " a Day of ſmall things" at firſt, in your ſouls, that you may ſee him, the only Rock to build upon, that your peace may be great in the Lord, when troubles are round about you. For by that ſhall the Begotten of God be known, and eminently diſcovered in the days of univerſal calamity: Tranquillity, patience, faith, and perſeverance, ſhall conſpicuouſly ſhine in their very countenances.

Something roſe in my heart, to write of my own Convincement to you, with what entertainment I received from kindred, acquaintance, rulers, &c. the many circumſtances belonging to my converſion and travail; which, though inferior to your quality, might not be ungrateful or unſerviceable to you. But I ſee it is not to be this ſeaſon; beſides, I have been very large already, yet all along in obedience to the Love and Life of my God in my ſoul, being herein acted beſide all regard to worldly method, phraſe, or contrivance, unworthy of them that take in hand to write of Divine things at the will and appointment of God.

I commit and commend you to the Word of Jeſus, nigh in your hearts; in the holy watches of it to be kept and preſerved, that the Evil-one touch you not: And that this Holy Word, which is Chriſt, the Son of the Living God, may be brought forth in you, have room in your hearts to live and grow, till you are repleniſhed therewith. A great myſtery it is, but very true, and to the Children of Light very plain, ' That he that ' brings *us* forth into the Regeneration, is brought forth *in* us: The Church is born of ' *Chriſt*, and Chriſt is born of the *Church*:' Wherefore the Apoſtle wrote to the Galatians that he " travailed in birth again, till Chriſt was formed *in* them:" And what is this *Virgin Church*, but ſo many *Virgin Members*, that, being overſhadowed by the Holy Ghoſt, conceives, and in the fulneſs of time brings forth, this glorious *Man-Child*, that is to rule the nations.

Wherefore, in that pure *Virgin Life*, live; where the ſweet overſhadowings of the holy Life of Jeſus are felt, that you may continually bring forth fruits to the honour and glory of the name of the Lord; which is the way to your eternal peace.

I have but one thing more, and I take my leave of you at this time; and that is, Remember the Poverty, Simplicity, Self-denial, Patience, and the Croſs of Jeſus, I beg of you, by all that is dear and ſacred to you: Shrink not at his Baptiſm, neither ſo much as temper with any latitude, that would evade his *bitter cup*. Let not his Vinegar and Gall be unpleaſant, nor his Crown of Thorns troubleſome: Nor laſt of all, let not his Nails and Spear be terrible to you: For they that will not forſake him in his Agonies, but be the companions of his Tribulations, and chearfully lay down their Life, and die with him to the World; they, and none elſe, ſhall riſe with him in the Newneſs of life, and aſcend with him to his Father, by him to be glorified, with that glory which he had with his Father before the world began. 1676.

Unto which kingdom God Almighty conduct you, through this earthly pilgrimage, Amen.

Yours, in that Love and Life which reigned before Sin or Death had a being.

W. P.

A
SUMMONS, OR CALL,
TO
CHRISTENDOM:
IN
An Earneſt Expoſtulation with her, to prepare for that Great and Notable Day of the Lord, that is at the Door.

1677. AWAKE, O Chriſtendom! Awake, and come to judgment; for the Great and Notable Day of the Lord is drawing apace upon thee: Prepare to meet him, thou and thy children, for the hour of his judgment haſteneth upon you, as travail on a woman with child, in which all your works ſhall be tried, and that by Fire: For “ the Day of the Lord ſhall burn as an oven, and all the proud, and all that do “ wickedly, ſhall be as ſtubble.” Yea, “ by Fire and by Sword will the Lord God “ Almighty plead with all Fleſh;” with all fleſhly worſhippers and workers, who live after the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof: And with the Spirit of Judgment, and the Spirit of Burning, that is, with *Spiritual* Judgment and Burning, will he viſit all ranks and regions upon the earth: Yea, his holy Terrors ſhall take hold of the Rebellious, and anguiſh and diſtreſs ſhall fill the ſouls of the guilty. The faces of nations ſhall gather paleneſs, and their knees ſmite together, becauſe of the anger of God, that is kindling againſt them, and his fierce wrath, that is revealing from Heaven againſt all the ungodly, but more eſpecially againſt the children of the “ Myſtery of Iniquity:” It is in this day that the kindreds of the earth ſhall mourn with a great lamentation.

O Chriſtendom! Thou haſt long ſat as a Queen, that ſhould never know ſorrow: Great have been thy pretences, and large thy profeſſion of God, Chriſt, Spirit and Scriptures: Come, let me expoſtulate with thee and thy children, in the fear and preſence of him that ſhall bring every word and work to judgment. *God* is *pure*, and the pure in Heart *only* ſee him: Now, are you pure? Do you ſee him? *God* is a *Spirit*, and none can worſhip him aright, but ſuch as come to his *Spirit*, and obey it: Do you ſo? *Chriſt* is the *Gift* of God: Have you received him in your Hearts? Does he rule there? Then have you eternal life abiding in you: If not, you are not *true* Chriſtians. The *Spirit* of *Truth* leadeth into all Truth; and the Children of God are born of it, and led by it. But are you led into all the holy ways of Truth, born of this Eternal Spirit? Then you follow not the Spirit of *this* World; nor do your own wills, but the will of *God*. You profeſs the Holy Scriptures; but what do you witneſs and experience? What intereſt have you in them? Can you ſet to your ſeal they are true, by the Work of the ſame Spirit in you, that gave them forth in the holy Ancients? What are David's Roarings and Praiſes to thee, that liveſt in the Luſts of this World? What are Paul's and Peter's Experiences to thee, that walkeſt after the Fleſh?

O you, that are called Chriſtians, give ear a little unto me, for I am preſſed in ſpirit to write to you: Read with patience, and conſider my words; for behold, what I have to ſay unto you concerneth your eternal good.

“ God hath ſo loved the world, that he hath ſent his only-begotten *Son* into the “ world, that thoſe that believe on him, ſhould have eternal life.” And this Son is Chriſt Jeſus, the true *Light*, that lighteth every one coming into the World; and they that abide not in him, the *Light*, dwell in *Darkneſs*, in *Sin*, and are under the region and ſhadow of death: Yea, *dead* in *Sin*, and ſee not their own ſtates, neither perceive the ſad conditions of their own ſouls. They are blind to the things of God's kingdom, and unſenſible of true and ſpiritual *Life* and *Motion*, what it is to *live* to God; and, in that ſtate, are alienated from God, without true judgment and living knowledge, and under the curſe. For in Jeſus Chriſt, the Light of the World, are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge, redemption and glory; they are hid from the Worldly Chriſtian, from all that are captivated by the ſpirit and luſts of the world: And whoever would ſee them, (for therein conſiſt the things that belong to their eternal peace) muſt come to Chriſt Jeſus, the true Light in their Conſciences, bring their deeds to him, love him and obey him; whom God hath ordained "a Light to lighten "the Gentiles, and for his Salvation to the ends of the earth." *Light* and *Salvation* are joined together; and none can come to Salvation, but as they come firſt to the Light, and ſubmit to the manifeſtation of it, which leadeth to Salvation. For "the "nations of them that are ſaved, ſhall walk in the Light of the Lamb, Chriſt Jeſus." *Light* and *Juſtification* are alſo joined together: "If we walk in the Light, as God is "in the Light, the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, his Son, cleanſeth us from all ſin." And *Light* and *Life Eternal* are joined together: "For in the Word (that was with God in the beginning, and was God, by whom all things were made, that were made) "was Life, and the Life was the Light of Men." And this is the teſtimony of Jeſus, "I am the Light of the World; he that followeth me, ſhall not abide in darkneſs, but have the Light of Life:" Yea, it is Eternal Life to believe in him, in Chriſt, the Light; to receive, embrace, and to follow him. And "*that* was the *true* "Light," ſaith the ſame beloved Diſciple, "which lighteth every man that cometh "into the World." Now this Light ſhineth in *Darkneſs*, in the Children of Darkneſs, in their dark Hearts, in their black Souls, and defiled Conſciences; but in this Darkneſs they comprehend it not: Neither can man know the Nature and Benefit of it, whilſt he rebelleth againſt it: For the virtue and excellency of it is ſhut up and hid from the "Children of Diſobedience." To as many as received him of old, gave he power to become the Children of God; and they that did his Will, knew his Doctrine to be of God, and of power and efficacy to their ſalvation.

But this is the great Condemnation of the World at this day, that though God hath ſent his Son, a Light, into the hearts of all men and women, to manifeſt and reprove their evil deeds, and to ſave them; yet they love Darkneſs, they love the luſts and imaginations of their vain hearts, better than this holy Light, that is given unto them for Salvation: They chuſe Barabbas, rather than Jeſus. Yea they have ſet up other *Lights*, than *Chriſt Jeſus*, God's great *Light*; and other *Prophets* than *Chriſt*, God's great *Prophet*; and other *Prieſts* than *Jeſus*, the *High Prieſt* of the New Covenant: But they are *dark* Lights, *falſe* Prophets, and *blind* Prieſts. "All that came before "me," ſaith Chriſt, "are thieves and robbers:" And all that pray, preach, ſing, worſhip, &c. and not by the Light and Spirit of Jeſus, they go *before* Chriſt, before Chriſt *cometh*, before he prepareth their Hearts, and toucheth their Lips, with a coal from his heavenly altar; and perform worſhip in their own will, time and power, and ſtay not for his leadings. And therefore all ſuch rob Chriſt of his Office, who is the *Leader* of the true Chriſtians; their heavenly *High Prieſt*, to anoint them, and offer up their ſacrifice to God for them; and *Prophet*, to let them ſee and know, by his Light in their hearts, what they ought to do, according to the New and Everlaſting Covenant; "I will write my law in their Hearts, and put my Spirit in their inward "parts, and they ſhall be all taught of me, ſaith the Lord."

Now this is the queſtion to the whole world called Chriſtians: Do you ſee with this Divine Light? Have you ſearched your hearts with it? And are you anointed by this High-Prieſt with his holy Unction, that leadeth into all Truth? Doth this Heavenly Prophet give you Viſion, and reveal the Father to you? Is he your Eye, your Head, your Wiſdom? Do you live, move, and have your life and being in him, in praying, preaching, and ſinging, yea, in your whole converſation? Are you renewed into his Life and Image? And have you heard his Voice, and ſeen his Shape? Are you witneſſes of his holy rebukes, his pure judgments, the ſhame and death of his Croſs? Is he the Fountain of your Knowledge? The Author of your Faith? O conſider! are you of thoſe that have ſpoke with Jeſus? That have been taught in the ſchool of his holy Croſs? Students in his heavenly Academy? O have you drank of his Cup, and been baptiſed with his Baptiſm? Tell me, in the fear of the Lord God, you that call yourſelves Chriſtians, doth he go before you, and lead you, as a Maſter teacheth his Diſciples, and a Captain leadeth his Soldiers? And do you follow him in all the weighty things of this life? And doth he order your minds, and rule your affections? If not, you are Thieves and Robbers; for you rob Chriſt of his Office. For God hath appointed him to be the Leader and Ruler of all people; yea, it is God's decree; and thoſe that he leadeth not, in their thoughts, words and works, ſhall never come to God: For all muſt come to God *by him*, that is, by his *Light* and *Spirit* ruling in their hearts, which ſanctifieth, regenerateth, and converteth the Soul to God.

1677. And the cauſe of the Confuſion and Contention that is about Religion in Europe at this day, is, that men have *deſerted* this true *Light* and holy *Spirit*, and ſo are degenerated from the life and power of pure and unſpotted Religion, and have attempted to comprehend Chriſt's Doctrines without Chriſt's Light, and to know the *Things* of God, without the *Spirit* of God. And being thus miſerably erred, by wicked works, from the *One Spirit* of *Truth*, they have wandered into the fallible *Conceits* and *Opinions* of *Men*. And in this ſtate one party hath contended againſt another: From *Words* they have fallen to Blows, and the ſtrongeſt hath oppoſed the weakeſt. And not knowing what ſpirit they were of, have called Light *Darkneſs*, and Darkneſs *Light*; putting the Sheep's Skin upon the Wolf, and the Wolf's Skin upon the poor Sheep of Chriſt, endeavouring by Carnal Weapons to enforce their Opinions, and to extort Conformity, by worldly Laws and Puniſhments, to their Perſuaſions. All this is out of the Light, Life and Doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus, and in the Spirit of Darkneſs, Confuſion, Strife, and Blood-ſhed, which are of the *Devil*. All which Babel muſt and ſhall come down, by the *Light*, *Power* and *Spirit* of Jeſus, now riſing in the world; and Hell, Death, and the Grave, ſhall not be able to hinder it: For the ſet time, the appointed time of the Father, is come, and the Judgment is begun.

O ye, that are called *Roman Catholicks*, tell me, are you truly *Catholick*, that is, of an *Univerſal Spirit*? Then you will not *perſecute*, but love all, and be tender to all. Are you truly *Roman*, and *Succeſſors* of that Ancient, Apoſtolical Church? Then you walk not after the *Fleſh*, but after the *Spirit*; yea, the Spirit of Chriſt dwelleth *in* you, and you are led by the *Spirit* of God, and can call him *Father* in truth and righteouſneſs, and the *Word* of *God* in the heart is your Teacher, and not the Traditions of Men; for ſo the *Romans* of old time were inſtructed. O conſider, if you are true Succeſſors, you muſt follow them in the ſame Nature, Spirit and Life; for in that only ſtandeth the *Chriſtian Succeſſion*, to wit, in *Chriſt*: And every *Branch*, Perſon or Church, that abideth not in this great *Vine*, is rejected for the fire. Therefore deceive not yourſelves, as the Jews of old did, with crying, “The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord;” and ſaying, “We have Abraham to our father, and to us belong the Fathers, Covenants, Law, Prieſthood, and Chair of Moſes:” For, as the Apoſtle ſaid of old, ſo ſay I to you; “His ſervants you are, to whom you obey;” and “He that committeth ſin, is of the Devil.” So that Chriſt's *Succeſſors*, are they that take up his Croſs, follow him, and that abide in his holy doctrine, that keep his commandments, and themſelves unſpotted from the world. And thoſe that follow the “Luſt of the Eye, the Luſt of the Fleſh, and Pride of Life,” are not of Chriſt, nor of the Father, but of the *World*; ſubjects to the Prince of the power of the Air, and ſucceſſors of Sodom, Gomorrah, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon, and perſecuting Jeruſalem; and not of the harmleſs ſelf-denying, holy, ſuffering *Spouſe* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, that is ruled in all things by her *Huſband*, her *Head*, her *Lord*. O ſearch and try, with the Light of Jeſus, if you are not degenerated from Primitive Simplicity and Purity? For great are the abominations of all Sects, that flow like a deluge throughout your Countries! Repent, and turn to the ancient apoſtolical *Spirit* and *Life*, that you may enter into the *Reſt* of *God*.

O you, that call yourſelves *Evangelicks*, or *Goſpellers*, are you *Evangelical*? Are you ſaved from the Luſts, and Pleaſures, and dead Worſhips of the world, by the mighty *Power* of *God*, which is the *Goſpel*, and led by an Evangelical Spirit? If not, you are not yet *redeemed*, you are not yet under *Grace*, which is the *Goſpel State*: For you are not taught by it, but rebel againſt it; how then are you true *Goſpellers*, Men of *Goſpel-Liberty*, Men of Deliverance and Redemption; to whom Immortality is brought to light, (as it is to all that truly know and receive the bleſſed *Goſpel*) that are yet ſubjects and ſervants to *Sin*? How can you ſing the *ſong* of the Lamb, that are not *delivered* by the Lamb; but, by your vain converſations, crucify the Lamb, and do deſpite to the Spirit of Grace, and that every day? The true Goſpellers are thoſe that receive the *Angel's Meſſage*, who is the great Preacher of the Everlaſting Goſpel, viz. “Fear God, give glory to his Name, for the hour of his judgment is come; and no more worſhip the Beaſt.” Do you fear God, in truth and in ſincerity? Then are you fearful of offending the Lord, and tender of God's glory; then are your Hearts kept clean, then are you wiſe to Salvation; and ſo you can glorify God indeed: Otherwiſe, your prayers and praiſes are not *evangelical* in God's ſight.

But tell me, O ye Goſpellers, is the Hour of his judgment come to you? Is it begun at your houſes yet? How do you feel it? Hath it broke your hearts? Hath it contrited your ſpirits? Have ye known the godly ſorrow? The chaſtiſements of the Lord, and rebukes of the Almighty? Hath his pure Eternal Word divided yet betwixt your ſoul and ſpirit, the joints and marrow? Have you ever been *weary* and *heavy laden* with ſin; hath it been a Burden to you? Did you ever cry out, in the agony of your ſpirits yet, “Men and Brethren, what ſhall we do to be ſaved? O! who ſhall deliver us from the Body of Sin here, and the Wrath to come!” (the travail of the holy ancients): If not, you are yet ſtrangers to Chriſt and his Kingdom: And if you die in that ſtate, where he is gone, you ſhall never come. “For Sion,” God's City, “muſt be redeemed “through Judgments, and her Converts through Righteouſneſs: Yea the Houſe of God cannot eſcape it:” Wherefore ſaid one of old, “If judgment begin at the Houſe of God, where ſhall the ſinner and ungodly appear?” O Woe to them that live without the judgments of the Lord! Woe to them that caſt his reproofs behind their backs, and live in earthly pleaſures, fatting up themſelves in their luſts and pleaſures, as for the day of ſlaughter, and treaſuring up wrath againſt the day of wrath. O the Ancient Saints lived not thus; they wrought out their ſalvation with “Fear and Trembling;” yea, they gave all diligence, to make their calling and election ſure: Which way do you work out yours? Habakkuk, that holy prophet, “his lips quivered, and his belly trembled, that his ſoul might reſt in the day of trouble:” Is this your ſtate? Or, are you not rather Worſhippers of the *Beaſt* at this day, lovers of the worldly, ſenſual, voluptuous life, walking in the Luſts of the Eye, the Luſts of the Fleſh, and Pride of Life; like rebellious Iſrael of old, “forgetting God, days without number?” But this know, that “all that *forget* God, ſhall be turned into hell.”

Oh! what is become of the fatherly Viſitation made to your progenitors, thoſe good beginnings ſown in Perſecutions and Martyrdoms? Have you anſwered the loving-kindneſs of God therein? Have you advanced in the Way of Righteouſneſs? Are you become an holy nation, and a peculiar people of God, zealous of good works? But have you not betaken yourſelves to the Wiſdom and Learning of this World to make *Miniſters*, and deſerted the *Spirit* of the *Lord*, and fled to the Power and Policy of this World, to defend and protect you, and not to the *Name* of the *Lord*, which hath always been the ſtrong Tower of the Righteous? Nay, are you not divided one againſt another, and turned Perſecutors for Religion yourſelves, denying that Liberty to others, you took for yourſelves? Ah! where is the Royal Law of “doing as you would be done unto.”

Thus have you decayed and degenerated into a Worldly *Clergy*, and a Carnal *People*; holding and maintaining reformed Words, in an unreformed Spirit. Yea, are not the ſame evils, Pride, Paſſion, Malice, Wars, Bloodſhed, Perſecution, Deceit, fleſhly Luſts, Wantonneſs, vain Pleaſures and Sports, yea, all manner of Worldly-mindedneſs, to be found in you, that were in the Perſecutors of your Fore-fathers, and againſt which your moſt ſerious and beſt anceſtors faithfully teſtified? So that the difference now is about Words and Sentences, and not about the Life, Nature and Spirit of “Pure and Undefiled Religion:” And men are to be known now by their Denominations and Subſcriptions to certain Human Creeds, Man-made Faiths and Forms, and not by the Spirit and Image of Chriſt Jeſus, by the Nature of the True Sheep, and by that Holy Unction, that was the Bond of the heavenly Fellowſhip of the Saints of old.

And you, that are called *Reformed*, with the reſt of the ſubdivided Sects, what better are you for your names? Are ye regenerated yet? Are you reformed from the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life; from the Devil, and all his works? Are you born of the incorruptible Seed, that liveth and abideth for ever? And are you come out of the corruptible things, and doth Chriſt lead you? Is the government of your ſouls upon his ſhoulders? Tell me, is it the *New* Birth, that which is born of God through many tribulations, the *New* Man created in Chriſt Jeſus, that calleth God *Father* in your Prayers, and that maketh mention of him in your Preachings? Or is it the *Firſt* Birth, of the *Earth*, *earthly*, the old man, the corrupt and unregenerated nature, that which is born of the Fleſh, that is to ſay, of the Seed of the Evil-one, the Father of all the fleſhly luſts, inventions, imaginations and traditions of men, that taketh pleaſure in the vain and wicked ſports and pleaſures of this apoſtate world, that forget God, and turn his Grace into wantonneſs; reproaching, nicknaming, and perſecuting the Children of Regeneration, with ſcornful names and cruel puniſhments, calling God Father, as the Jews did; and crucifying Chriſt afreſh by a vain converſation, at the ſame time.

O you degenerated Chriſtians of all ſorts, yea, all the ſeveral Sects in Chriſtendom, that have deſerted your firſt love, and degenerated from the life and power of Primitive Godlineſs, with the Light of Chriſt Jeſus in your hearts examine yourſelves. “God hath lighted your Candle,” ſearch and try yourſelves; ſee how it ſtandeth with you as to your eternal condition, before you go hence, and be no more in this world. Conſider, are you in the True Faith of Chriſt, or not? For without true Faith none can pleaſe God; and without pleaſing *him*, no man can be ſaved. The Devils believe, yea, and *tremble* too; that is more than thouſands called Chriſtians do, and ſo far they are ſhort of the very devils. Have you *faith*? Let us try it, in the Name of God. What is it for faith? Doth it overcome the World? Doth it live, and depend, upon God? Can it forſake Country and Kindred? Turn out Iſhmael? Offer up Iſaac? Live a Pilgrim, a Stranger in the world? Doth it work by that Love, which can forſake all for Chriſt's Name Sake? Doth it fight againſt the Devil? Reſiſt his fiery darts? Overcome his aſſaults and temptations? And, finally, purify the ſoul to God's uſe? Is this your Faith, O you carnal, outſide Chriſtians? No ſuch matter; for you live in the fleſh, fulfilling the Luſts thereof; and your care is, what you ſhall eat, drink, and put on, and how you ſhall get the Mammon, Friendſhip and Glory, of this World. Examine yourſelves, and prepare, for the Day of the Lord haſteneth upon you. And have a care,

1677. leſt you partake of the plagues that God hath prepared for Babylon; ſhe that calleth herſelf the "*Lamb*'s Bride," and is an Harlot, committing fornication throughout all nations and ſects; that is, thoſe who, by a *Lying Spirit*, have had their hearts ſeduced from God and his holy fear, yet in Words profeſſed to be his People; who call themſelves *Jews*, but are not; *Chriſtians*, and are not, but of the Synagogue of Satan; being ſtrangers to the Circumciſion in *ſpirit*, and the Baptiſm that is with *fire*, and with the *Holy Ghoſt*: With *fire*, to conſume the Fleſhly Nature; and with the *Holy Ghoſt*, to beget the Heavenly Nature in man. O the Downfal of this Great City, and the deſolation of this Falſe Church through all the Sects in Chriſtendom, is come, and coming! yea, in *One* Day ſhall it be accompliſhed, even in the Day of the Appearance of Chriſt, who is the Second Adam, the Lord from heaven, who by the "Brightneſs of his Coming," and by the "Breath of his Mouth," in the hearts of nations, ſhall reveal, and deſtroy, this Great Antichriſt, this Man of Sin, *in man*, that ſitteth in the place of God, yea, exalted above all that is called God, requiring conformity to all his inventions and injunctions, upon pain of life, liberty and eſtate: Nor are any ſuffered to buy or ſell in this Great City, but ſuch as will "receive his mark."

Woe to you all, in the Name of the Lord, that call God your Father, and are not *born* of him; that name his Name, and hate to be reformed: That call Jeſus *Lord*, and not by the *Holy Ghoſt*; who take his pure Name into your mouths, and depart not from Iniquity. I ſay to you, on God's behalf, as God ſaid to the Jews of old; "Your prayers, your ſacrifices, and your ſolemn aſſemblies, &c. in an unconverted ſtate, are abomination to the Lord." No matter for your names, your pretences, your creeds, if you live without *God* in the world; that is, without his holy Awe in your hearts, without a divine Senſe of his Preſence in your ſouls, and know not that godly ſorrow, that worketh unfeigned repentance, the only way to eternal life. Your worſhip God loatheth: A dog's neck, ſwine's blood, yea, to bleſs an idol, or kill a man, is altogether as acceptable with the Lord, O! God is wroth with the feigned worſhips, as well as common ungodlineſs, of the world: Come to Chriſt's Spirit, be led of it; and do not your own wills, but the will of Chriſt Jeſus; and then you ſhall know the True Worſhip. For the True Miniſtry and Worſhip of God, ſtand not in the Will, Wiſdom, or Appointment of Men; nor can they be performed by unregenerated men, but in the leadings of his eternal Spirit, by whom all the faithful offer up themſelves an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not to live unto themſelves, but to him that hath purchaſed them. It is true, Chriſt Jeſus died for the Ungodly, but not that they ſhould *continue* ungodly, but take up his daily Croſs, and follow him. "Chriſt," ſaith Peter, "ſuffered for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps:" As *he* was in this world, *ſo we* ſhould be; not conformable to the rudiments, faſhions, and cuſtoms of this world, that paſs away; but transformed and renewed in our minds, by the Grace that he hath given us: Which Grace bringeth ſalvation to all that obey it; teaching ſuch to deny all ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent evil world: Becauſe, "without holineſs, none ſhall ever ſee the Lord:" That is God's decree.

Wherefore be you not deceived, O you Formal and Titular Chriſtians; God "will not be mocked: Such as you ſow, ſuch ſhall you reap at the hand of the Lord: Yea for every idle word ſhall you give an account in the day of judgment." Think not with yourſelves, you have Chriſt to your Saviour, and you are reconciled to God through *Chriſt*, and that God looketh not upon you as you are in *yourſelves*, but as in *Chriſt*; whilſt you walk not after the *Spirit*, but after the *fleſh*: "For the wages of ſin is Death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord:" To whom? Not to them that deſpiſe *his Light* in their hearts, that grieve *his Spirit*, and, by a worldly converſation, go on to crucify him; and who follow not Jeſus in the way of tribulation and regeneration. "God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity;" and he looketh upon men and women to be what they really *are*, and not what they *imagine* themſelves to be: "Behold he cometh, and his reward is with him, and he will reward all according to their works." Sinners, while ſuch, can no more come into *Chriſt*, than into *God*; for God is in *Chriſt*, and Chriſt is in *God*: Chriſt is holy, harmleſs, pure and undefiled, and ſeparate from ſinners. And if ever you would have God look upon you to be in Chriſt, you muſt come *into* Chriſt: And you can never come into *Chriſt*, the new and heavenly Man, that is undefiled, and ſeparated from ſinners, till you come out of *Sin*, and the *Author* of it, the *Devil*, the Old Man of Sin, and leave your wicked deeds of darkneſs.

Therefore, be ye ſeparate from every evil way: Chriſt, the Immaculate Lamb of God, came not only to ſave men from Wrath, but from Sin, which is the Cauſe of wrath. "Behold the Lamb of God," ſaith John, "which taketh away the Sin of the world:" Not their ſin that will not *believe* in him, but the ſins of thoſe that are *weary* and *heavy laden*, that wait, hunger, thirſt, and cry for his ſalvation; whom God hath given for a Light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his Salvation to the ends of the earth. O you that are called by his ſacred Name, Repent, Repent! Prepare, Prepare to meet the Lord, who is coming, in the way of his judgments, to viſit the Inhabitants of the Earth; and put away the evil of your doings, and turn to him, that he may receive you.

But woe, in the Name of the Lord, to all that *rebel* againſt the Light of Chriſt Jeſus, who ſerve another Maſter, and follow another Captain, and obey the Prince of the Power of the Air, who reigneth in the hearts of the children of diſobedience. Yea, "Woe "unto all, who are covered with a covering, and not of my Spirit; that take counſel, "and not of me," ſaith the Lord: "Who gather ſticks, and kindle a fire of their own, "and compaſs themſelves about in the ſparks which they have kindled; for this ſhall "they have at my hand, They ſhall lie down in *ſorrow*."

Woe, from God, to all the Will-worſhippers, who worſhip, but not in the *Spirit* and in the *Truth*; their Worſhip is not available. He that worſhips God aright is turned to the Spirit, and is taught and led by the Spirit. And ſuch as have received the Spirit of Chriſt are not led by their *own* ſpirits, nor by the ſpirit of this World, nor according to the Inventions and Traditions of Men: Neither do they conform themſelves to the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of this World, nor will they bow to the Glory of this World, or the God of it. But having ſeen *him*, whom they have pierced with their vain converſation in times paſt, they mourn, and are in great bitterneſs, becauſe they have done deſpite to his Holy Spirit of Grace, that ſtrove ſo long with them for their redemption. And being called, by his ſpiritual call in their hearts, to come out of *Babylon*, the great city of Will-worſhip, Confuſion and Darkneſs, that is in the earth, do chearfully reſign up all, to follow him in the Narrow Way of Self-denial, as his holy Diſciples did of old. And ſuch have learned, by good experience, that without *Chriſt* they can do nothing: Tho' in theſe days ſcarcely any thing is done *with* him, or *by* him. For he is reſiſted, in his *Spiritual Appearance*, in the Conſciences of thoſe that make only a profeſſion of him with their Mouths, and therefore he doth not many mighty works *in* them: Yea, he is ſmitten, ſpit upon, crowned with thorns, pierced and crucified, of all falſe Chriſtians, through their rebellion and wickedneſs.

O woe, from the Great and Juſt God, that made heaven and earth, upon all people that work Iniquity, and forget God! Woe to you, Kings and Princes, that have crucified the "Lord of Life and Glory;" yea, you have crucified him in yourſelves, and helped to crucify him in others: He lieth ſlain at this day in your ſtreets. For you have not ruled for *God*, as you ought to have done, but for *yourſelves*, to pleaſe your own Luſts; and have not ſought the Glory of the Lord, nor the Proſperity of his Work in the Earth, ſo much as the Greatneſs of your own Names, and to enlarge your Worldly Dominions; often oppreſſing the Poor, and perſecuting Conſcientious Diſſenters; but ſuffering almoſt all manner of Vice and Vanity to go unpuniſhed. How doth the Luſt of the Eye, the Luſt of the Fleſh, and the Pride of Life, reign in your territories? Are not your Courts the very Schools of Vanity, and Nurſeries of Worldly Luſts and Pleaſures, which war againſt the ſoul, and lead to eternal deſtruction? O! you have much to anſwer for before the Great God, at the Day of his Terrible Tribunal, who have Power in your hands to chaſe away Wickedneſs, and to reform the World. It is written, "A king upon his "throne of judgment ſcattereth all evil with his eye:" O! that the kings and princes of the world knew this Throne of true Judgment! that they had this Godlike Majeſty, that they would purge their lands of Evil-doers, that they and their people might eſcape the wrath and vengeance of God, that is ready to be poured forth upon them!

And woe to you, Nobles of the Earth, that ſpend your Eſtates in Pleaſures, and your days in Vanity, that, like thoſe of old, "drink wine in bowls, and ſtretch yourſelves "upon couches of ivory: That invent muſical inſtruments for your mirth, but remem"ber not the afflictions of Joſeph, neither conſider of your latter end." What pride, luſt, and exceſs lie at your doors! What ſpoil and waſte do you make in the world! You live as if you ſhould never die; caring only what you ſhould eat, what you ſhould drink, and what you ſhould put on; how you ſhould trim, perfume, and beautify your poor mortal ſelves, and at which Plays and Sports you ſhould divert and ſpend away that troubleſome and melancholy thing called *Time*, as you eſteem it, inſtead of "*Redeeming* the "*Time*, becauſe the days are evil," and preparing for the eternal judgment. Is *this* the Way to Glory? Did Jeſus give you this Example? O! he is crucified by theſe things! This is far from the True Nobility, and Chriſtian Honour, that cometh from above.

Woe to you, Judges of the Earth, who pervert judgment for a Reward, that oppreſs the Poor, and deſpiſe the cauſe of the Needy; who regard the Mighty and the Rich in Judgment, and delay Juſtice for the fear or favour of Man. That ſubject the Laws to your Wills, and righteous Rules to your Paſſions and Intereſt. Repent, and be juſt; for God, the Juſt God, the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth, ſhall judge you all according to your works: And dreadful ſhall that day of his reckoning and tribunal be, to all the workers of iniquity; but eſpecially to *unjuſt* and *corrupt Judges*.

And woe to you, Lawyers, that refuſe no Cauſe for *Money*, but will plead even againſt Law, Truth, and Juſtice, for Advantage; teaching your tongues to advocate for a Lye, and your mouths for Gain, to plead the cauſe of Unrighteouſneſs; raiſing unreaſonable

1677. Wealth unto yourſelves, by the Folly, Ignorance and Contention of the People. O the Equivocation, Deceit, Falſhood, and Iniquity, that is in your Profeſſion, in which you let your Conſciences out to hire at every ſummons, for all ſorts of cauſes: Inſomuch, that it is the Money, and not the Cauſe, that prevaileth. And the *worſt* Cauſe moſt commonly is moſt deſired, becauſe the client, doubtful of his ſucceſs, is uſually the moſt *liberal* to you. This alſo is for Judgment.

And woe to you, Merchants and Traders, that have not the Lord's fear before your eyes, whoſe God is *Gold* and *Gain*; that neither buy nor ſell with regard to his Juſt Principle in your Conſciences; that uſe vain and deceitful words, and that are not come to the Juſt Meaſure, and the Righteous Balance, but uſe frauds for advantage: That neither eye the Lord's Providence by Sea, nor his Care by Land; but day and night caſt about how to raiſe to yourſelves a great Name and Eſtate, to exalt your neſts, and rank your families among the Rich and the Noble of the earth! The Lord will alſo plead with you: Repent, and fear before God.

Woe to you, Farmers and Countrymen, that reward the Lord evil for good, who giveth you increaſe of all things in their proper Seaſons, yet you diſcern not his Hand, you regard not his Care; you live "*without* God in the world:" Yet no life is fuller of the Lord's Providence, who preſerveth and proſpereth your flocks, who increaſeth your wine, your corn, and your graſs; inſtead of remembering his goodneſs with reverence, and in your harveſts praiſing him with fear, you ſacrifice to your luſts, and rejoice only in your fulneſs; making merry at your harveſts, without the fear of God, or looking to him, that giveth you to increaſe. Repent, and fear before the God of the whole earth.

But, above all others, Woe to you, Scribes, Phariſees, and Hypocrites, you Prieſts and Paſtors, who have taken a charge that God never *gave* you; who run, and he never *ſent* you; who ſay, "Thus ſaith the Lord," and he never ſpoke *to* you, or *by* you: That ſteal the Words of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and with them make *merchandize* to the people, not knowing the pure *Word* of *God* in your hearts to be as an Hammer, a Fire, a Sword, to deſtroy ſin, and to purge, redeem, and reconcile you to God; but boaſt in other mens lines, and ſpeak things made ready to your hands: That "teach "for *hire*, and divine for *money*;" who ſeek honour of men, and love the uppermoſt places at feaſts: Who ſpeak peace to the wicked, and ſew pillows under their elbows for Reward: Pleaſers of Men, more than pleaſers of God. Woe to you, in the Name of the Lord, that *counterfeit* his Commiſſion, and deceive the people, requiring their money for that which is not bread, and their labour, for that which doth not profit: At your doors lieth the blood of Souls, in which you have traded. O you Phyſicians of no value, whom have you cured? Where is the ſeal of your miniſtry? Is it not an abominable cheat, that you take *money* to cure, yet *cannot* cure; that have *no medicine* to cure; and, at laſt, maintain, that the diſeaſe is *incurable*? You are they, that will neither enter into the kingdom yourſelves, nor ſuffer others. For whenever we have ſeen your deluſions, and deſerted your Aſſemblies, preſently a "Pacquet of Letters" muſt be ſent to "Damaſcus:" The Magiſtrate muſt be called upon, to be Jailer and Hangman for the Prieſt. What wars, changes, and perſecutions ever befel the world, ſince you had a being, in which you have not been at Head or Tail? O your practices ſhall more and more come to light: And the Day haſteneth, that your very Name and Calling (as *now* held) ſhall be had in abhorrence by the nations. O you numerous offſpring of the Great Falſe Prophet, that hath been a Lyar from the beginning; hereby is it known that God hath never *ſent* you, that you "have not *profited* the people;" they are God's words by the prophet Jeremy. Weep and howl, for the day of your great calamity haſteneth upon you! your father and mother are come into remembrance before the Lord, the hour of their judgment is at the door. God will fill you the cup of his fury; you ſhall drink it at his hand.

O! I cannot but cry aloud to you all, of all ranks and qualities, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that walk not after the Spirit, but after the Fleſh, daily fulfilling the luſts thereof; that you would repent, and be ſaved. O how hath Chriſt's religion been prophaned, and his holy Name blaſphemed, by the lewd life of profeſſed Chriſtians! the very Heathens are ſcandalized, and the nations round about have you in ſcorn and deriſion. "Ariſe, O God, for thy Name's ſake!" O what tremendous Oaths and Lyes! what Revenge and Murders, what Drunkenneſs and Gluttony! what Pride and Luxury! what Chamberings and Wantonneſs! what Fornications, Rapes, and Adulteries! what Maſks and Revels! what Luſtful Ornaments, and Enchanting Attires! what Proud Cuſtoms, and Vain Compliments! what Sports and Pleaſures! what Plays and Romances! what Intrigues and Paſtimes! Again, What Falſeneſs and Treachery! what Avarice and Oppreſſion! what Flattery and Hypocriſy! what Malice and Slander! what Contention and Law-ſuits! what Wars and Bloodſhed! what Plunders, Fires and Deſolations! And it is not only committed by Chriſtians in *general* one againſt another, but by Chriſtians of the *ſame Faith, Sect* and *Church* one againſt another; praying to the ſame God to *deſtroy* one another; and ſinging Pſalms to God, when they have wickedly deſtroyed one another. O the Rapes, Fires, Murders, and Rivers of Blood, that lie at the doors of profeſſed Chriſtians! If this be *godly*, what is *deviliſh*? If this be *chriſtian*, what is *paganiſh*? What is *anti-chriſtian*, but to make God a *party* to their wickedneſs? O profanation! O blaſphemy! what need is there of any other demonſtration, that Chriſtendom is foully apoſtatized from the doctrine and example of Chriſt Jeſus, and his true followers, who ſaith, "If ye love me, keep my commandments. By this "ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye have love one to another." And John ſaith, "Whoſoever doth not love his brother, is not of God; and whoſoever hateth his brother, is a murderer; and ye know, that no murderer hath eternal life abi-"ding in him." And it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they kill one another in Love; for murder is not the effect of Love and Brotherly-Kindneſs, but of Malice, Envy, and Revenge. O Chriſtendom! how art thou, and thy children, degenerated from God, and fallen from the doctrine of Chriſt, whoſe holy Name thou profeſſeſt! Thou art become a city full of uncleanneſs, committing whoredom under every green tree; following other lovers than Jeſus, whoſe Spouſe thou profeſſeſt to be. O thou rebellious city, thou cage of unclean birds, thou and thy children have filled the earth with the ſtink of your abominations!

O how expert have you been in theſe impieties! how ingenious to work wickedneſs, and how fruitful in your inventions to gratify the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life! O how hath the Heathen Nature, as an evil leaven, prevailed, and leavened the great Body of Chriſtians at this day; as if the End of Chriſt's coming into the World had been to furniſh us with a New Profeſſion, but not to give us a New Nature; to learn men to *talk*, and not to *live*; to cry "Hoſanna," but in works to crucify him. What did the Heathens, that Chriſtians have not done? Yea, the ſame luſts, vanities, and impieties, that reigned among them, are to be found improved among Chriſtians. So that it is *Paganiſm* made *free* of the *Chriſtian Profeſſion*, or *Heatheniſm Chriſtianed*: And *not to conform* to the *Heathen* in the Chriſtian, is not to be a *Chriſtian*, but an *Heathen*. O the ignorance, as well as wickedneſs, of the preſent Chriſtian World! Verily, the *Chriſtian Life* is oppreſſed under this maſs of Darkneſs and Impiety, found in the converſations of Apoſtate *Chriſtians*, even as *Chriſt* was grieved and burdened with the darkneſs and obſtinacy of the Apoſtate *Jews*. And as the hard-heartedneſs of the *falſe Jews* crucified him *outwardly*, ſo hath the hard-heartedneſs of the *falſe Chriſtians* crucified him *inwardly*: Which hath fulfilled what is recorded in the Apocalypſe, viz. "That the Lord was crucified in Sodom and Egypt, ſpiritually ſo called:" For the *Falſe Chriſtians* are the ſpiritual Sodom and Egypt, who love and live in Sodom's ſins, and Egypt's luſts and pleaſures. Yea, they are of the race of them that ſtoned the Prophets, and crucified the Lord of Glory; of the ſame nature and ſpirit. O the blood of Jeſus lieth at their doors, ſhed, ſpilt, and trod under foot of them, and will one day cry for eternal vengeance againſt them, if they repent not with unfeigned ſorrow, and turn to the Lord with their whole hearts: Certainly, woe, anguiſh and tribulation ſhall be their portion for ever! THAT which *they* have grieved, ſhall grieve *them*; and THAT which *they* have bruiſed and reſiſted, ſhall reject and torment *them*; yea, it ſhall be a never-dying worm, and an endleſs pain, to them. O woe to the worker of iniquity in that day! woe to the ſlothful ſervant! woe to the mocker and ſcoffer! woe to the drunkard and unclean perſon! woe to them that ſpend their days in vanity, and their life in earthly pleaſures! woe to the proud Phariſee, and diſdainful Scribe! woe to the fearful and unbelieving! woe to Idolaters and liars! yea, and Woe from God to all the cruel perſecutors of the innocent lambs and ſheep of Jeſus, for their pure Conſcience to him! for they ſhall have their part in the lake, that burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the "Second Death."

O that you might eſcape this great damnation! and I teſtify to you, in the Word of the Lord, that God giveth unto you all a Day of Viſitation, in which you may eſcape the wrath to come. For this end, God hath ſent his Son a Light into your hearts; it is *he* which manifeſteth all your thoughts, words and deeds unto you; it is *he*, which checks and reproveth you; yea, it is *he*, which expoſtulateth and ſtriveth with you; it is *he*, that knocketh at your doors, and awakeneth you to judgment; who condemneth every unfruitful thought, word, and work in you. Repent, I exhort you; turn to him; hear his voice, and harden not your hearts; but while it is *to-day*, and the Light *ſhineth*, and the ſpirit *ſtriveth*, O humble yourſelves, bear his judgments, love his reproofs. And though his Word be as a Fire in your hearts, and though you are even *ſcorched* within you, becauſe of the heat thereof, yet bear the indignation of the Lord, in that you have ſinned againſt him. Wait, watch, and walk in the Light of the Lord Jeſus, that in his blood you may feel remiſſion of ſins, and ſanctification unto life eternal: That you may no more walk after the fleſh, to fulfil the Luſts thereof, but in the Spirit of holineſs; that you may be ſealed unto the day of Redemption. O the peace, the joy, the pleaſure, and the undeclarable comfort, that is daily met with in the holy and righteous way of the Lord!

O this riſeth powerfully in my ſoul, 'That *his* form hath no comelineſs in it, that will 'pleaſe Fleſh; *his* way and worſhip is moſt remote from it. Fleſh and blood have no

1677. 'ſhare in *his* worſhip; the will and runnings of Man have no part in *his* way.' It is neither at the Mountain, where one ſort runneth; nor at Jeruſalem, whither another ſort goeth; but in Spirit, within the Vail, hid from fleſh and blood: Yea, there it is that his worſhip is known and performed. Any form is more pleaſant than this: *His* Viſage is more marred than any man's. All *will-worſhip*, all *human invention*, findeth acceptance, where *he* cannot find a place to lay his head on. O this is a bitter cup to the creature; few will drink it! they are hard to be perſuaded to *ſit ſtill*, and patiently to *wait* for the Salvation of God, to let *him* work all their works in them and for them. They know not what it is, to have the "mouth in the duſt, to have all "fleſh *ſilent* before the Lord, that the Voice of God may be heard; that he may pre-"pare them, and that the will of God may be brought forth in them." O this Myſtery of Iniquity, how hath it wrought, and how doth it yet work! It claimeth a right to the Living Child; but ſhe hath no right to it; ſhe is the Womb of Death, and can bring forth no living fruit to God. All nations have drank her cup. But the hour of her judgment is come. She is ſeen, diſveiled, and condemned by the living Spirit of God, that is felt, and received, and obeyed by a Remnant, who are gathered from the mouths of idol ſhepherds, and all the errings and ſtrayings of falſe prophets, that have no Viſion; and are come to the Lord, to know his Law in their Hearts, and Fear and Spirit to be in their inward parts, and are taught and led by him. And theſe follow the Lamb, and are his hoſt this day, that fight under his banner, with his holy teſtimony, againſt the Whore, Falſe Prophet and Beaſt. And behold they ſhall prevail: For greater is he that is in them, than he that is in the world.

O this is a great myſtery, but a greater truth: *Moſes*, the Servant, is, externally, more comely than HE: Yea, the Prophets were as pleaſant ſingers, and as delightful inſtruments of muſick; their viſions, ſights, and glorious prophecies of the laſt days, and new-covenant times, were (ſays one of them of old) as a pleaſant ſong: But the SON, the ſubſtance, when he came, had no beauty, no excellency, no comelineſs. What is the matter? The way is narrow for fleſh and blood; there is a croſs muſt be taken up, a bitter cup drank, and a baptiſm, yea, of blood, gone through. Man muſt die to his own will, affections, imaginations, and carnal conceptions; he muſt wait and watch, yea, continually: His own religion and righteouſneſs is as odious as his ſin and iniquity, yea, in a ſenſe, more dangerous. It is no outſide will do; not that which pleaſeth the buſy, active will and mind of the creature, that gratifieth the external ſenſes, that have prevailed againſt the ſoul: O no; it is an hidden Life, an hidden Temple, an hidden Worſhip, and that in God's time; yea, an hidden Manna, an hidden Supper, not diſcernible by the vain ſects of this world. Of this Tabernacle is JESUS Builder; of this Covenant and Worſhip is he Author; of this Altar is he Prieſt: To this did he gather his of old, and to this is he gathering the nations. "And the Bride ſaith, Come; and "the Spirit ſaith, Come; and he ſaith, Come:" And bleſſed are they that come, and ſee how good he is.

But ſuch who, like Sodom of old, go on to grieve the Spirit of the Lord, to rebel againſt his Light, and vex God's juſt *Lot*, that liveth in the midſt of them, perſiſting in their luſts and abominations, God's Angel ſhall ſmite them with blindneſs: The day of their viſitation ſhall paſs away, and the forbearance of God ſhall be at an end, and fire from heaven ſhall devour them. Which with my ſoul I fervently and tenderly deſire you may all eſcape, whom God hath taught to hate your ſin, deny your glory, and ſeparate from all your falſe worſhips, by his own Light, Spirit and Truth, and to follow his dear SON in the way of regeneration; whoſe love to me hath taught me to love all mankind, and to ſeek their ſalvation.

W. PENN.

Amſterdam, the 20th of the
8th month, 1677.

TENDER

COUNSEL and ADVICE,

BY WAY OF

EPISTLE,

To all thoſe who are ſenſible of their Day of Visitation, and who have received the Call of the Lord, by the Light and Spirit of his Son in their Hearts, to partake of the Great Salvation, where-ever ſcattered throughout the World.

Faith, Hope, and Charity, which overcome the World, be multiplied among you.

My dearly-beloved Friends,

WHO are ſenſible of the day of your viſitation, by the Light of the Lord Jeſus in your hearts, and who have gladly received the holy teſtimony thereof, by which you have beheld the great Apoſtacy, that is in the world, from the Life, Power and Spirit of God, and the groſs Degeneracy, that is amongſt thoſe called Chriſtians, from the purity, ſelf-denial, and holy example of Chriſt Jeſus, and his primitive followers; and how pride, luſt and vanity reign, and how Chriſtendom is become a cage of unclean birds: Who have mourned under the ſenſe thereof, and have cried in your ſouls, "How long, how long, how long, O Lord God holy and true, will it be, ere thou takeſt to thyſelf thy great power, and reigneſt!" To whom the world is become a burden, and the vanities and glory of it but "vexation of ſpirit:" Who deſpiſe the things that are ſeen, which are temporal, for the ſake of the things that are not ſeen, which are eternal: Whoſe eyes look through and beyond time and mortality, to that eternal city, whoſe builder and maker is God: Whoſe daily cries and travails are to follow Jesus in the way of Regeneration; to live as Pilgrims in this world, for the ſake of that glory which ſhall hereafter be revealed, that can never fade away, that you may attain unto the eternal reſt of God: To you, my dear Friends, to you it is, that the God and Father of him that was dead, and is alive, and liveth for evermore, "Chriſt Jeſus, the Faithful and True Witneſs," who hath loved and viſited my ſoul, hath now moved upon my ſpirit to write, and viſit you with this Epiſtle. Receive it then, and with it the endeared ſalutation of that Love and Life which are not of this world, but overcome the world. Great and frequent are my travails for you, that you may perſevere, and not faint, but endure to the end; that you may obtain that glorious ſalvation and redemption that is in Chriſt Jeſus. Yea, for this are my knees bended before the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, that you may be entirely kept; "that you may ſo run, as you may obtain; and ſo fight, as you may overcome;" that an immortal crown and kingdom may be your portion, when all ſins and ſorrows ſhall be done away. 1677.

And that this you may do, hear my Exhortation to you in the Spirit of Truth. Dwell in the *ſenſe* that God hath begotten in your hearts by the *Light* and *Spirit* of his *Son*, who is now *in you*, reconciling you unto himſelf. Watch, that this bleſſed Senſe be preſerved in you, and it will preſerve you. For where the holy Senſe is loſt, Profeſſion, even of the higheſt truths, cannot preſerve againſt the enemy's aſſaults; but the gates of hell will prevail againſt them, and the enemy's darts will wound them, and they will be carried again captive by the power of his temptations. Wherefore, I ſay again, live and abide in that Light and Life which hath viſited you, and begotten an holy ſenſe in your hearts, and which hath made ſin exceeding ſinful to you, and you weary and heavy-laden under the burden of it; and hath raiſed in you a ſpiritual travail, hunger and thirſt after your Saviour, that he might deliver you; that ye might be filled with the righteouſneſs of his kingdom, that is without end.

Dear Friends, God hath breathed the breath of *Life* in you, and in meaſure you live; for *dead* men and women do not hear, or hunger, or thirſt; neither do they feel weights and burdens, as you do. The Day of the Lord is dawned upon you, and it burneth as an Oven; you know it; and all works of iniquity are as ſtubble before it: You feel it ſo, they cannot ſtand before the Lord: His judgments take hold of them, and conſume them. O love his judgments! that with thoſe of old you may ſay, “In the way of “thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; the deſire of our ſoul is to thy “name, and to the remembrance of thee. With our ſouls have we deſired thee in the “night, yea with our ſpirits within us will we ſeek thee early: For when thy judgments “are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteouſneſs.” Part, part with all, my dear Friends, that is for judgment; let *Him* ariſe in your hearts, that *his* and *your* enemies may be ſcattered; that you may witneſs him to be ſtronger in you, than he that is in the world. If the deſire of your ſoul be to his name, and the remembrance of him, you will love his judgments, and abide there the days he alloweth for your purification. Behold his bleſſed Viſitation is upon you: His Angel hath ſaluted you, and his Holy Spirit hath overſhadowed you: He hath begotten holy deſires in you; I pray that they may never be extinguiſhed, and that you may never faint. Wherefore look to Jeſus, that is the Author, that he may be the Finiſher. I teſtify for God, he has *appeared* to you; yea, he hath ſaid to you, as to Andrew, Philip, &c. “Follow “me:” And I ſay unto you, Follow him: Come and ſee where he dwelleth; do not loſe ſight of him; let him be lifted up in you, and your eye be to him: Who, wherever he is *lifted up*, draweth all ſuch after him. And this is the reaſon why people are not now drawn after Chriſt, becauſe he is not lifted up in their Hearts, he is not exalted in their Souls: He is rejected, oppreſſed, crucified, and buried; yea, they have rolled a ſtone upon him, and ſet guards, that he ſhould not riſe in them to judge them.

But bleſſed are you, whoſe eyes have ſeen one of the days of the Son of Man: Bleſſed are you, at whoſe doors he hath knocked, to whoſe hearts he hath appeared, who have received his holy viſitation, who believe it is *he*, and not another; and therefore have ſaid in your hearts, with Nathaniel of old, “Thou art the Son of God, thou art “the King of Iſrael;” and with Thomas, “my Lord, and my God.” O what have you, my dear Friends, to do, but to keep with him for ever! for whither ſhould you go, the words of eternal life dwell with him? He is full of Grace, and full of Truth, and of his Fulneſs ye have received Grace for Grace. And this is that Grace which bringeth ſalvation to all that receive it, embrace it, and will be led by it. For it teacheth ſuch, as it did the ancient Chriſtians, “to deny all ungodlineſs, and the world's luſts, and to “live ſoberly and godlikely in this preſent evil world; looking for that bleſſed hope, “and glorious appearing of the great God, and their Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who hath “given himſelf for them to deliver them from all ſin, and to redeem them from all iniquity.” You know that you are bought with a Price; now you feel it, and in meaſure diſcern the preciouſneſs of that price which hath bought you, namely, “the Life “of the dear Son of God.” Grieve not his Spirit, that is ready to ſeal you to the day of your perfect redemption: But give up your bodies, ſouls and ſpirits to his ſervice, whoſe they are, that they may be ordered by him to his glory.

I write not to you as to the world; for you are called out of the world, by him that hath overcome the world; that as *he* is not of this world, ſo *you* may not be of this world. Come then out of it more and more, out of the Nature, out of the Spirit, out of the Fruits, and out of the Faſhions of the world! they are all for the Fire. Chriſt ſaid, “The “World loveth its own.” Search, with the Light of the Lord Jeſus, what there is in you that the World owneth and loveth; for that is its *own*. And conſider what it is, that the world is offended with: Not with that which cometh from *itſelf*, of its own making and inventing, but that which *croſſeth* its invention; that is of another nature, and ſpringeth from another root. O be not conformed to the Faſhions of this world, that pleaſe the luſt, which grieveth the Spirit of God; but be ye renewed in your minds; and being ſo *within*, you will be as a new people *without*.

They that have been truly with Chriſt, are quickly diſcovered; they cannot be hid. So it was of old; the Jews ſaid of the diſciples, “Theſe men have been with Jeſus:” Their ſpeech and carriage bewrayed them; their outſides were not like the outſides of other men; they were not currant with the Faſhions and Cuſtoms of that Time: Nor can they that have been with Jeſus, conform to the vain Faſhions and Cuſtoms of this World. Wherefore be not you, in any ſort, of this World, but give diligence to make your holy high calling and election ſure: For many are called, and few are choſen; and the reaſon is, they are “ſlothful ſervants, they hide their talent in a napkin, neglect the day of “their viſitation, and work not out their ſalvation with Fear and Trembling:” And then the Night overtaketh them, in which they can never work the works of Repentance; and the things that belong to their Peace are hid from their eyes for ever.

But the Lord forbid that it ſhould be ſo with any of *you!* No, no; I hope, yea, I believe, better things of you. And I am aſſured, that as you keep your hearts chaſtely to the Light and Grace, that with which you have been viſited of the Lord, you ſhall be kept to eternal ſalvation. For they are ſaved, that walk in the Light: Into the *Light* the Enemy cannot come; for the Light is Chriſt Jeſus, and the enemy hath no part or place in him; he is driven out from the holy place by tranſgreſſion; and he is now a *Fugitive* from heaven; but he goeth up and down the *Earth*, ſeeking whom he may devour, whom he can *catch* and carry away with his baits and ſnares.

Wherefore, "Woe to the Inhabitants of the Earth;" that is, the *earthly* inhabitants, ſuch as love and live in the *earthly nature*; for all ſuch ſhall be a prey to him, he ſhall have power over them, and keep up his kingdom in them. But thoſe that receive and abide in Chriſt Jeſus, the *Light*, *Life* and *Truth*, are out of his reach; they are in the "Munition of Rocks," under the "Pavilion of the Lord," in the ſafe *Ark* of the Moſt High God. However, he is permitted to tempt and try, till the time ſhall come that he is not only trodden under foot, but alſo bound and caſt into the lake, "that burneth with fire and brimſtone." And he is the *greateſt* Enemy to thoſe that turn their backs upon him; wherefore he watcheth to ſurprize them, that he might take them at unawares, and triumph over their failings: And for that reaſon Chriſt Jeſus preached the "*Watch*" earneſtly, and with repetition, to his diſciples.

Now, my dear Friends, there be ſeveral things (or, the *Enemy* in ſeveral Appearances) will attend you in this holy march you are making to the eternal land of Reſt; of which I would caution you, that you may none of you make ſhipwreck of any of thoſe holy Beginnings you have experienced by the Light and Spirit of the Lord. Beware of *Vain Thoughts*, for they oppreſs and extinguiſh the true Senſe. Theſe vain Thoughts ariſe from the Enemy's preſentations of Objects to the Mind, and the Mind's looking upon them, till they have made their *impreſſions* upon the Mind, and influenced the Mind into a Love of them. This is a falſe liberty, a dangerous, yea, a deſtructive liberty, to the holy *Senſe* that God hath begotten in any. For as this is not received, but hindered, by ſuch Thoughts, ſo it is not improved, but deſtroyed by them. The divine *Senſe* in the ſoul is begotten by the Lord: 'Tis his Life and Spirit, his holy Breath and Power, that quickeneth the ſoul, and maketh it ſenſible of its own ſtate, and of God's will; and that raiſeth fervent deſires in it to be eternally bleſſed. This is that which Satan rageth at; he feareth his kingdom; he findeth that He is come that will caſt him out of his poſſeſſions. He crieth out, "Why art thou come to "torment me before my time?" *He* is the father of Vain Thoughts; he begetteth them in the mind, on purpoſe to draw off the mind from that Senſe, and to exerciſe it in variety of Conceptions, in a Self-liberty of thinking and imagining concerning perſons and things. Here he offereth his baits, and layeth his ſnares; and never faileth to catch and defile the unwatchful ſoul.

Now, if you ſhould ſay, "What are theſe Vain Thoughts?" I tell you, my Friends; All thoſe Thoughts and Conceptions that either bring not real Profit to the ſoul, or that grieve, hurt, or oppreſs that holy Senſe, which is begotten of God in the ſoul. And that by which Thoughts are to be examined, is the Light of CHRIST JESUS: For as "That which may be known of God is manifeſt in Men, for God hath ſhown "it unto them," as ſaith the Apoſtle Paul to the Romans; ſo "all things that are "reproved, are made manifeſt by the *Light*; for whatſoever maketh manifeſt, *is* Light," ſaith he to the Epheſians. By this Light of Chriſt Jeſus examine your own Thoughts; ſee whence they riſe, from whence they come, and what they tend to. O Friends, here is a myſtery; and the Evil-one worketh here in a myſtery! For where he cannot prevail to draw out the mind from its ſenſible habitation to embrace his repreſentations of old luſts and pleaſures, that are wicked in themſelves, he will preſent you with *lawful* objects, your outward Enjoyments, Buſineſs, and Calling, and ſteal in upon your minds in the croud of theſe lawful things, and there lay his ſnares, hid and covered, and at unawares catch you.

My dear Friends, Bleſſed are they that ſee Jeſus, their Captain, going before them, and counſelling and leading them, in all outward and lawful concerns, that they offend not. For, my Friends, this know, you may *unlawfully* think of lawful things; either in thinking on them *unſeaſonably*, (mark that) when your ſouls ſhould be wholly retired, and exerciſed in the Lord's Light to feel his Preſence, in which is heavenly Life; or in thinking on lawful things *careleſly*, not with regard to your Guide; he that hath bought you throughout with his own precious blood, that he might have the government of your Bodies, Souls and Spirits; that is, of your bodily concerns, as well as of the things relating to your ſouls and ſpirits. This prevents much harm and miſchief in buſineſs and families, and preſerveth the Divine Senſe that God hath begotten, and the creature in it; ſo that its fellowſhip and peace with the Lord runneth as a river, it is not ſtopt or hindered by the deſigns of the Enemy: Or, laſtly, in

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But when this ſubtil Enemy of man's ſalvation ſeeth that he cannot make you bow to the Glory of this World, that all his ſnares that he layeth in the things that are ſeen, which are temporal, are diſcovered and broken; and that your eyes are directed to thoſe things that are eternal, then will he turn *Accuſer*: He will *aggravate* your ſins, and plead the Impoſſibility of their Remiſſion: he will ſeem to act the *Advocate* for the Juſtice of God, that he might caſt you into Deſpondency, that you may doubt of deliverance and ſalvation. Many are the thoughts with which he perplexeth the ſons and daughters of men: but this know, that he was a Liar from the beginning; for the Lord doth not viſit the ſouls of any to *deſtroy* them, but to *ſave* them. For this end hath he ſent his Son a Light into the world; and they that bring their deeds to it, are not of the Devil, who hateth the Light. Neither doth the Lord cauſe his people to *hunger* and *thirſt* after him, and not fill them with his *good things*.

Be aſſured, my Friends, wherever the Lord hath begotten deſires after him, and wherever ſin is become exceeding ſinful, yea, a burden to the ſoul, the Devil's kingdom is *ſhaken*, the Prince of this world is begun to be *judged*, and God is at work for the redemption of that ſoul. Hearken not to the voice of the *Serpent*, for that loſt your firſt Parents their bleſſed Paradiſe; and with the ſame ſubtle and lying ſpirit he would hinder you from returning into Paradiſe. But when he is herein diſappointed, he ſhifteth his temptation, and preſenteth another temptation, viz. "That though you have begun "well, yet ye will never be able to hold out to the end: That the temptations are ſo "many, and the enemies ſo ſtrong, they are not to be overcome by you; and that it "were better never to profeſs ſuch high things, than to fall ſhort of them; this will "but bring reproach to the Way, and the People of it." Again, "That 'tis Curioſity, "and Spiritual Pride, and Conceitedneſs, for you to be thought better than others;" with the like ſuggeſtions, on purpoſe to ſtagger your reſolutions and weaken your faith. Ah! he is a Devil ſtill, a Liar, and a Deſtroyer: Look not to him, but keep to Jeſus, who hath called you. Keep but your eye to him, of whom the *Brazen Serpent* in the Wilderneſs was a Figure, and he ſhall cure you of all diſeaſes, of all wounds and ſtingings of ſerpents and ſcorpions, &c. that may attend you in the Wilderneſs-Travel, which is the hour of your temptation. God is exalting him, *in* you, a *Saviour*; there is he manifeſted; viz. "to deſtroy ſin." Yea, "ſtronger is he that is in you, than he "that is in the world:" he is able to bind the ſtrong man, and caſt him out; do but believe truly in him, and cleave to him. Remember there were *evil ſpies* of old, thoſe that brought *falſe intelligence*, that Canaan was a pleaſant land, but the *way impaſſable*; but the faithful entered and inherited. Keep therefore in the righteous Life of Jeſus, and walk in his holy Light, and you ſhall be preſerved, through all Exerciſes and Difficulties, unto the eternal Canaan, the land of reſt. Neither wonder at theſe things, that Temptations attend you, or that the Lord trieth and proveth you; it is the way of all that are gone to God; for even JESUS was tempted and tried, and is therefore become our Captain, "becauſe he overcame." Neither be ye caſt down, becauſe the Lord ſometimes ſeemeth to hide his face from you, that you feel not always that joy and refreſhment that you ſometimes enjoy. I know what work the Enemy maketh of theſe *Withdrawings* of the Lord. Perhaps he will inſinuate, 'That God hath deſerted you in his 'diſpleaſure; that you muſt never expect to ſee him; that he will never come again:' And by theſe, and the like ſtratagems, he will endeavour to ſhake your Faith and Hope, and diſtract you with Fear, and to beget great jealouſies and doubts in you; and by impatience and infidelity, fruſtrate your good beginnings. But though David ſaid of old, in the diſtreſs of his ſoul, "One day ſhall I fall by the hand of Saul," yet he overcame him, and had the crown. Yea, the Lord Jeſus himſelf cried out in the agony of the croſs, "My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me!" Nevertheleſs he glorioſly triumphed over all, and led Captivity captive, for the joy that was ſet before him: Which joy is before you; it is the mark of the price of your great and holy calling. Wherefore faint not, neither murmur, if your ſpiritual Moſes ſeems to withdraw a while from you. Do not you make *Images* in his abſence, neither wax wanton; but poſſeſs your ſouls in holy fear and patience, waiting with holy reverence and diligence for his appearance, who is your victorious leader.

All theſe things are for your good, that proud fleſh may be debaſed, and that the ſoul may be redeemed. Wherefore bear the hand of the Lord; whom he loveth, he chaſteneth; his *Anger* laſteth not for ever, but his Mercies endure for ever. Shrink not from the pure operations of his holy Word; let it divide aſunder between the ſoul and ſpirit, the joints and marrow in you; ſuffer your right hands to be cut off, and your right eyes to be plucked out, that do offend; let not the pain ſcare you. O bear the pure ſearchings of this heavenly Word! yea, if your minds be ſtayed in it, you will find it to be a Word of Patience, which will keep you; for all virtue is in it. Keep it, and be ſtill: “It is good,” ſaid one of old, “that a man ſhould both hope, and quietly wait, “for the ſalvation of God. Yea, it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his “youth (this is *your* youth) and ſuch an one ſitteth alone, and keepeth ſilence, becauſe “he hath borne it upon him.” Ah! bleſſed are they that bear this holy Yoke, who are come to this Silence, who die daily; that not *they*, but *Chriſt* may live and rule in them; therefore hear him, and take up his croſs, and follow him. Follow him, keep him company; he hath beaten the path, and trod the way; ſtart not aſide at his cup, neither ſhun his baptiſm: Go with him to Caiaphas, to Pilate, and to the Croſs; die with him to the World, and you ſhall riſe with him unto Life Eternal. Honour, glory and immortality are at the end of this holy race! O that you may run it with chearfulneſs and perſeverance!

But this is not the utmoſt ſtratagem of the Enemy; he hath yet a more plauſible, and a more dangerous device, wherewith to deſtroy the holy Senſe that God hath quickened, where he ſeeth theſe temptations reſiſted, and that he cannot hinder a religious work in the ſoul, by any of his baits taken from the things that are ſeen; and that is, ‘his drawing you into *Imaginations* of *God*, and *Chriſt*, and *Religion*; and into religious Duties, not in *God's* way or time; nor with Chriſt's Spirit. Here he is tranformed into the appearance of an Angel of Light, and would ſeem *religious* now, *a ſaint*; yea, *a leader* into *religion*, ſo that he may but keep *him* out of his office, whoſe right it is to teach, prepare, enable, and lead his children with his holy Power and Spirit. Yea, if he can but keep the creature's *Will* alive, he knoweth there is a ground for him to work upon; a place that he can enter, and in which his ſeed will grow. If this *Will* of Man be ſtanding, he knoweth that the Will of *God* cannot be done on earth, as it is done in Heaven. O this Will is God's enemy, yea, the ſoul's enemy; and all *Will-worſhip* ariſeth hence: Yea, it is the off-ſpring of the Serpent, and of the Will of Man; and it can never pleaſe God. Let all beware of this; God is a *Spirit*, and he will be worſhipped in his *own* Spirit, in his *own* Life. The worſhip of God ſtandeth in the *Will* of God; and is not brought forth of the Will of the *Fleſh*, or of the Will of *Man*. Remember that the Word came not to *Eſau*, the *Firſt*-birth, the *Hunter*, that ſtayed not at *home*; but to *Jacob*, the *plain* man, he that dwelt in *Tents*: To *him* came the Word of the Lord, that dwelt in a *ſtill* and *quiet* habitation. For in the *true ſilence* is God's Word heard, into which the hunting nature of *Eſau*, the *Firſt*-birth, can never come. It can never *ſtand ſtill*, and therefore it can never ſee the *Salvation* of God. Againſt this nature watch; and know *Jacob*, that inherits the birth-right; the *Election* of God (though now a Worm) to wreſtle and prevail. The Worm *Jacob*, is *Iſrael* a Prince, to whom belong the ſtatutes and the ordinances. “The Word came to Jacob, and the “Statutes to Iſrael:” Here is dominion, government, exaltation: This is the lot of Worm Jacob. Wait, therefore, ‘till the ANGEL move upon the waters,’ before you ſtep one ſtep. Are ye followers of the Lamb, that hath viſited you, the captain of your ſalvation? Run not in your own wills; wait for his word of command, do nothing of your own heads and contrivings, yet do all with diligence that he requireth. Remember what became of them of old, that offered *falſe fire*; O ſtay till a coal from his holy altar touch your hearts and your lips, Jeſus told his mother at the marriage in Cana in Galilee, “His hour was not yet come:” He rejected the *Will* in her, and ſtaid, till *his* time was come; that is, his *Father's* time, “in whoſe hands are the times and ſeaſons;” whoſe will he came to do, and not his own; leaving us therein a bleſſed example, that we ſhould alſo follow his ſteps; that is, not to attempt to perform even things of *God* in our *own* wills, nor out of *God's* ſeaſon and time, which is the beſt: For in his ſeaſons he is *with* us; but in our *own* ſeaſons and wills he *withdraweth* himſelf from us. And this is the cauſe that the nation's worſhippers have little ſenſe of God in their hearts, and that their prieſts cry out againſt inward Senſe; leſt the people ſhould go *alone*, and come to a more acceptable worſhip.

My dear Friends, As you would enjoy God's preſence, love and life, and be acceptable with him, wait in his holy Light and Spirit, that hath viſited you, againſt theſe ſtratagems of Satan, and wake not your beloved before his time: Watch againſt the *Will*, that inſtrument of Satan, and enemy of God's glory, and your own comfort. Let it be bridled, ſubjected, and kept under Chriſt's yoke, yea, ſubdued, that the will of God may be done in you and by you, which bringeth glory to the Lord, and eternal peace to the ſoul. One ſigh, rightly begotten, outweigheth a whole Volume of *ſelf-made* prayers: For that which is born of fleſh, is *fleſh*, and reacheth not to God's kingdom, he regardeth it not; and all that is not born of the Spirit is *fleſh*. But a *ſigh*, or a *groan*, ariſing from a living *ſenſe* of God's work in the heart, it pierceth the clouds, it entereth the heavens; yea, the living God heareth it, his regard is to it, and his Spirit helpeth

1677. the infirmity. He loveth that which is of himſelf, and hath care over it, though as poor as Worm Jacob. “For the cries of the poor, and the ſighings of the needy will “I ariſe,” ſaith the Lord: The poor in *ſpirit*, that have parted with *all*, that they may win Chriſt; that need *him* only, and ſeek him above all; who have no helper in the earth, but have denied all earthly helps, that he might bring and work their ſalvation for them. And as you are not to run in your own wills, nor to offer up ſacrifices of your own preparing, ſo have a care how you touch with thoſe that do; how you bow to their wills, and join with their ſacrifices. For all theſe things greatly help to extinguiſh the divine Senſe begotten in your hearts by the Word of Life. And as you are faithful to the Light and Spirit of Chriſt, which giveth you to diſcern and reliſh between that which ſtandeth in your *own* will, and the will and motion of the Spirit of *God* in yourſelves; ſo will you, by the ſame Light, diſcern and ſavour between that which proceeds from the will of Man, and the will and motions of the Spirit of God in others; and accordingly either to have, or not to have, fellowſhip with them: For what hath *Light* to do with *Darkneſs?* Or what hath *Spirit* to do with *Fleſh?* Or what hath *Life* to do with *Death?* “For the Grave cannot praiſe thee, O Lord; Death cannot celebrate thee: “They that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy Truth. The Living, the Living, “he ſhall praiſe thee, as doth my ſoul this day.” This was the teſtimony of the bleſſed Prophet Iſaiah, and it ſtandeth true for ever: According to the Prophet, “Thou haſt “ordained Peace for us, for thou haſt wrought all our Works in us.”

Wherefore I exhort you, in the Spirit of Truth, and in the counſel of the GOD of Truth, keep in the Divine Senſe and Watch, if you would endure to the end in the will of God. And I ſay again, Touch not with man-made Miniſters, nor man-made Worſhips, let their words be never ſo true: 'Tis but *Man*, 'tis but *Fleſh*, 'tis but the *Will*; and it ſhall have no acceptance with God: O this is the Golden Cup of the Whore that is gone from the leadings of the Spirit, with which the nations are defiled; have nothing to do with it. Keep to Chriſt Jeſus, God's great Light; follow him, as he ſhineth in your hearts, and ye will not walk in darkneſs, but have the Light of Life; not of Death to Condemnation, as in the world; but unto Life, which is juſtification and peace. And remember that nothing bringeth *to* Chriſt, that cometh not *from* Chriſt. Wherefore all miniſtry that cometh not *from* Chriſt, God's great Prophet and High Prieſt to all true-born Chriſtians, cannot bring people *to* Chriſt. Man only gathereth *to* Man, to hear and believe *in* Man, and depend *on* Man: And if the church of *Corinth* ſought a Proof of Chriſt's ſpeaking in Paul, that had begotten them, and had wrought the ſigns and works of an Apoſtle in them; how much more reaſon have you to demand a Proof of *Chriſt's* ſpeaking in the Prieſts and Miniſters of this world, who have not wrought the ſigns and works of the Apoſtles or true Miniſters? And by what ſhould you try them, but by the *Light* and *Spirit* of CHRIST in you? Yea, 'tis Chriſt Jeſus in you, that giveth you to ſavour if others ſpeak from Chriſt in them. And this the Apoſtle referreth the Corinthians to, for a Proof of Chriſt's ſpeaking in him: For nothing leadeth *to* God, but that which came *from* God, even Chriſt Jeſus the *Son* of God. O let him be your Vine, and know him to be your Fig-tree: Sit under his holy teachings, whoſe Doctrine ſhall drop as myrrh upon your Souls: He will feed you with the Bread of God, that cometh from Heaven, that feedeth and leadeth them thither that feed upon it: And HE is that bread.

Therefore wait and watch unto his daily and hourly viſitations to your ſouls, and againſt all the approaches of the enemy, that ſo he may not take you at unawares; but that you may be preſerved from the power of his darts, and the force of his temptations, by the holy armour of Light, the defence of the faithful ancients: “If you be willing “and obedient, you ſhall eat the good of the Land.” Now is your *day*, now is your *time*; work while the Light is *with* you; for the Night cometh, in which *none* can work. Not only the Night of eternal Darkneſs to the Wicked; but the Night of Death unto all: For in the grave there is no Repentance, neither can any man there work the works of God. You know the Foundation: Is he *elect?* Is he *precious* to you? Have ye *choſen* him? Yea, I am ſatisfied you have: See what you build upon him. Have a care of *hay, ſtraw,* and *ſtubble!* Have a care of your own *wills* and *ſpirits!* Labour not for the bread that *periſheth*, as all the bread of *man's* making doth: But labour you, in the Light and Strength of the Lord, for the bread that *never* periſheth, that bread that cometh from Heaven, that nouriſheth the ſoul in that Life that is heavenly, that is “hid “with Chriſt in God,” the Root and Father of Life; that of this Fountain you may drink, that is clear and pure, that cometh from the throne of God, and of the Lamb, and not of the muddy puddle of *Man's Invention*. There is a Bread that periſheth, and there is a Drink that periſheth; and woe to them that feed thereon, for their ſouls ſhall periſh alſo, if they repent not. But there is a bread that *never* periſheth; and there is a Fountain that ſpringeth up unto eternal life, and bleſſed are they that feed and drink thereof, for they ſhall have eternal life with God. This is that which only ſatisfieth what is born of *God*; it will feed on no other bread, nor drink of no other water. I cannot but warn you all, that are come to the *Lord's Day*, that you ceaſe from all other food, from Man and Man's Will and Invention; for that ſtifleth the divine Senſe; that overlayeth and killeth this heavenly Birth. There are no Grapes to be gathered of Thorns, nor Figs of Thiſtles: Keep to your own Vine and Fig-tree, Chriſt Jeſus; ſit under him, that you may eat of his fruit, which is the fruit of Life, "the hidden Manna;" hid from the nature and ſpirit of this world, a myſtery thereunto. Two things conſider: Firſt, you muſt wait till the Manna cometh; and then you are not to be idle; you are to work: And next, as it daily cometh, ſo it muſt be daily gathered and fed upon: For the Manna that was gathered yeſterday, will not be food for to-day; it will not keep for that uſe. And as it was outwardly, ſo it is inwardly. Time paſt is none of thine: It is not what thou waſt, but what thou art: God will be daily looked unto. Didſt thou eat yeſterday? That feedeth thee not to-day: Therefore Jeſus taught his diſciples, and us in them, to pray for our *daily* bread; for the *preſent* ſuſtenance, and to look *no farther*, but depend upon the *Lord*, and live by Faith in Him, that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead; ſo that the time *to come* is no more *ours*, than the time *paſt* can be *recalled*.

Wherefore, "Bleſſed are they that fear the Lord, and confide in him, they ſhall never be confounded: They ſhall lack no good thing; for the Lord loveth Iſrael, he is good unto Iſrael, and all that are of an upright heart;" whoſe hearts look up to Heaven, and not down to the Earth; neither love, nor live in, the vain luſts of the world: Such ſhall "abide in his holy tabernacle, ſuch ſhall dwell in his holy hill," even they that "walk uprightly, that work righteouſneſs, and ſpeak the truth in their hearts; in whoſe ſight a vile perſon is contemned, but who honour them that fear the Lord."

O my dear Friends, I know experimentally, that this is hard to fleſh and blood; that which is born of the corruptible ſeed; but that can never enter into the kingdom of God: That muſt be crucified *by* Chriſt, that hath *crucified* Chriſt: "Blood requireth blood." Wherefore give that which is for the Famine, to the *Famine*: For the Fire, to the *Fire*: And for the *Sword*, to the *Sword*. Let all the ſinful luſts be famiſhed; let the ſtubble be burnt, and the corrupt, yea, and the fruitleſs tree, that cumbreth the ground, be "cut down, and caſt into the fire." Let the Work of the Lord be done in you; let him purge his floor, and that thoroughly; that you may come out as pure as gold ſeven times tried, fitted for his uſe that hath choſen you; that you may bear his mark, and wear his inſcription, "Holineſs to the Lord;" ſo you will be veſſels of honour in his houſe. Therefore I ſay, let your houſes be ſwept by the judgment of the Lord, and the little leaven of the kingdom leaven you in body, ſoul, and ſpirit, that holy temples you may be to his glory. This, I know, is your deſire, that are on your travel to this bleſſed enjoyment.

Well, you believe in God; believe alſo in Chriſt, the Light that hath viſited you: And if you truly believe, you will not make haſte: You will not make haſte out of the hour of judgment; you will ſtay the time of your trial and cleanſing, that you may be, as I ſaid, as pure as gold ſeven times tried; and ſo receive the Lord's mark and ſtamp, his image and approbation; that you may be his throughout, in body, ſoul, and ſpirit; ſealed to him in an eternal covenant.

Dear Friends, Gird up the loins of your minds, watch and hope to the end; be not ſlothful, neither ſtrive; deſpond not, nor be preſumptuous: Be as *little children*; "for of ſuch is the kingdom of God." Diſpute not, neither conſult with fleſh and blood: Let not the prudence of this World draw you from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt Jeſus. Love and obey the Truth; hide his Living Word in your hearts; though it be as an Hammer, a Fire, a Sword, yet it reconcileth, and bringeth you to God, and will be ſweeter to you that love it, than is the honey, and the honey-comb. Fear not, but bear the CROSS, yea, without the Camp; the Camp of this World's Luſts, Glory, and Falſe Worſhips. But this know, when the Enemy cannot prevail by any of theſe ſtratagems, if you reſiſt him as "the God of this World's Glory, the Prince of the Air, and the Falſe Prophet;" then he turneth *Dragon*; then he declareth open war; then you are Hereticks, Fanaticks, Enthuſiaſts, Seducers, Blaſphemers, unworthy to live upon the Earth. But in all theſe things "rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great ſhall be your reward in the kingdom of the Father." What if your Parents riſe up againſt you; if your Brethren betray you; if your Companions deſert and deride you? If you become the Song of the Drunkard, and the Scorn and Merriment of the Vile Perſon? Yea, though the Powers of the Earth ſhould combine to devour you, let not your hearts be troubled. 'Shun not the Croſs, but deſpiſe the Shame, and caſt your Care upon the Lord, who will be afflicted with you in all your afflictions: In the Fire he will be with you, and in the Water he will not forſake you.' O let your eye be to him, whoſe name is as a ſtrong Tower, the Sanctuary of the righteous in all ages; that you may be able to ſay in your hearts, with David of old, "The Lord is my Light and my Salvation, whom ſhall I fear? The Lord is the Strength of my Life, of whom ſhall I be afraid? Though an Hoſt ſhould encamp againſt me, my heart ſhall not fear; though War ſhould riſe againſt me, in this will I be confident. One thing have I deſired of the Lord, that will I ſeek after, that I may dwell in the Houſe of the Lord all the days of my life, to

“ behold the Beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his Temple. For in the time of “ trouble he ſhall hide me in his Pavilion, he ſhall ſet me upon a Rock. When my “ Father and my Mother forſake me, then the Lord will take me up. I had fainted, “ unleſs I had believed to ſee the goodneſs of the Lord in the land of the living. Wait “ on the Lord, be of good courage; and he ſhall ſtrengthen thine heart. Wait, I “ ſay, on the Lord.”

O my dear Friends, let it be your daily and hourly work to wait upon God. How often does David ſpeak of *Waiting upon God?* He felt the ſweetneſs of it: Therefore retire into your holy chamber: Be ſtill, and the Lord will ſpeak comfortably unto you. Bleſſed are they that wait upon him; whoſe expectations are only from *him.* “ For though the youth ſhall faint and be weary, and the young men ſhall utterly fail, “ they that wait upon the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength; they ſhall mount up with “ wings as eagles, they ſhall run and not be weary, they ſhall walk and not faint. I “ waited,” ſaid David, “ *patiently* for the Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard “ my cry.” And this was his teſtimony, “ Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them “ that fear him, to deliver their ſoul from death, and to keep them alive in famine: For “ the Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and ſaveth ſuch as be of a contrite ſpirit:” David *knew* it, therefore he could *ſpeak* it.

O my dear Friends, who are compaſſed about with many tribulations; the Lord God, your ſtaff and ſtrength, is near you to ſuſtain you. Have ye borne the Holy Reproach of Jeſus, and deſpiſed the Shame of his Croſs, and did he ever deſert you? Be not caſt down, though to the eye of Reaſon there ſeemeth none to help, no, not one to ſave: Though enemies *within*, and enemies *without*, encamp themſelves about you; though Pharaoh and his Hoſt purſue you, and great difficulties be on each hand of you, and the diſmal Red Sea be before you, *ſtand ſtill*; make no bargains for yourſelves; let all fleſh be *ſilent* before the Lord; and “ *His Arm* ſhall bring you *Salvation.*” Yea, when you are ready to go down into the pit, that your throat is dry with crying, and your eyes ſeem to fail with waiting, “ his ſalvation ſhall ſpring as the morning; becauſe “ his mercies are to all generations, and that the ſeed of Jacob never ſought his face in “ vain. The poor man crieth,” ſaith David; What poor man was this? He that is poor in his *own eyes*, that hath no helper in the earth but *God.* “ This poor man cried, “ and the Lord heard him, and ſaved him out of all his troubles.” “ Our ſouls,” ſaid the righteous of old, “ waited for the Lord, for he is our help, and our ſhield “ for ever.”

Wherefore, my dear *Friends*, be not you diſcomforted, for there is no *new* thing happened unto you: It is the ancient path of the righteous: “ For thy ſake,” ſays David, “ have I borne reproach; I am become a ſtranger to my brethren, and an alien “ unto my mother's children. When I wept, and chaſtened my ſoul with faſting, that “ was to my reproach. I made ſackcloth alſo my garment, and I became a proverb to “ them: They that ſit in the gate, ſpeak againſt me; and I was the ſong of the drunkards. “ Save me, O God, for the waters are come in unto my ſoul: And the water-floods are “ ready to ſwallow me up. They perſecute him whom thou haſt ſmitten; and they “ talk to the grief of thoſe whom thou haſt wounded.” Do you not *know* this, dear Friends? Are not your Tears become a Reproach, your Faſts a Wonder, your Paleneſs a Deriſion, your Plainneſs a Proverb, and your ſerious and retired Converſation a *By-word?* Yea, when the Lord hath wounded, have not *they* alſo grieved? And when the Lord hath ſmitten you, have not they *mocked?* But this was David's joy, “ The “ Lord is my Shepherd, I ſhall not want: He reſtoreth my ſoul, he leadeth me in the “ path of righteouſneſs for his Name's-ſake; he maketh me to lie down in green “ paſtures: He leadeth me beſide the ſtill waters. Yea, though I walk through the “ valley of the ſhadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy Rod and “ thy Staff comfort me:” Who was the Comforter and Preſerver of Shadrach, Meſhach and Abednego, that refuſed to obey the King's command againſt the commandment of God: They would not bow to his Image; but rather choſe the fiery furnace, than to commit idolatry, or bow to another thing, than to the Living God. “ Did not we “ caſt Three men into the midſt of the fire?” ſaid Nebuchadnezzar: “ Lo I ſee Four “ men looſe, walking in the midſt of the fire, and they have no hurt: And the form of “ the Fourth is like the Son of God.” O my Friends, the Fire obeyeth him, as well as the Winds and Seas: All Power is given to the Son of God, who is given to you for your ſalvation. Well; Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, the king calleth out of the fire, and they have no *harm*; though the mighty men that caſt them into the fiery furnace, were *conſumed.* The God of Shradrach, Meſhach, and Abednego is magnified by the king's decree; and Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, are by the king highly preferred. Here is the end of Faithfulneſs; here is the bleſſing of Perſeverance: God will bring honour to his name, through the patience and integrity of his people.

And it was this Son of God that preſerved Daniel in the Lion's den; it was his Voice, that David ſaid, “ divideth the flames of fire; he rideth upon the winds, he ſitteth upon “ the floods. The Voice of the Lord is powerful; the Voice of the Lord is full of “ majeſty: They that truſt in him ſhall never be confounded. Bleſſed are they whoſe

“ God is the Lord: For he is a preſent help in the needful time of trouble. “ The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and he de- “ livereth them. O taſte, and ſee, that the Lord is good: Bleſſed is the man that “ truſteth in him. O fear the Lord, for there is no want to them that fear him. The “ young lions ſhall lack, and the old lions ſuffer hunger; but they that ſeek the “ Lord, ſhall not want any good thing. Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but “ the Lord delivereth them out of them all; for the Lord redeemeth the ſouls of his “ ſervants, and none of them that truſt in him ſhall be made deſolate.

For which cauſe, my dear Friends, “ caſt away every weight, and every burden, “ and the ſin that doth ſo eaſily beſet you.” Neither look at the Enemy’s Strength, nor at your own Weakneſs; but look unto JESUS, the bleſſed Author of your Convincement and Faith: The Mighty One, on whom God hath laid help, for all thoſe that believe in his name, receive his teſtimony, and live in his doctrine; who ſaid to his dear followers of old, “ Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world: Fear not, little “ flock; it is your Father’s good pleaſure to give you the kingdom: And they that en- “ dure to the end, ſhall be ſaved. I will not leave you comfortleſs,” ſaid he, “ I will “ come to you; he that is with you, ſhall be in you.” This was the Hope of their glory, the Foundation of their building, which ſtandeth ſure. And though ſorrow cometh over night, yet joy ſhall come in the morning. “ Ye ſhall weep and lament,” ſaid Jeſus, “ but the World ſhall rejoice; and ye ſhall be ſorrowful, but your ſorrow “ ſhall be turned into joy, and their rejoicing into howling. And lo I am with you “ to the end of the world.” Be ye therefore encouraged in the holy way of the Lord; wait diligently for his daily manifeſtations unto your ſouls, that you may be ſtrengthened in your inward man, with might and power, to do the will of God on earth, as it is done in Heaven. O *watch*, that ye enter not into temptation: Yea, “ Watch unto Prayer” that ye enter not into temptation, and that you fall not by the temptation.” Chriſt ſaid to Peter, “ Canſt not thou watch *one* hour?” Every one hath an Hour of Temptation to go through; and *this* is the *hour* that every one is to *watch*. Jeſus, the captain of our ſalvation, was under great temptations; “ He was ſad unto “ death; he did ſweat drops of blood;” but he *watched*, he *prayed*, he *groaned*, yea, he *cried with ſtrong cries*; but through Suffering overcame: And remember how in the Wilderneſs he was tempted, but the Angels of the Lord miniſtered to him. So they that follow him in the way of the tribulations and patience of his kingdom, God’s Angel ſhall miniſter unto them all: Yea, he will keep them in the Hour of Temptation: He will carry their heads above the waves, and deliver them from the devouring floods.

Wherefore, finally, my Friends, I ſay unto you, in the name of the Lord, “ Be “ of good cheer!” Look to JESUS, and fear not man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils; but be valiant for the Truth on earth. “ Love not your lives unto the death, and you “ ſhall receive a crown of life and glory; which the God of the Fathers, the God of the Prophets, the God of the Apoſtles, and the God of the Martyrs and True Confeſſors of Jeſus; yea, the God and Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, ſhall give unto all thoſe that keep the pure teſtimony of his Son in their hearts, and patiently and faithfully endure to the end.

“ Now to him that is able to keep you from falling, and to preſent you fault- “ leſs before the preſence of his glory with exceeding joy; to the only wiſe “ God, our Saviour, be glory and majeſty, dominion and power, both now and “ ever. Amen.”

I am your friend, that ſincerely loves you, and earneſtly travails for your redemption.

W. PENN.

TO ALL THOSE

PROFESSORS of CHRISTIANITY

THAT ARE

Externally ſeparated from the Visible Sects and Fellowships in the Chriſtian World, ſo called, wherever Hidden or Scattered:

True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from God the Father, through Jesus Christ, be increaſed.

Friends,

1677. THE *Firſt* Adam is of the Earth, Earthy; the *Second* Adam is the Lord from Heaven, the Quickening Spirit: What is born of Fleſh, is *Fleſh*, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God. So far can the ſpirit of *mere* Man come, and no farther; but what is born of *God*, does inherit life eternal. All you therefore, who are *exalted* in your ſpeculations, and refined in your apprehenſions and ideas of God, of Chriſt, of the Spirit, and of the ſecrets of the heavenly kingdom, examine and try, by the Light of the Lord Jeſus, whether you have received your knowledge from God, or from Men; and, when taken in the *beſt* part, whether it is more than the New Wine in the Old Bottles, which cannot endure, nor ſtand in Judgment. Conſider if it be not the bare or mere *Man*, that ſpeaks of godly matters, what he has heard, or read, of others labours, rather than the overſhadowings and operations of the holy and eternal Spirit of Chriſt in yourſelves.

Hereby ſhall you know whether your knowledge of God is true, or not, viz. If you are redeemed by his righteous judgments, working out all the tin and droſs that have been in you, and brought to the ſilence of all *fleſh*, that has no right to ſpeak in man, for it *knows not* the things of God.

Friends, I am preſſed, by the Good Spirit of God, to aſk you, Whether the Prince of this World is *fully* and *wholly* judged in you? Is he beaten off of *falſe righteouſneſs*, as of *ſin*? For when he cannot prevail with the creature to ſubmit to *him*, then he tempts it to take upon it to govern and guide *itſelf*, that it ſhould not be taught by *Chriſt*, and that his own kingdom of darkneſs ſhould not be thereby overturned at once.

And therefore deceive not yourſelves, O my beloved Friends! Is the Glory of the World wholly ſet aſide in you? It is at once judged, and under your feet? If the Spirit of Jeſus fully reigns in your hearts, then are you not conformable to any of the evil fruits, inventions, and faſhions of this world; but are, inwardly and outwardly, gathered to the Spirit of Jeſus, and the dark world is trodden under your feet in all its appearances; yea, then you are valiant for the cauſe of God upon earth; your Candles are in their Candleſticks, and not under the Bed or Buſhel.

But Oh! Is this ſo? Take heed; for that Life is now riſen which you cannot deceive, but it will taſte you in all your performances, and judge righteous judgment. I aſk a ſecond time, in the fear and name of the holy God, (who is a Conſuming Fire againſt all that which is counterfeit, and not true) is the Prince of this World judged? As a *Devil*, as a *Dragon*, as a *Prince* of the *Air*, a *Falſe Prophet*, yea, as one appearing ſometimes like an *Angel* of *Light* too? For this Man of Sin, and of Perdition, has alſo his Viſions, Knowledge, Faith, Signs, Miracles; yea, *Quakings* too; yet not like thoſe that are born of *God*, and are inſpired and actuated by his *Holy Spirit*.

But ah! are you come ſo far, that you feel that all Fleſh is *ſilent* before the Lord? For that is the time when *God* ſhould ſpeak, and men ſhould *hear* what he ſays. I ſay, is *Adam* ſilent in you? Is the Spirit of *Man* ſilent in you? Is thy ſoul, O man! *paſſive* and *quiet*, retired from all *images*, *ideas*, *figures*, or *ſelf-apprehenſions*, that thou mayeſt hear and diſcern what God, through his Son, will ſpeak unto thee? He who is the bleſſed Teacher, that taught Adam in Paradiſe, the Good Jews under the Law by his Angels and Prophets; and does yet teach all True Chriſtians under the Goſpel, through his Beloved Son, who is the glorious *Sun* and *Light* of the World, and *Fulneſs* of ALL *Diſpenſations* to Mankind.

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TO ALL THOSE

PROFESSORS of CHRISTIANITY

THAT ARE

Externally ſeparated from the VISIBLE SECTS and FELLOWSHIPS in the Chriſtian World, ſo called, wherever Hidden or Scattered:

True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from GOD the FATHER, through JESUS CHRIST, be increaſed.

FRIENDS,

1677. THE *Firſt* Adam is of the Earth, Earthy; the *Second* Adam is the Lord from Heaven, the Quickening Spirit: What is born of Fleſh, is *Fleſh*, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God. So far can the ſpirit of *mere* Man come, and no farther; but what is born of *God*, does inherit life eternal. All you therefore, who are *exalted* in your ſpeculations, and refined in your apprehenſions and ideas of God, of Chriſt, of the Spirit, and of the ſecrets of the heavenly kingdom, examine and try, by the Light of the Lord Jeſus, whether you have received your knowledge from God, or from Men; and, when taken in the *beſt* part, whether it is more than the New Wine in the Old Bottles, which cannot endure, nor ſtand in Judgment. Conſider if it be not the bare or mere *Man*, that ſpeaks of godly matters, what he has heard, or read, of others labours, rather than the overſhadowings and operations of the holy and eternal Spirit of Chriſt in yourſelves.

Hereby ſhall you know whether your knowledge of God is true, or not, viz. If you are redeemed by his righteous judgments, working out all the tin and droſs that have been in you, and brought to the ſilence of all *fleſh*, that has no right to ſpeak in man, for it *knows not* the things of God.

Friends, I am preſſed, by the Good Spirit of God, to aſk you, Whether the Prince of this World is *fully* and *wholly* judged in you? Is he beaten off of *falſe righteouſneſs*, as of *ſin*? For when he cannot prevail with the creature to ſubmit to *him*, then he tempts it to take upon it to govern and guide *itſelf*, that it ſhould not be taught by *Chriſt*, and that his own kingdom of darkneſs ſhould not be thereby overturned at once.

And therefore deceive not yourſelves, O my beloved Friends! Is the Glory of the World wholly ſet aſide in you? It is at once judged, and under your feet? If the Spirit of Jeſus fully reigns in your hearts, then are you not conformable to any of the evil fruits, inventions, and faſhions of this world; but are, inwardly and outwardly, gathered to the Spirit of Jeſus, and the dark world is trodden under your feet in all its appearances; yea, then you are valiant for the cauſe of God upon earth; your Candles are in their Candleſticks, and not under the Bed or Buſhel.

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Gen. ii. 9.
Luke xix. 5.
Rev iii. 20.
John i. 29.
Acts xiii. 47.
Zech. iv. 10.

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1677. All voluntary humilities and worſhips of men, and every human tradition or invention of men, has a fairer ſhow, and a more grateful appearance than his, of whom it is ſaid, "He has not a place whereon to lay his head." This is a bitter cup for the creature, and there are but few who will drink it; for it is a hard matter to bring men thereunto, viz. To ſit ſtill, and with patience wait for the ſalvation of God, and deny all ſelf-activities and contrivings, and ſo let him will and work all their works in and for them. They know not what it is to put their "Mouths in the duſt, and all fleſh
Lam. iii. 29. "to be ſilent and abaſed before the Lord;" that he alone may be exalted, and his voice heard, that he may prepare them to do his will in their earth, as it is done in Heaven. Ah! how has this myſtery of unrighteouſneſs wrought, and how does it work yet? boaſting that the living child belongs to her; but it is feigned, becauſe it is the womb of death, and cannot bring forth any living fruit unto God. All nations have drank too much of this cup; but the hour of this falſe ſpirit's judgments is now come, and it is ſeen, revealed and judged, through the living Spirit of God, which is felt, received and obeyed, by a poor people, whom God has delivered out of the mouths of the idolatrous and ſuperſtitious ſhepherds, and falſe prophets, who have no viſion themſelves, but who write, preach, and pray againſt it, and perſecute thoſe that aſſent to and profeſs it, as the Goſpel privilege and dignity; who are come to the Lord, and know his law written in their hearts, and his fear placed in their inward parts, and that are taught and guided by him. Theſe follow the Lamb, and hear his voice, and are the Hoſt of the Lord, in this our day, who fight, through their Holy Teſtimony, under his banner, againſt the Myſtical Harlot, the Falſe Prophet, and the Beaſt; and, behold, they ſhall obtain the victory: For he that is in them, is ſtronger than he that is in the world, that fights againſt them.

And though this be a great myſtery, ſo it is, notwithſtanding, a greater truth; to wit, That *Moſes*, the Servant, is externally fairer than CHRIST; yea, the Prophets themſelves ſpake as ſo many delightful ſingers, and like thoſe that play upon pleaſant inſtruments of muſick: For their revelations, viſions, and glorious prophecies of the latter days, and of the times of the new covenant, were, as one of them ſaid of the children of that generation, "like a pleaſant ſong." But when the SON, the *Subſtance*, came, it was without beauty, without ornament, and without any external excellency; which is to ſay, no formality, no obſervations in meats and drinks, or holy days, ſurplices, altars, veſtments, offerings, &c. Inſtead of which, a ſtrait way to fleſh and blood, a croſs to ſelf-love, and a holy watch, are inſtituted and recommended by example, as well as precept; which is a bitter cup, or draught, for all to drink that will go to glory: Man muſt die to his own will, inclinations, imaginations, and fleſhly conceits: He muſt conſtantly wait and watch. Now his *own* worſhip and righteouſneſs are as odious to him, as his ſin and unrighteouſneſs were before: For it is not an external matter, nor an external running, or doing, that can profit: Nor is it that which pleaſeth the buſy brain, and the nice phantaſy of the creature; becauſe while all thoſe things have been ſtroking the mind of the creature, they have been warring againſt the ſoul: But it is a ſecret life; a ſecret temple; a ſecret ſervice, and that in God's due time; yea, it is a ſecret manna, a ſecret ſupper, which cannot be underſtood by the vain ſects of this world. And Jeſus is the Builder of this Tabernacle: He is the Author of this Covenant and Service: He is the High Prieſt of this Altar. Hereunto he has gathered thoſe his ancient people, and hereunto he gathers the nations in theſe our days. The *Bride* ſays "Come;" the *Spirit* ſays "Come;" and *He* ſays "Come," and bleſſed are thoſe that *come*, and ſee how good he is to thoſe that love and fear him: For all crowns muſt be laid down at his feet, to him that is meek and humble, and rides upon an Aſs, and upon the Fole of an Aſs, the moſt contemptible of all beaſts; ſince God has concluded that he ſhould be glorified, and that Hoſanna and Glory belongs to him for ever. He ſhall humble the proud, and exalt the humble; yea, he ſhall lay the mountains low, and exalt the valleys; to wit, the poor in ſpirit, to whom the kingdom of God belongs.

And therefore do not think yourſelves rich, like the Phariſees; for you muſt know this, that "a camel ſhall more eaſily paſs through the eye of a needle, than a rich "man ſhall enter into the kingdom of God." But come to the Seed of God, ſown
1 Pet. i. 23. in all your hearts, for therein muſt "all the nations of the earth be bleſſed;" for whoſe ſake, forſake all viſible things, bow down before it, cleave to it with your whole hearts, and learn thereof; for it is incorruptible; that you may thereby be inſtructed, and born again; that you may be as *little children*, who do not *argue* with their Father, but love, believe, and follow him in all obedience and faithfulneſs, and to ſuch belongs the kingdom of God. To theſe God reveals his ſecrets; wherefore the Lord
Mat. xi. 25, 26. Jeſus Chriſt has ſaid, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou haſt "hid theſe things (What ſort of things? The hidden things of the kingdom of heaven) from the Wiſe and Prudent, and that thou haſt revealed them unto Babes:
Pſal. viii. 2. "Even ſo, Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight: For out of the mouths of

"babes and ſucklings haſt thou ordained ſtrength," or, "thou haſt perfected praiſe:" Whereas in *God's* preſence no fleſh ſhall boaſt.

My Friends, diſquiet not yourſelves to comprehend divine things; for they that do ſo, are of the fleſh: But wait, in Stillneſs, upon the God of all the families of the earth, and then ſhall you have a true feeling of him, and of that which feeds the ſoul, and gives the ſaving knowledge, *viz.* That knowledge which is everlaſting: This knowledge remains, and ſtands faſt; likewiſe peace, and everlaſting aſſurance, goes along with it.

For this I teſtify unto you, from the Lord, that the Fowls of the Air, and the Imaginations of Fleſh and Blood, are the greateſt enemies of your ſouls, and of your progreſs in the way of the Lord. The firſt hath often *ſtolen away* the Seed, as ſoon as it was ſown; inſtead of which, it ought to take root, and ſpring up: And hereby the viſitations of the Lord are of no effect, and your ſouls remain weak and feeble: And the other hath *ſuppreſſed* the Seed, after it hath ſprung up. O the fine imaginations of the wiſdom of this world, the fear of man, and earthly prudence! This comes not from the heavenly, ſaving, and living knowledge; neither can it ever beſtow it upon you: But true knowledge makes courageous and diligent before the Lord; and thoſe that are ſo, are noble in their teſtimony, patient under afflictions, ſtedfaſt and chearful under perſecutions. This is the way of the only true God, whoſe name be glorified to all eternity.

Ye, then, that have a true ſight of a better hope, and of a more laſting habitation, who in the ſingleneſs of your heart thirſt after the true and living feeling and knowledge of God; who are like a poor dove without conſort, and as a ſolitary pelican in the wilderneſs, who truly ſeek after the beloved of your ſouls, but have not yet found him; "Be ſtill, O ye tender people! and know that he is God." Who? "He that ſearcheth the heart, that trieth the reins, that ſetteth the thoughts of men in order before their eyes:" In this Stillneſs ſhall ye hear him, who will teach you where to find that which you ſeek for; yea, it is *He*, for he alone can do it, who manifeſteth himſelf to you. Mary ſought Jeſus, and thought it was the *gardener* when ſhe ſaw him; ſhe aſked Jeſus for Jeſus; but when he ſaid "*Mary*," ſhe anſwered "Maſter;" and through *that word* her beloved Maſter, Jeſus, *revealed* himſelf, and demonſtrated that he knew her, and *that gave* her to know him; for, alas! he whom you ſeek is *near* you; yea, in the *midſt* of you: It is he that knows you, and calls to you, and tells you whatever you have done, whether it be juſt, or unjuſt; and it is he that pronounceth judgment againſt thoſe that walk after the fleſh, but ſpeaketh peace and joy to thoſe that walk after the Spirit. And therefore, do not ſlight his appearance, but live humbly, and then you ſhall ſee him whom you wait for, ſwiftly come, and make himſelf known to you.

My beloved, ſeek not the preſent eaſe, or pleaſures of the fleſh; and fear not man, but God. Hear me, O my friends, for the Lord God hath ſent me unto you, in this Epiſtle; take heed that ye out-run not yourſelves, in Inward Viſions, and Openings of the Heart, and that you feed not yourſelves with the Knowledge of the ſame; for this is *not* that knowledge which is eternal life; although many, and more eſpecially in Germany, have loſt themſelves thereby: For when they have received inward Manifeſtations from God, they were not humble and low, but were exalted in their own minds above the daily Croſs; which Croſs is Death to that which prides itſelf with theſe Viſions, or Manifeſtations, and have been elevated above the ſimplicity of obedience, in a bare profeſſion of the ſame.

O the ſubtilty of that cunning Enemy of Souls! This, this hath put a ſtop to the work of the Lord; for they have not known the travail, the death, and the firſt reſurrection; but, without Experience, lived ſlightly in the delightful Repreſentations and Manifeſtations of the ſame: Hereby are come forth whole generations of exalted, ſpiritual, and high-ſtrained Notioniſts, who deſpiſing the groſs impiety, and dark ſuperſtitious contrivances of ſects, are in the mean while entertained by the Enemy (who is provided with all manner of ſuitable baits) with thoſe Likeneſſes and Repreſentations of TRUTH: They dream of Meat, and the Feaſt of Tabernacles; but when the Day of the Lord is at hand, which is to awaken them to riſe to judgment, behold, then they are empty and hungry!

And therefore take great head to follow the Lord, and worſhip him: Adore *him*, and not the *image* thou thyſelf haſt made. Do not make Calves out of Jewels, which thou haſt brought out of Egypt. Do not bow down thyſelf before thy Old Experiences; but behold the *Arm* that has helped thee, and that God who has often delivered thee. Bleſſed are thoſe who are kept by him in the daily ſenſe of his preſervation, for their hearts will not run after other gods. Remember that the Manna deſcended from heaven daily; that it daily muſt be gathered and eaten; and that the Manna that was gathered yeſterday, cannot ſerve to-day for *Food*. Now as it is in the natural, even ſo is it in the ſpiritual. And therefore the Lord Jeſus has taught his diſciples to pray for their *daily* bread; for he is daily with his people, and he goes before them; Therefore let nobody look backwards, and adore what they have known;

1677. but look forward, on Jeſus, the author of the true faith, who is mighty to finiſh what he has begun; becauſe he has not only brought and delivered his people out of *Egypt*, but he is likewiſe their ſpiritual *Moſes*, who has led them through the *Wilderneſs*; he goes before his ſheep, and gives them everlaſting life; namely, to thoſe who hear and follow him: But when men are negligent in hearing Chriſt, then they work for themſelves upon their Old Experiences, and "hew to themſelves ciſterns that can hold no "water. Here Death prevails, and here Death talks of the Fame of Wiſdom; and with this knowledge they feed themſelves, and not on the Tree of Life.

Take ye heed, my friends, for great is the myſtery of unrighteouſneſs, but the Light of Jeſus Chriſt diſcovers the ſame; and therefore remain in this, and from it expect your daily bread, daily knowledge, daily wiſdom, and daily ſtrength: "Take no "thought for the Morrow, for ſufficient unto the day is the Evil thereof."

And thus lives the Seed of Faith, the True Spirtual Generation of the believing Abraham; that daily eat of the hidden Manna, which deſcends every day from above, and that is hidden from the world, and its wiſdom.

Woe unto them, from God, who makes and adore *Images*, as well of things in *Heaven*, as upon *Earth*: Wherefore examine and try yourſelves, by the Light of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who alone gives the true Underſtanding, what your knowledge is; for the Knowledge that is everlaſting life, is a lively Senſe, Enjoyment, and Poſſeſſion of things, which we ſee *inwardly*; and into this, man of himſelf can by no means come by all his ſtrivings: But this is only obtained by judgments, deep humiliation, patience, daily watching, and by bearing the croſs of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and that not only againſt Satan, but alſo againſt our own Selfiſhneſs.

And I teſtify, that he who attains his Knowledge *another* way, is a thief and a robber: For Chriſt is the *Door*, and through him all muſt enter; nay, through him *only* we can *come to God*; namely, by faithfully receiving him into the heart, and embracing him; firſt, as a *Light*, diſcovering corrupt nature, with all its evil fruits; then as a *Judge*, condemning the ſame to the death of the croſs, that ſuch may come to die with him to the ſpirit of the World, and to the bad and vain fruits of it; as alſo to the ſpiritual powers in high places; and finally to know him as the *Reſurrection* and *Life*, and as one who raiſeth the ſoul, by the ſame Power whereby God the Father has raiſed *him* from the dead.

And here is the pure and living knowledge obtained: This is *to know*, and *to put on* Chriſt, and through *him* to come *to God*, and to enter through the ſtrait gate; the ſtrait gate, that is too narrow for fleſh and blood; and all that is not born of the Eternal Spirit is *fleſh*, and ſhall wither away as graſs before the glorious Sun of Righteouſneſs, which is now ariſen; for *his* work alone can undergo the judgment, and endure the trial; namely, that which is *born* of him; which is not by the Will of Man, in his *own* Time, nor by his Running and Willing, but by the Will of God, and by the Holy Overſhadowing of his Pure Spirit. And this know, "That God doth not overſhadow "the *adulterous*, but the *chaſte* Virgin Mind." Who has ears, let him hear: This alone it is which can conceive, and produce that Knowledge which is Everlaſting Life; and all other Knowledge, at the higheſt, is not higher than the Golden Head of that Image, which, by that "ſmall ſtone cut out of the Mountain, without hands," ſhall be broken into pieces; that is, without all the Arts, Sciences, Labour, Induſtry, Wiſdom, Will, or Mind of Men.

Nay, it muſt be broken, becauſe it has no Feet, on which it can ſtand; nor Foundation that can endure the Proof; and therefore enquire into the Foundation you build upon, which I beg for God's ſake. Is it upon the "Chief Corner Stone?" Upon the "Stone which is elect and precious?" Is it upon Chriſt, the True Rock? Againſt whom, nor againſt any one who truly depends upon it, ſhall the gates of Hell prevail? See then if the gates of hell, in ſeveral things, do not prevail over you, as well as over the great body of falſe Chriſtians? Have you not about you the Mark of the Nature of the World? Do you not bow before any of its Cuſtoms? Make a ſearch with the Candle of the Lord Jeſus, that he has lighted within you; whereby you ſhall ſee all the fruits you produce; namely, the Nature of them, and to what they tend; to wit, if they are of the Nature, and tend to the Luſt, of *this World*, or of the Nature of *God*, and to his Will; for all true Chriſtians ought to conform themſelves unto his Will in all things, that whatſoever they do, may tend to the praiſe and glory of the Lord, their bleſſed King and Law-giver.

And therefore live ye low and humble, to that which has viſited you: Be like Worm Jacob; let the Lord awake you, but dwell you in the Tents: Do not build Babels, for they muſt be broken: Remember that humble and little David obtained the kingdom, whoſe truſt was only in the Name of the Lord, and his delight was in meditating in the pure Law of his God.

This is the viſit of my Life and Love to you, O ye ſcattered and hidden ones: Lift up your heads, and behold your Shepherd and your Saviour; turn ye to him, follow him, and live with him: Let him lead you to the place where he feeds, and where he makes his flock to reſt at noon; for by his eternal Light and Spirit has he gathered from off the barren mountains, and from the idolatrous ſhepherds, a flock, which he hath led to the Fold of Reſt, through many and great Tribulations; and he who remains firm and immoveable, is the *true* Reſt, viz. Jeſus Chriſt, and there is no other. Therefore it is ſaid, that the true Church, coming up from the Wilderneſs, leans upon the breaſt of JESUS CHRIST, her Beloved, her Lord, and her Huſband, who is her ſtrength and ſtay: And all thoſe who lean upon another, will fall in the Wilderneſs, and never come to the reſt of the Lord.

Therefore lean ye upon no other, but adhere unto him; wait, watch, and walk in his holy Light, which he has ſent to lead you out of darkneſs, and therewith you will be enabled to know him from whom it comes, and whom you ſeek; for the nations, who are to be ſaved, muſt walk in the "Light of the Lord:" And the time comes, and now is, that we ſhall have no need of the Sun, nor Moon, nor Stars; but the Lamb of God, that was ſlain, and now lives, ſhall be the Light and Life of all true Chriſtians, here and hereafter.

Theſe things were laid upon me by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is "the Faithful and "True Witneſs," to write to you, and to bear witneſs of his kingdom and appearance; that ye might ſeek, ſo that ye alſo may find, and that ye ſhould be ready to enter in with him to the everlaſting Supper, and to the Reſt which he has prepared for thoſe who love him, and follow him in the way of regeneration, not loving their lives unto death, for his glorious name and teſtimony's ſake; to whom my ſoul does humbly render honour and praiſe, and, in communion with his whole redeemed family upon earth, I aſcribe all honour, power, and dominion, now henceforth and for evermore. *Amen.*

W. PENN.

A
TENDER VISITATION,
IN THE
LOVE of GOD, that overcomes the WORLD,
TO

ALL People in the *High* and *Low Dutch* Nations, who hunger and thirſt after Righteouſneſs, and deſire to know and worſhip God in Truth and in Sincerity: Containing a Plain Teſtimony to the Ancient and Apoſtolical Life, Way, and Worſhip, that God is reviving and exalting in the Earth, in his Spirit and Truth.

Friends,

1677. IN that love wherewith God, the Father of all mercy, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, hath loved and viſited my ſoul, I likewiſe love and viſit you; wiſhing in the ſame love that you, with all the Saints, might come to experience what is the knowledge, faith, hope, worſhip and ſervice, that is of and from God, and which alone is truly acceptable unto him; and that you might ſo run, that you may obtain; and that you, being armed with the ſpiritual weapons, may ſo fight, as you may gain the prize, and inherit the crown: So that the great God, the Lord of heaven and earth; he who ſhall judge the quick and the dead; may be known by you to be your God, and John i. 13. and iii. 6. 1 Pet. i. 23. you may know yourſelves to be his children; "born not of Blood, nor of the Will of Fleſh, nor of the Will of Man, but born again of his Holy and Incorruptible Seed, by the Word of God," born of his Spirit, and joined unto him in an everlaſting covenant; that while you live here, you may not live to yourſelves, but to the glory of God; and when you have finiſhed your courſe here below, you may lay down your Rev. xxi. 4. heads in peace, and enter into everlaſting reſt with the faithful: Here all tears ſhall be wiped away from your eyes, and everlaſting joy and gladneſs ſhall be the portion of your inheritance.

Let me therefore, Friends, ſpeak freely, and be open-hearted unto you, and conſider you my words in the fear of God, for I am preſſed in ſpirit to write to you.

I. Firſt, Have you all turned yourſelves to God, who was the Teacher of Adam, while in his innocency; who was the teacher of the Iſraelites, through his Prophets, and of Heb. i. 2. the True Chriſtians through his Son Jeſus; through whom he ſpeaks his Will, in the hearts of all true Chriſtians: If not, then are you yet erring from his Spirit, and going aſtray from the Lord, who is the Teacher of the New Covenant.

II. Secondly, Know you the *End* and *Deſign* of the Coming of Chriſt? Are you come to an inward experience of what the ſame is? Hearken to the words of his beloved 1 John iii. 8. diſciple, who has ſaid, "For this purpoſe the Son of God was manifeſted, that he might (put an end to ſin, and) deſtroy the works of the devil." Do you know this by your own experience? Ah! Deceive not yourſelves: Where, pray, does ſin dwell? And where are the works of the Devil? Are they not in the Hearts of men and women? Is not that the Seat of *Wickedneſs*, the Tabernacle of *Sin*, the Temple of Rev. xiii. the *Devil?* Have not men there worſhipped his Spirit? Have not men there bowed down before him? And are not all ſuch born of his evil Seed? Muſt not Chriſt, who is the *Seed* of God, bruiſe his *Head*, there deſtroy his work, and take his kingdom from him? The ſoul, which by Satan is defiled, and kept in captivity, muſt not Chriſt redeem it, purify it, and ſave it? That it may be changed, and ſeaſoned with the divine Seed, and ſo come to bear the holy image of the ſame; to that end that Chriſt may come to dwell in a *Pure Heart*, and that God may be worſhipped in his own *Evangelical* Temple, in his own Spirit in man and woman? What of theſe things are you truly come to know? And what have you yet felt hereof? Chriſt is threfore come into the world, even for that very end is he called Jeſus, *viz.* that he ſhould "ſave his people from "their ſins:" And to that end has John directed all to him, by theſe words, "Behold "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the ſin of the world."

Mat. i. 21.
John i. 29.

Look, now, to yourſelves, O inhabitants of Chriſtendom, whether he has taken away your ſins, and what thoſe ſins are: Examine and try yourſelves, by his holy Light, from what evil things you are now redeemed, which you were before ſubject unto; for Chriſt ſaves no man from the Wrath of God, whom he hath not firſt redeemed from Sin: For, "the wages of ſin is death;" and "whatſoever men ſow, that they ſhall reap," in the Great and Laſt Day of Judgment.

Rom. vi. 23.

To whom then do you live, my friends, and in what life? Do you live in the life of God and Chriſt, wherein the ſaints of old did live, whoſe "lives were hid with "Chriſt in God;" and who did live, becauſe "Chriſt lived in them?" Is the Old Wine, and alſo the Old Bottles, put away? Is the Old Man, with all his Deeds, put off? The old evil and corrupt Ground, which brings forth all evil and corrupt fruits, is that burnt up by the Fire of God? For "his Word is like a Fire:" The Old Heavens, the Old Service of God, Peace, Gladneſs, and the Old Worſhip, which altogether are as dead in the fallen Nature, are they "rolled up as a ſcroll, and veſture, "and melted through the ſtrong heat of the burning and judging Spirit of God?" Are you become as *new bottles*, which receive the *new wine* of the Kingdom of God, which endures for ever? Have you, my friends, "put on the New Man, which after "God is created in righteouſneſs, and in true holineſs?" Can you feel that there is brought forth in you the *new heaven*, and the *new earth*, wherein righteouſneſs dwelleth? Conſider, you, who truly and ſincerely ſeek to know the Lord, and his works in you, and "ſpend not your money for that which is not bread, nor your labour for that "which ſatisfieth not," nor will profit any thing in the day of account; that your ſouls be not deceived; but that you may be ſaved in the day of the Lord.

Col. iii. 4.
Jer. xxiii. 29.
Eph. iv. 24.
Iſa. lv. 2.

Come, you that are *weary* and *heavy laden*, and you that hunger and thirſt after *righteouſneſs*, and deſire to walk in the purity and righteouſneſs of the ſaints: Be it known unto you, that Jeſus Chriſt, who can diſcharge, eaſe, help, and ſave you all, he is near you, and ſtands at the *door* of your hearts, and that he waits to be gracious to you; he knocks, that you may open unto him: It is he who has viſited you with his ſaving Light, whereby he has manifeſted your ſtate and condition to you; and begotten an holy feeling in you, whereby your are become weary of your evil doings; and raiſes up a holy thirſt in you after better things. Now then, if you deſire and expect ever to be filled, and ſatisfied from him, then muſt you receive him as he is revealed, and as his holy will is made known in your hearts; and keep yourſelves under his holy judgments and reproofs: For "the reproofs of inſtruction are the way of eternal life." Love, therefore, that which reproves you for Evil; and turn from thoſe evils for which you are reproved: "For Zion ſhall be redeemed through judgment, and her "converts with righteouſneſs." Love, I ſay, the judgments of Chriſt, and ſubmit thereunto, and wait for him, to feel him yet more and more, that you thus may ſay, with one of old, "In the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee:" And, "with our ſouls have we deſired thee in the night ſeaſon; and with our ſpirits "within us will we ſeek thee early: For when thy judgments are in the earth, the "inhabitants of the world will learn righteouſneſs:"--"For judgment," ſaid Chriſt, "am "I come into this world:" That is, as an holy Light, to make manifeſt, and as a righteous Judge, to condemn, all unrighteouſneſs of men: And all thoſe that love his reproofs, and willingly ſuffer his chaſtizings and fatherly rebukes, they ſhall ſee "Judg-"ment brought forth unto Victory," and that the *Prince* of this *World*, the corrupt Root, the corrupt Nature, Ground, or Origin, in you, as well as the evil Fruits, and ungodly Works thereof, ſhall be *judged*. And when this is done, and is fulfilled, then you ſhall know what it is to ſing his high praiſes in truth and righteouſneſs: Then you ſhall come to ſing the Song of the Lamb; and know that you, by that Lamb, are redeemed and ſaved.

Rev. iii 20.
Iſa. xxx. 18.
Prov. vi. 23.
Iſa. i. 27. and iv. 4.
Iſa. xxvi. 8, 9.
John ix. 39.
Mat. xii. 20.
Rev. v. 9.

But it may be ſome will aſk, 'Who is able to perform ſo great and bleſſed a work?' Fear not, you that ſeek the kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, with all your hearts: For God has laid *help* upon one that is *mighty*, viz. upon Jeſus Chriſt, and he ſhall make your ſins known unto you, and redeem you from all unrighteouſneſs, if you will walk in his Light, as his beloved Diſciple ſpeaks, ſaying, "If we walk in the

Pſal. lxxxix. 19.

1677. “ Light, as he is in the Light, we have fellowſhip one with another, and the Blood
“ of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſeth us from all ſin.” And therefore, Friends, if you will be
ſaved by the Blood of Chriſt, then muſt you leave and forſake all which the Light of
Chriſt does condemn in you; yea, you muſt watch againſt your own thoughts, words
and deeds, that you at unawares may not be overcome by the Enemy of your ſouls:
Eph. iv. 30. For he comes as a Thief in the Night, to deſtroy you. Do not live nor act ſo as to
grieve the Holy Spirit of God; but turn your minds from all Evil, in Thoughts,
Words, and Deeds; yea, if you love the Light of Chriſt, then bring your deeds every
Eph. v. 13. day to the Light, and ſee whether they are wrought in God, or no: For “ all things
“ that are reproved,” or *juſtified*, “ are made manifeſt by the Light; for whatſoever
Mal. iii. “ doth make manifeſt is Light:” And that Light *burns as an Oven* againſt all unrighteouſneſs;
yea, it is like a *Refiner's Fire*; for it is the fiery part of the baptiſm of
2 Theſſ. ii. 8. Chriſt, and thefore it is called the “ *Brightneſs* of his *Coming*, the *Conſuming Spirit* of
Iſa. x. 17. “ his *Mouth*,” whereby that Wicked One ſhall be revealed, and burnt up, and rooted
out; the thorns and briars ſhall be burned up and devoured, and the filthineſs both
of fleſh and ſpirit purged away. If, now, your ſins are become a burthen to you, if
you thereby are wearied, and if you heartily deſire that they may be weakened in you,
and at laſt conquered alſo; then let the “ Holy Watch of Jeſus” be ſincerely and earneſtly
kept in your hearts; which *Watch* is in the *Light*; for in Darkneſs is no ſafe nor
true Watching. Watch, therefore, with the Light of Chriſt, wherewith you are enlightned;
watch, I ſay, againſt every unfruitful Thought, Word, and Work of Darkneſs:
Stand upon your guard in the bleſſed Light, and be you armed therewith, like
the ſaints of old, that you may diſcern the Enemy, and reſiſt him, when, and howſoever,
he does appear and approach unto you; that ſo he may not overcome you, but that
you may obtain victory over him: For when he ſees his allurements ineffectual, his
ſnares diſcovered and broken, (as this is done in the Light of Chriſt) then is he weakened
in his attempts, and your ſouls grow ſtronger to reſiſt him, until at laſt he be
Rom. viii. 14, wholly defeated and conquered: For this was the way of the ancients, who were more
37. than conquerors, who walking after the Light and Spirit of Jeſus, were redeemed from
Condemnation, which will come upon all thoſe that live after the Fleſh. O! this
Titus ii. 11, *Light*, and this *Grace*, bringeth Salvation! For it teacheth us “ to deny ungod-
12. “ lineſs, and worldly luſts,” which *bring* Condemnation, “ and to live ſoberly, righ-
“ teouſly, and godly in this preſent world.” And this is the only living way to the
2 Cor. xii. 9. everlaſting reſt and peace of God. This was the teacher of the ſaints, this was Paul's
refuge and comfort in his greateſt temptations. “ My Grace,” ſaid the Lord, “ is
“ ſufficient for thee.” And as it has been in time paſt, ſo is it in this our day, to all
them that come to receive it, embrace it, and love it, and who are willing to be guided
Iſa. lii. 11. by it, and follow it; and to them ſaid the Lord, “ Depart you from all evil ways,
“ from all vain uſes and cuſtoms, and from the vanities of this world. Receive you
Prov. viii. 1, &c. “ my counſel, which is the Living Oracle, or the Voice of God, and the Fountain of
“ all Wiſdom; and do not hew out to yourſelves ciſterns, broken ciſterns, that can hold
Jer. ii. 13. “ no water.”

III. Gal. i. 1. Thirdly, Are your preachers and teachers ſent by God, or by *Men*? How are they
come to be your teachers? Conſider of this ſeriouſly: Are they of thoſe that have
Mat. xxviii. 19. accompanied with Jeſus? Are they inſtructed and ſanctified by him? Are they born
again? Have they received their commiſſions, and are they ſent forth by him? Are
Acts i. 4, 5, 8. they true and faithful witneſſes? Have they *heard*, *ſeen*, *taſted*, and *handled* that which
1 John i. 1. they ſpeak and deliver unto you? Is it the Living Word which they preach unto you?
Or do they, by their *own* ſpirit and underſtanding, in their own time and will, explain and
interpret thoſe Matters, which the ſaints of old, and the primitive Chriſtians, ſpake forth
as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt? If it be ſo, then have they not received ſuch
work, or ſuch victory, through the Holy Spirit in themſelves, as the ſaints had experi-
2 Pet. i. 21. ence of.

IV. Fourthly, Do your Preachers turn your minds to the *Light* of *Chriſt*, (that is, the
Acts xxvi. 18. Micah vi. 8. *Life* in Him) which ſhines in your *Hearts*; which alone diſcovers *Sin* to the Creature,
and ſhews every man what the Lord doth *require* of him? Do they direct you
John xii. 26. to that Light which did lead the ſaints of old; and, by their *believing* in the Light,
Rev. xxi. 23, 24. made them *Children* of Light; wherein the “ nations of them that are ſaved ſhall
“ walk?” Do they turn you, I ſay, to this Light, to this Grace and Spirit, in yourſelves,
which cometh by Jeſus Chriſt? Does your knowledge, feeling, experience
and worſhip, conſiſt in the revelations and works of this bleſſed Principle of God's begetting
in you? So that your Faith and Hope conſiſt not in words *only* (though they
may all be true in words) nor in the education of an outward religious perſuaſion by
vain teachers; but that your Faith and Hope are grounded, and builded upon the
“ Power of the Living God,” who giveth victory over the world, unto all thoſe, who,
1 John v. 4. in their hearts, believe in the Light of Jeſus: And this bleſſed Hope purifies the heart,
and fortifies the ſoul.

Fifthly, When you come to your meetings, both preachers and people, what do you
do? Do you then gather together bodily only, and kindle a *fire*, compaſſing yourſelves
about with the *ſparks* of your *own* kindling, and ſo pleaſe yourſelves, and walk in the
“ Light of your own fire, and in the ſparks which you have kindled,” as thoſe did in Iſa. l. 11.
the time of old, whoſe portion it was “ to lie down in ſorrow?” Or rather, do you ſit
down in *True Silence*, reſting from your own Will and Workings, and waiting upon the Lam. iii. 25,
Lord, with your minds fixed in that *Light* wherewith Chriſt has enlightened you, until 26, 28.
the Lord breathes life in you, refreſheth you, and prepares you, and your ſpirits and ſouls, John i. 9.
to make you fit for his ſervice, that you may offer unto him a pure and ſpiritual ſacrifice?
For “ That which is born of the fleſh, is fleſh; and he that ſoweth to his fleſh, ſhall of John iii. 6.
“ the fleſh reap corruption:” For “ fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of Gal. vi. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 50.
“ God: But he that ſoweth to the Spirit, ſhall of the Spirit reap life eternal,” through
Chriſt, who has quickened him.

What have you felt then, my friends, of this work in your hearts? Has Chriſt
there appeared? What has he done for you? Have you bowed down before him, and
received him in your hearts? Is he *formed* in you? Do you live *no more*, but does Chriſt
live *in* you? For if you know not Chriſt to be *in* you, then are you yet *reprobates*, Gal. iv. 19.
though you confeſs him in words, as the apoſtle ſaid of old. 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

All you, therefore, that hunger and thirſt after the righteouſneſs of God's kingdom,
which is an everlaſting bleſſed kingdom, turn in, my friends, and come to Chriſt, who
ſtands at the door of your hearts, and knocks. He is the “ Light of the World,” and Rev. iii. 20.
it concerns all true ſervants of the Lord, to direct all men to this Light; elſe have they
not a right diſcerning, nor true ſight or taſte of the things of God, viz. “ To turn men
“ from Darkneſs to Light,” from the Kingdom of Satan, to the Power and Kingdom
of God; from the dark inventions and human traditions of men, to Chriſt, the great
Light of God, the High Prieſt, and Holy Prophet, whom all men muſt hear, and out
of whoſe mouth the law of the Spirit of Life muſt be received. By this he judges men Rom. viii. 2.
in righteouſneſs, and in him are hid all the “ Treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge.” Col. ii. 3.
This is the High-prieſt of all true Chriſtians, and their chief treaſure.

Happy, therefore, are all thoſe that receive him in their hearts, thoſe that know him
to be their Light, their Guide, their King, their Law-giver, their Biſhop, and their
heavenly Shepherd; who follow him through all things, and through all perſecutions
and ſufferings, and that ſtedfaſtly love his Croſs (the Power of God) and with all gladneſs
embrace the reproach thereof; who have experienced, that *without* Chriſt they can John. xv. 5.
do nothing; and therefore wait for his Divine Power, Strength and Wiſdom, to govern
and guide them: For ſuch can receive no teſtimony from any preachers, except that 1 John ii. 20.
teſtimony which is given from the Holy Unction, in and through them; becauſe men,
without Chriſt, can do nothing, as he has ſaid: For men cannot preach, men cannot pray,
men cannot ſing as it ought to be; yea, men, without him, can do nothing to the
praiſe and glory of God: For it is only the *Son* of God that glorifies the *Father* through
his Children.

And therefore let him kindle the fire with the pure coals from his holy altar; and do
not you offer to him in your ſelf-will: No, Jeſus did not do his *own* will, but the will John vi. 38.
of his *Father*. So let us not do our own, but *his* will; he has done nothing but what iii. 11.
his Father had made *known* unto him: and we muſt all witneſs what Chriſt has declared 1 John i. 3.
unto us, and what he has wrought in us, or elſe we ſhould be falſe witneſſes. “ Woman,”
ſaid Chriſt to his mother, “ mine hour is not yet come:” So that he did
wait his Father's time, in whoſe hands the times and ſeaſons are: We muſt *wait*, but
God *orders*; and happy are thoſe who do his will. “ My ſheep,” ſaid Chriſt, “ hear John x. 27.
“ my voice, and follow me; but they will not hear the voice of ſtrangers.” Now
thoſe that ſpeak, if their voices and converſations are not with the Life, the Power, and
with the Spirit of Chriſt, they are ſtrange voices (I pray you obſerve well); and Chriſt's
ſheep will not ſit under *ſuch* voices, nor under *ſuch* ſhepherds; who do but *ſteal* the Jer. xxiii. 30.
words of the Prophets and Apoſtles, but do not *experience* them, nor ſucceed them in
their ſpirits and converſations; for Chriſt's ſheep do diſcern thoſe that *ſo* teach, from *his*,
for he has given them that ſpiritual gift to *ſee* them; which is not to be had nor found in
the crafty wiſdom of the world, with all its human learnings, arts and ſciences; but
ſtands in the innocent nature of the *true ſheep*, and for them it is like *natural*; viz.
ſouls that are become harmleſs, and are arrived at the ſtate of a *little child*; for to ſuch
doth God reveal his ſecrets; becauſe, by the work of regeneration, they are become his
own begotten; and to ſuch belongs the kingdom of God, and the knowledge of the
myſteries thereof.

Wherefore, pray take notice how it is with you: Is ſin revealed? Yes: Through
what? By the Light of Chriſt. But is ſin likewiſe judged? Have you ſubmitted yourſelves
to his Light? And are you therewith united? Is your old ſelf-righteouſneſs John x. 4.
thereby judged? And are thereby all your falſe judgments judged? Is the Prince
of this world judged in you? Does Chriſt go *before* you? And does he give you eternal
life? Examine and ſearch yourſelves, for thus he deals with his ſheep: “ I go before

1677. “ them, they follow me, and, behold, I give them life eternal.” Does Chriſt go before
you, and lead you in all your worſhip, which you do as your bounden duty
to God? Do you wait for his leadings? Is it the religion of Chriſt wherein you
John x. 1, 8. walk? Read his holy ſermon on the mount. Or elſe, do you go before *him*, and do
you climb up *another* way, before he ſtirs in you, before he moves you, before he
gives you power and ability to approach his throne? Ah! True Silence before the Lord
is better abundantly than *forward* Prayers, and *ſelf-willed* Offers, or any traditional and
formal performances: For conſider, that it is “ life eternal to know God.” Now, no
John xvii. 3. man can know him, who has not heard his voice: And no man can hear his voice, who
is not ſilent in himſelf, and waits not patiently for him, that he may “ hear what God
Pſ. lxxxv. 8. “ will ſpeak to his ſoul,” through Jeſus, the great, holy, and heavenly High Prieſt of
God to mankind, who is the heavenly Prophet alſo, unto all them that believe in his
Phil. iii. 10. 11. name. But, my friends, do you know the fellowſhip of his holy Life, of his bleſſed
Croſs, Death, and Reſurrection? Do you confeſs him inwardly in yourſelves, as well as
outwardly before men? If ſo, then has he given you life eternal. Again, if you feel
2 Tim. i. 10. not in you “ Life and Immortality brought to Light,” then are you yet in your ſins,
John i. 29. and know not the “ Lamb of God, who taketh away the ſin of the world.” For “ as
John i. 12. “ many as received him, to them gave he power to become the children of God.” And
they know, by the Witneſs of God in themſelves, that they are “ of God,” as ſaid the
1 John v. 19. beloved diſciple John, “ and the whole world lieth in wickedneſs.”

Beloved friends, beware therefore of *Idolatry*, and worſhipping of *Images*; I mean the
worſhip of *inward* Images, which is an *inward* Idolatry; for if you ſhew a great averſion
againſt all outward idolatry, yet if you worſhip God after the Imaginations you have of God,
and which you conceive in your own minds, without the Inſpiration of the Almighty, you
worſhip Images of your own framing, and ſo come to commit idolatry. And therefore
take heed that your worſhip does not conſiſt in your own Imaginations, and Self-conceits
of God; and do not bow down to ſuch, (which is, indeed, to *yourſelves*) and then think,
or preſume, that you are bowing down to God and Chriſt; when on the contrary, it is
Dan. xii. 11. nothing elſe but a meer Picture of your own making. And this is the great abomination
2 Theſſ. ii. 4. and loſs of poor Chriſtendom, viz. That the ſpirit which deceives man, “ ſits in
“ the place of God, and is worſhipped as God,” by thoſe that know not the True and
Living God, who is as a conſuming fire, and as everlaſting burnings in the ſoul, againſt
John xvi. 8. the ſin, righteouſneſs and judgment of the world.

Now he that revealeth the Father, is the Son, the True Light: For he has ſaid,
Mat. xi. 27. “ No man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.”
How has Chriſt revealed the Father unto you? Are you come to Jeſus? If ſo, then you
have known the godly ſorrow, the true mourning, and that repentance which men need
never to repent of: But if you have not known this day of judgment and contrition, then
are you not come to Chriſt. Wherefore come you to Jeſus, viz. To his appearance in
you, by his Divine Light and Spirit, which every way diſcovers and judges the world's
nature, ſpirit and image in you: For to him is all judgment committed, and he will reveal
John xiv. 10, 11. the Father; yea, “ he that hath ſeen the Son, has likewiſe ſeen the Father;” for
he is *in* the Father, and the Father is in *him*. If, now, the Manifeſtation of Jeſus in you,
as well of the Father as of the Son, is the Foundation of your Knowledge, ſo that God
and Chriſt, “ whom to know is life eternal,” are become the Holy Object of your
John iv. 24. Worſhip; then are you real worſhippers in his Spirit and Truth; then are you come
out from the workmanſhip, from the will and imaginations, of your own ſpirits, and
from all human worſhip, and are come to the worſhip of the Spirit of the living God,
1 Cor. ii. 11. and to live in him, be led and moved by him in all godly performances; for the *Spirit*
John iv. 23. of *Man* only knows the *Things* of *Man*, but the *Spirit* of GOD knows and reveals the
Things of God. And this Worſhip of his Kingdom and Church has Chriſt raiſed up
again in theſe our days, which was ſet up by Chriſt Sixteen hundred years ago. And
in this worſhip have the true followers worſhipped the Father, before the great Apoſtacy
from the Spirit and Power of the Lord broke in upon the primitive ages of the Church:
And after ſuch a glorious manner ſhall it be reſtored; yea, ſo it is already with many
thouſands, whom God, through the appearance of Chriſt in the heart, has gathered,
both in our and other countries, whereby he has judged them as men in the fleſh (in
their fleſhly luſts, in their fleſhly worſhips) that they might live unto God and Chriſt, who
quickened them by the death of the croſs, and juſtified them as men in the Spirit riſen
from the dead.

Glory be therefore to God, who lives and reigns on high, that that dark and sorrowful
Night is vaniſhing, and that the Sun-riſing of the eternal Day has already appeared,
and is ariſing more and more over the nations in the world; in which day,
Rev. xvi. 19. “ Babylon, the mother of harlots, [falſe-worſhippers] ſhall come in remembrance
Ib. xviii. 13. “ before the God of the whole earth;” viz. That Babylon, which has followed *merchandizing*
Ib. xi. 3. with the *Scripture*, and with the *Souls of Men*, and has perſecuted the ſpiritual
Ib. xiii. 16. ſeed, the children of God, and faithful witneſſes of Jeſus (although cloathed in

Sackcloth); becauſe they would not receive her *Mark*, and her *Fine Linen* too, nor ſubmit to her fleſhly birth, invention, profeſſion, worſhip and dominion.

This Babylon, lives but too much yet in every one, of all ſorts of people or profeſſors; by whom the truth is held in unrighteouſneſs. When they ſee not through the Light of the Spirit of Chriſt, and when their knowledge and worſhip of God is not received and performed by that ſame bleſſed Spirit; there, I ſay, is Babylon, that is, *Confuſion*: “Oh, come out of her, my people!” ſaith the Lord, “and I will receive you.”

He that calls God his Father, and is not *born* of God; he that calls Chriſt Lord, and not by the Holy Spirit, but mean while is ſerving another maſter; thoſe that attribute to themſelves the words of the *regenerated*, their revelations and experiences, when they are yet *unregenerated*, and have no part therein, but endeavour in all theſe things to make themſelves a fair covering; they ſhall experience, in the day of the Lord, that it ſhall profit them nothing: For, “Woe to thoſe,” ſaid the Lord, Iſa. xxx. 1. “that cover with a covering, and not of my Spirit; that take counſel, but not of me.” Let, therefore, all thoſe that are yet in Babylon, haſten out of her ſpeedily; and you that are in the *Suburbs* of that great city, haſten you away; yea, make haſte with all ſpeed! prepare yourſelves to meet the Lamb, your bridegroom; who comes now to you, who are mourning, hungering, and thirſting, after him, to lead you out of your Luke ii. 7. bewildered ſtates, to his ſaving Light, and bleſſed Appearance; for now he ſees you, and now he calls you, and knocks at your doors to come in unto you: And therefore open ye unto him, and let him in; let him no longer lie in the manger, nor at your doors; but rather give him your hearts, and let him reign over you as a King, for he has bought us with his own precious blood, and is therefore worthy that we ſerve and honour him, and that he reign over us; and that he be our king and law-giver, who gave his own life for us, that we ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life in him. He John iii. 16. has laid down his life for you, and can you not lay down your ſins for his ſake; yea, for your own ſakes? Conſider that he deſcended from the glory of his Father, to bring you to glory; and can you not depart from the withering glory of this world, that you may inherit his glory, which is everlaſting? It is that wrong falſe Self, in man, which only hinders it; it is that only which objects againſt it, that conſults, and endeavours to avoid the Croſs.

This *Self*, has in all times been deſirous to be in great eſteem, and has therefore, in all ages, hindered men from doing the will of God on earth, as it is in Heaven: But where *Self* is diſannulled, and men have had no great eſteem for the ſelfiſh part, but have humbled themſelves to the death of the croſs of Chriſt, that he might deliver them from the “Wrath to come,” and give them “an inheritance in the kingdom of his Father,” there the will of God will be done on earth, as it is in Heaven, and therein will the heavenly Father be glorified. On the contrary, thoſe that live in ſin, they are in communion with the Devil, and drink his cup of unrighteouſneſs: Which, however it is ſweet in the mouth, is afterwards bitter in the belly; and though it be ſweet here for a time, it ſhall afterwards be crabbed and diſtaſteful. Again, the cup of Chriſt is here bitter in the mouth, but ſweet hereafter in the belly; here ſour, but hereafter pleaſant: “You,” ſaid he, “ſhall weep and lament, but the world ſhall rejoice:” But obſerve the end hereof; “Your ſorrow ſhall be turned into joy, but their rejoicing into John xvi. 20. weeping.”

And this is therefore the word of truth; no man ſhall enjoy the cup of bleſſing, or drink out of the cup of ſalvation, but he that has firſt drank of the cup of tribulation; he that has firſt known his fellowſhip with the ſufferings of Chriſt, and of his holy myſtical croſs: For thoſe that ſuffer with him, ſhall reign with him, and No Croſs, No Crown.

Lean then upon his breaſt, for ſo does the Bride in Spirit. Truſt in him, and not in Cant. viii. 5. man, nor in yourſelves; for he will guide you beſt, becauſe he is given you of God to Jer. xvii. 5. be your heavenly guide. And if it ſhould be in a way under the croſs (which way is proper to him) yet it is, notwithſtanding, a way of joy and pleaſantneſs, and all his holy paths are peace to thoſe that love him. O, therefore, feel his holy drawings, and wait in his Light upon his holy movings in your ſouls! “*ſtand ſtill*, and ſee his *ſalvation* Exod. xiv. 13, “wrought in you, by his *own Arm*,” that you may know him to be Jeſus indeed; viz. 14. A *Saviour*, as well from your *Sins here*, as from the *Wrath to come*; and that he may preſerve you from vain thoughts, vain words, and vain converſations, yea, from the voluntary worſhip of this world, and from the ſlaviſh fear of man; to the end, that he may work his own work in you, and make you conformable to his own bleſſed image; and that you may be made free by the Lord, through the power of his everlaſting goſpel, which is now again ſounded forth, by his own Angel, to the inhabitants of the earth, calling with a loud voice, “Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come.” Rev. xiv. 6, And you muſt feel this judgment in your hearts, that the prince of 7. this world, with all his evil *ſeed*, with all his wrong *plants* and appearances, may be Mat. xv. 13. judged in you; and that you may be witneſſes upon earth for God, and the Lamb, that ſits upon the throne, againſt all darkneſs of men and devils; nay, againſt death, hell, and the grave; and that God may bleſs you with all ſorts of bleſſings in Chriſt Jeſus.

But yet I find myſelf preſſed in ſpirit to give you one warning more, *viz.* that you would no longer uſe vain words (though true in themſelves) becauſe they are worth nothing; for they take God's Name in vain, that uſe it without Life and Power: And I intreat all thoſe that endeavour to know God, and come up to the true Life of his dear Son, that you make no profeſſion of worſhip, without the feeling, preparing, and ordering of the true and overcoming Power of God; for ſuch worſhip is not of God, and ſuch profeſſors are poor, lean, naked and miſerable people; yea, they are
Rev. ii. 20. only as chaff among the corn: And therefore beware you of "that Woman Jezabel, "the falſe Propheteſs," of whom the early Chriſtians were warned, who has the *Words*, but not the *Life* of the Son of God: Her preaching tends to death; ſhe makes a talk of the ſound and fame of Wiſdom, but will not afterwards harbour her, when ſhe cries in her ſtreets; ſhe awakens none, ſhe brings no man to God; ſhe does not build up in the heavenly work, nor adminiſter the right ſpiritual bread to the ſoul: For Chriſt only is the bread which gives life eternal; and thoſe that will eat of this bread, muſt
John vi. 32, 33, 35, 51. firſt come to him; let him into their hearts, as Lord and Maſter, to provide and order his to his praiſe; and as ſuch muſt he be received, when he appears in their ſouls,
Mal. iii. 2. even as a "Refiner's Fire, and as a Fuller's Soap," to purify and refine from all unrighteouſneſs; yea, to reveal unto men their ſins, and deſtroy the ſame with the Brightneſs of his Coming, and with the Spirit of his Mouth, in which no deceit is found. He is that Light, in the Brightneſs of his Coming, which you muſt love, and whoſe teſtimony you muſt keep; and he is the quickening Spirit, whoſe Breath of his Mouth revives the Soul, and deſtroys the Sin that ſlays it: For all thoſe that come to receive
John i. 29. him in this office, in this way, and in this work, ſhall alſo know, that he is the "Lamb
1 Cor. v. 7. "of God, which taketh away the ſin of the world," the ſpiritual Paſſover, the hea-
John vi. 51. xv. 1. venly Bread, the true Vine, which bringeth forth the new wine of the kingdom;
Rom. xi. 24. the bleſſed Olive-Tree; yea, the Tree of Life, and eternal Salvation, which grows
Rev. ii. 7. in the midſt of the Paradiſe of God, whoſe leaves are for the healing of the nations.

This is a ſalutation to you all, from the holy and fervent Love which God has poured into my heart and ſoul; who am in a travail to help the nations to be ga-
Iſa. lx. 3. thered to Chriſt, the Light and Salvation thereof; that Zion may be the Joy, and
Ibid. lxii. 7. Jeruſalem the Praiſe, of the whole Earth. Amen, Amen.

W. PENN.

TRAVELS

IN

HOLLAND and GERMANY.

THE

PREFACE to the READER.

THIS enſuing Journal of my Travels in Holland and Germany, in the ſervice of the Goſpel of my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, was written for my own, and ſome relations and particular friends ſatisfaction, as the long time it hath lain ſilent doth ſhow: But a copy that was found amongſt the late Counteſs of Conway's papers falling into the hands of a perſon that much frequented that family, he was earneſt with me, both by himſelf and others, to have leave to publiſh it for a common good: Which, upon peruſal, I have found a willingneſs to comply with, hoping that the Lord will make the reading of it effectual to ſome into whoſe hands it may fall; as well thoſe who have received a diſpenſation of the ſame miniſtry, for their encouragement in their publick ſervice for God, as thoſe who are under the ſame miniſtry, unto zeal and faithfulneſs. 1767.

For it is the glorious goſpel day, in which God is exalting his dear Son, as Prophet, Prieſt, and King, in the hearts of his people. Oh that the nations would hear him, their only Saving Health, and Iſrael's Great Shepherd, who takes care of his ſheep, that hear his voice, and gives unto them that follow him, in the daily croſs, unto regeneration, eternal life; and who hath ſent, and is ſending forth, his ſervants, to gather home the ſheep, that are gone aſtray in all nations, that ſo there may be but One Shepherd, and One Sheepfold, according to the glorious promiſe made to theſe latter times; in which he ſaid he would be the "Teacher of his people Himſelf:" For he is teaching thouſands, by the Light, Spirit and Grace of his Son CHRIST, in whom he is well pleaſed. To this, God hath ſent forth his ſervants, in this day, to turn all people, as God's Call and Viſitation to the nations. And bleſſed are all thoſe that hearken to this teſtimony, both mediately and immediately.

For God is awaking men to the knowledge of his glory, in the face, or appearance, of Chriſt, by his Spirit in their hearts and conſciences; which reveals to men the Father, yea, the deep things of God.

Oh! that they would hear, and fear, and learn the things that make for their eternal peace! For if the righteous ſcarcely are ſaved, where, O where, ſhall they appear that neglect ſo great ſalvation! A ſalvation that comes ſo *near* them, as to knock at the door of their hearts; that ſearches them, and tries their reins, and tells unto them their moſt inward thoughts, and brings a line of judgment over all their words and works. This is Chriſt Jeſus, the Light of the World, that was given of God for Salvation to the

1677. the ends of the earth. He has *enlightened* all, and ſhines to all, and calls all, that they ſhould ſee their ſins, and be ſorry for them, and forſake them, and take up his daily-croſs, and follow him, whom God hath given for an *Example*, as well as a PROPITIATION for our ſins: And none can know him to be their Propitiation, that reject him as their Example and Leader in their Lives and Converſations. Wherefore, reader, be ſerious, inward, and inquiſitive, for thy ſoul's ſake. What faith haſt thou? One that overcomes the world; or one that the ſpirit of the world overcomes, which is not the faith of God's elect, without which we cannot pleaſe God? For that faith works by *Love*; ſuch a Love to God as will not offend him, but ſeeks his glory, through a moſt willing obedience to his holy will? Bleſſed are the ſouls in which this love dwells; for ſuch have none in Heaven but God, nor in the earth in compariſon of him. As they receive all good from him, ſo they reſign all up to him; and though it be through many tribulations that they muſt attain the reſt of God, yet as nothing can ſeparate them from his love, ſo neither can any thing deprive them of their reward in the end.

Wherefore, reader, be thou perſuaded to take thy lot among that bleſſed number, if thou art not yet one of them. Thou ſeeſt the way to that divine privilege; walk in it; for the end crowns all; If one of that number that have choſen God for their portion, be diligent, zealous, and fervent in the work and ſervice of God. Redeem thy time, and run thy race with care and conſtancy; looking to Jeſus, the Author, that he may be the Finiſher of thy Faith. Remember who ſaid, "There are many manſions prepared for the faithful." Do we believe and look for another world? Let us not then live in this as if there were no other. Let our eyes be upon our better world, and live here as ſtrangers, that are but on our way to our eternal home; that ſo we may anſwer the end of God's love, by working out the ſalvation of our own ſouls, by his power, with Fear and Trembling; knowing God will judge all, by Chriſt Jeſus, according to the deeds done in the body.

Reader, this journal is of a religious voyage, and has ſome paſſages in it that may engage thy ſoul to ſeriouſneſs, and let thee ſee how good God is to thoſe that go on his holy errands. Mayeſt thou be heartily affected with this teſtimony of his love and preſence with his people; and feel good deſires raiſed in thee to ſerve the Lord alſo, according to his bleſſed will, in thy day, that peace thou mayeſt know to thy ſoul when time here ſhall be no more. I am,

Thy aſſured friend in the beſt things,

W. PENN.

THE

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The firſt figure is the day of the month; the next the month; and the laſt the day of the week.

Worm. 22. 5. 1. BEING the firſt day of the week, I left my dear wife and family, at Worminghurſt in Suſſex, in the fear and love of God; and came well to London that night.

London. Eſſex 23. 5. 2. The next day, I employed myſelf on friends behalf, that were in ſufferings, till the evening; and then went to my own mother's in Eſſex.

Colcheſter. 24. 5. 3. The next morning I took my journey to Colcheſter, and met George Wats of London upon the way; who returned with me, and came well to that town that evening. We lodged at John Furly's the elder, but had a bleſſed meeting at Jonathan Furly's houſe that night.

Harwich. The next morning early I left Colcheſter, and came to Harwich about noon, accompanied with George Wats and John Furly the elder, William Tallcoat, and J. Witherly of Colcheſter; where we found dear G. F. at J. Vandewall's houſe, with many more friends.

25. 5. 4. After dinner, we went all to the meeting; where the Lord gave us a bleſſed earneſt of his love and preſence, that ſhould be with us in this voyage: For his holy, overcoming, refreſhing power did open all our hearts, and many of our mouths in miniſtry, prayer, and praiſes, to the magnifying of his own Name and Truth in that place.

The meeting done, we returned to John Vandewall's Houſe, where we took our leave of friends; that is to ſay, of the friends of that place, with others that came with us, or met us there: And ſo we went on board of the pacquet-boat; where, by the ſpecial favour of the maſter of the pacquets to me, having formerly ſerved under my father, we had the beſt accommodation given to us. Many of the friends accompanied us to the ſhip; not leaving us till all was fixed, and then we parted in the fellowſhip of Jeſus.

Thoſe that came over, were G. Fox, R. Barclay, G. K. G. Wats, J. Furly, W. Tallcoat, J. Yeamans, E. K. myſelf, with two of our ſervants.

26. 5. 5. 27. 5. 6. We ſet ſail about three in the morning, being the Fifth day of the week; and got the Sixth day at night within half a league of the Briel.

We had good ſervice thoſe two days in the ſhip with ſeveral paſſengers, French and Dutch: And though they ſeemed at firſt to be ſhy of us, and to ſlight us, yet at laſt their hearts were much opened in kindneſs towards us, and the Univerſal Principle had place.

Briel. 28. 5. 7. The next morning friends were fetcht on ſhore by a boat of Rotterdam, with ſome friends of that city, that came to the Briel to meet us. The friends that came were A. Sonneman, B. Furly, and S. Johnſon, Vettekeuken, with three young men that live at B. Furly's Houſe.

Rotterdam. After we had eaten, we took boat immediately for Rotterdam; where we arrived about noon, and where many friends came to ſee us, among whom we were comforted.

29. 5. 1. The next day, being the Firſt day of the week, we had two meetings at B. Furly's houſe; whither reſorted a great company of people, ſome of them being of the conſiderableſt note of that city. And Oh, bleſſed be the true Word of Life, that never faileth them that reſt upon it, and abide in it, the Goſpel was preached, the dead were raiſed, and the living comforted; and God, even our God, bore heavenly record to his only begotten Son in us: And Truth is honourable in the eyes of ſeveral in that place.

30. 5. 2. The next day, being the Second day of the week, we ſpent in viſiting friends from houſe to houſe; not in one company, being lodged in ſeveral quarters of the city. All our viſits were precious Meetings; for, indeed, for that end God brought us into this land.

Several of us dined and ſupped that day at two great mens houſes, where we had

1677. bleſſed opportunities to make known unto them what was the hope of our glory; that myſtery, which to the Gentiles is now revealing, even Chriſt Jeſus, the Light and Life of the world manifeſted in us.

31.-5. 3. Leyden. The next day, being the Third day of the week, G. F. J. F. W. T. and myſelf, after having broken our faſt at A. Sonneman's, took boat for Leyden; where we came that night, in order to be at Haerlem next day, at a meeting appointed by G. F. and myſelf from Rotterdam: Being accompanied by J. Bocliffs, J. Arents, J. Claus, that came from Amſterdam on purpoſe to conduct us thither.

Haerlem. 1. 6. 4. At Haerlem we arrived about the 11th hour; and went to the houſe of a good old man, that had long waited for, and is now come to behold, the Conſolation and Salvation of Iſrael.

After we had a little refreſhed ourſelves, we went to the meeting; where the Lord gave us a bleſſed opportunity, not only with reſpect to Friends, but many ſober Baptiſts and profeſſors, that came in, and abode in the meeting to the end: Bleſſed be the name of the Lord.

Amſterdam. The meeting done, we went to Amſterdam, in company with ſeveral friends of that city, and of Alchmaer and Emden, who met us at the meeting at Haerlem. We lodged at Gertruyd Dirick's houſe.

G. K. and his wife, and R. B. ſtayed over the Fourth day's meeting at Rotterdam, and ſo came not till the next day; which was the day of the General Meeting of friends in this country.

2. 6. 5. The Fifth day of the week, at G. D's houſe, the general meeting was held both of men and women: And the Lord, who is ſetting up his own kingdom by his own power, owned us with his own bleſſed preſence, and opened us in that wiſdom and love, that all things ended with peace, great concord and comfort: Many things being ſpoken, eſpecially by our dear friend G. F. that were of good ſervice; and, I hope, will dwell with them for ever.

Theſe ſeveral things agreed upon, being of good ſavour and report, I think fit here to inſert them.

At the general meeting of friends at Amſterdam, the ſecond of the ſixth month, 1677.

1. BE it known to all men, That the Power of God, the Goſpel, is the authority of all our mens and womens meetings; that every heir of that power is an heir of that authority, and ſo becometh a living member of right of either of thoſe meetings, and of the heavenly fellowſhip and order in which they ſtand; which is not of man, nor by man.

2. That each monthly meeting have a collection apart; and alſo that there be another collection quarterly at Amſterdam from each meeting for general ſervices; and that it be not diſpoſed of, but by the conſent of the ſaid quarterly meeting.

3. It is agreed upon, that henceforth a yearly meeting be held here at Amſterdam; unto which friends in the Palatinate, Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Frederickſtadt, &c. be invited: Of which meeting there ſhall be given notice to the friends of the yearly meeting at London, to be kept always on the Fifth day of that week, which is fully the Third week following after the yearly meeting at London.

4. It is alſo agreed upon, that henceforth this general meeting is to be changed into a quarterly meeting: And that the firſt quarterly meeting hereafter ſhall be on the ſecond Fifth-day of the ninth month following, and ſo forth every quarter on the ſecond Fifth-day of the month. This ſecond of the ninth month is to be this firſt quarterly meeting.

5. It is alſo agreed, that henceforth a monthly meeting in Frieſland ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as alſo at Rotterdam; and that on the ſecond Second-day of each month: And at Harlingen upon the third Third-day of the month.

6. Farther, that in the interim, the friends of Alchmaer, Haerlem, and Waterland, are to have their monthly meeting with friends at Amſterdam: And to begin the ſaid meeting the ſixth of the ſeventh month, and ſo forth; always upon the firſt Second-day of the firſt week of the month, at the eighth hour.

7. And farther concerning goſpel order: Though the doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus requireth his people to admoniſh a brother or ſiſter twice, before they tell the Church; yet that limiteth none, ſo as they ſhall uſe no longer forbearance before they tell the Church: But that they ſhall not leſs than twice admoniſh their brother or ſiſter, before they tell the Church. And it is deſired of all, that before they publickly complain, they wait, in the power of God, to feel if there is no more required of them to their brother or ſiſter, before they expoſe him or her to the Church. Let this be weightily conſidered.

8. And farther, when the church is told, and the party admoniſhed by the church again and again, and he or ſhe remain ſtill unſenſible and unreconciled; let not final judgment go forth againſt him or her, till every one of the meeting hath cleared his or

1677. her conſcience: That if any thing be inſiſted upon any farther to viſit ſuch a tranſgreſſor, they may clear themſelves; if poſſibly the party may be reached and ſaved. And after all are clear of the blood of ſuch an one, let the judgment of friends, in the Power of God, go forth againſt him or her, as moved for the Lord's honour and glory's ſake: That no reproach may come or reſt upon God's holy name, truth and people.

9. As much as poſſibly can be, let all differences be ended by ſome honeſt friends; and trouble not the monthly or quarterly meetings with them: And if that will not do, proceed to your particular monthly meetings. But if they be not there ended neither, then take aſide ſix honeſt friends out of the quarterly meeting, and let them hear and determine the matter. And in caſe any perſon or perſons be ſo obſtinate, as that they refuſe the ſenſe and love of friends, and will not comply with them, then to proceed towards them according to the way of Truth in ſuch caſes.

10. That all ſuch as behold their brother or ſiſter in a tranſgreſſion, go not in a rough, light, or upbraiding ſpirit to reprove or admoniſh him or her, but in the Power of the Lord and Spirit of the Lamb, in the Wiſdom and Love of the Truth, which ſuffereth thereby, to admoniſh ſuch an offender. So may the ſoul of ſuch a brother or ſiſter be ſeaſonably and effectually reached unto, and overcome, and have cauſe to bleſs the name of the Lord on their behalf: And ſo a bleſſing may be rewarded into the boſom of the faithful and tender brother or ſiſter that ſo admoniſheth.

11. And be it known unto all, we caſt out none from among us: For if they go from the Light, and Spirit, and Power in which our Unity is, they caſt out themſelves. And it has been our way to admoniſh them, that they may come to the Spirit and Light of God which they are gone from, and ſo come into the Unity again. For our fellowſhip ſtandeth in the Light, which the world hateth, and in the Spirit which the world grieveth, vexeth and quencheth: And if they will not hear our admonitions, the Light condemneth them; and then goeth our teſtimony out againſt them.

12. That no condemnation is to go farther than the tranſgreſſion is known; and if he or ſhe return, and give forth a condemnation againſt him or herſelf, which is more deſirable than that we ſhould do it, this is a teſtimony of his or her repentance and reſurrection before God, his people, and the whole world: As David, when Nathan came to admoniſh, him, *Pſal.* li.

13. That no teſtimony by way of condemnation be given forth againſt any man or woman, whatever crime they commit, before admonition, and till ſuch time as they have had goſpel order, according to Chriſt's doctrine.

14. And if any brother or ſiſter hear any report of any brother or ſiſter, let him or her go to the party, and know the truth of the report; and, if true, let the thing be judged; if falſe, go then to the reporter, and let him or her be judged. And if any ſhould report it at a ſecond or third hand, without going to the party of whom the report goeth; let ſuch be brought to judgment: "For thou ſhalt neither raiſe, nor ſuffer, "a falſe report to lie upon my people, ſaith the Lord;" for they are to be holy as he is holy, and juſt as he is juſt.

15. And if any controverſy, or weakneſs, ſhould appear in either mens or womens meetings, let it not be told out of your meetings; becauſe ſuch ſpeeches tend to the defaming of ſuch perſons and meetings, and to the hurt of the common unity, and breach of the heavenly ſociety and privilege.

This is an account of what paſſed in that meeting.

Next day, notice being already given, we had a large publick meeting, in which the ſound of the everlaſting goſpel, teſtament and covenant went forth; and the meeting ended with a ſweet and weighty ſenſe. 3. 6. 6.

That evening we had a more ſelect meeting of friends than the day before, in which the nature of marriage, and the practice of friends relating to it, and other things, were very weightily and cloſely diſcourſed. The reſolutions were theſe following:

1. A ſcruple concerning the law of the magiſtrate about marriage, being propoſed and diſcourſed of in the fear of God among friends, in a ſelect meeting, it was the univerſal and unanimous ſenſe of friends, 'That joining in marriage is the work of the 'Lord only, and not of prieſt or magiſtrate.' For it is God's ordinance, and not man's; and therefore friends cannot conſent that they ſhould join them together: For *we* marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witneſſes.

2. But yet if a friend, through tenderneſs, have a deſire that the magiſtrate ſhould know it before the marriage be concluded, they may publiſh the ſame, after the thing hath by friends been found clear; and, after the marriage is performed in a publick meeting of friends and others, according to the holy order and practice of friends in Truth throughout the world, the manner of the holy men and women of old, may go and carry a copy of a certificate to the magiſtrate; and they are left to their freedom herein, that if they pleaſe they may regiſter it. But for prieſts or magiſtrates to marry, or join any in that relation, it is not according to Scripture; and our

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3. If any friend have it upon him to reprint any book already printed, and approved either in England or here, they may do it upon their own charges.

4. It is alſo agreed, that the care of reading and approving books be laid upon ſome of every meeting; to the end no book be publiſhed but in the unity: Yet any other faithful friends, not ſo nominated, are not thereby excluded. Though in all theſe caſes it is deſired, that all would avoid unneceſſary diſputes about words, which profit not, but keep in the love that edifieth.

5. It is farther concluded, that the general ſtock of the quarterly meeting be not diſpoſed of, but by the conſent of the quarterly meeting. But if betwixt times there ſhall be a preſſing neceſſity concerning the publick, let that monthly meeting, where it ſhall fall out, lay down the money, and give in an account at the next quarterly meeting, in order to their relief, if it appear that they are thereby overcharged. And let all things be done without favour, affection, relation, or any reſpect to perſons, even for the Lord's ſake, and his bleſſed everlaſting Truth; that God may bleſs and proſper his people.

And let all things be written down, both as to your monthly and quarterly meeting collections; what you receive, and what you diſburſe: That all may be fair and clear to the ſatisfaction of all that deſire to ſee and examine the books.

And the Lord's fear, and life, and power was over all, in which the Lord God preſerve his for ever.

4. 6. 7. The next day, being the ſeventh day of the week, was employed in viſiting of friends, and preparing ourſelves for a farther journey: That is to ſay, G. K. R. B. B. F. and myſelf.

Finding letters here from the friends of Dantzick, complaining of their heavy ſufferings they underwent; informing us alſo that the King of Poland was there, and aſking advice about an addreſs to him; it fell upon me to write the following letter, in the name of the friends of Dantzick.

To the KING of POLAND.

GREAT PRINCE!

ACTIONS of juſtice, mercy and truth, are worthy of all men; but in a moſt excellent manner of the ſerious conſideration of Kings and Princes. We, certain inhabitants of the city of Dantzick, have been long great ſufferers, not for any wickedneſs committed againſt the royal law of God, or any breach of thoſe civil laws of this city, that relate to the well-government of it in all natural and civil things; but purely and only for the cauſe of our tender conſciences towards God.

This ſeverity being by us repreſented to the magiſtrates of this city, we could not as yet receive from them any relief; ſome expreſſing, as if eaſing the burden of our oppreſſions, ſhould give thee, O King, an occaſion of diſſatisfaction againſt them, who art our acknowledged protector.

Being thus neceſſitated, and in a manner driven to make this addreſs unto thee, take it not amiſs that we, with that humility and patience that become the ſervants and followers of Jeſus, and with all manner of chriſtian reſpect and ſincerity of mind, briefly relate to thee the moſt fundamental principles moſt ſurely believed by us: Which, we hope, thou wilt believe deſerve not thoſe puniſhments that are inflicted upon us as evil doers.

1. We do reverently believe, That there is One God and Father, One Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and One Holy Spirit, and theſe Three are One. Eph. iv. 6.

2. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to have been given forth by divine inſpiration; and they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs; "able to make the man of God wiſe unto ſalvation, through "faith which is in Chriſt Jeſus." 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

3. That theſe Holy Scriptures are not be underſtood, but by the diſcoveries, teachings, and operations of that Eternal Spirit from whence they came.

4. We believe that all mankind, through diſobedience to the Spirit of God, are fallen ſhort of the glory of God, and in that ſtate are under condemnation: But that God, out of his infinite goodneſs and kindneſs, hath ſent his Son a Light into the world, that whoſoever believeth and obeyeth this Light, ſhould not abide in darkneſs, but have the Light of Eternal Life.

5. We believe this gift of Light and Grace, through Jeſus Chriſt, to be univerſal; and that there is not a man or woman upon earth that hath not a ſufficient meaſure of this Light, and to whom this Grace hath not appeared, to reprove their ungodly works of darkneſs, and to lead them that obey it to eternal ſalvation. And this is the great condemnation of the world at this day, under all their great profeſſions of God,

Chriſt, Spirit, and Scriptures, that though Chriſt hath enlightened them, yet they will not bring their deeds to the Light, but hate the Light, and love their dark cuſtoms and practices rather than the Light, becauſe their deeds are evil.

6. We do believe in the birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; and that he laid down his life for the ungodly, not to continue ſo, but that they ſhould deny their wickedneſs and ungodlineſs, and live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godlikely in this preſent evil world; as the ſaints of old did, that were redeemed from the earth, and ſat in heavenly places.

7. We do believe, that as the Devil, through man's diſobedience, brought ſin into man's heart, ſo Chriſt Jeſus, through man's belief in, and obedience to, his Holy Spirit, Light and Grace, cleanſeth the heart of ſin, deſtroyeth the works of the Devil, finiſheth tranſgreſſion, and bringeth in everlaſting righteouſneſs: That as the Devil hath had his kingdom of darkneſs in man, ſo Chriſt may have his kingdom of light, life, righteouſneſs, peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt in the heart of man: And not that Chriſt Jeſus ſaveth men from wrath, and not from ſin: "For the wages of ſin is death," in whoſe heart ſoever it liveth; but the gift of God is eternal life, to all that believe and obey, through Jeſus Chriſt.

8. We do believe, that all true miniſtry and worſhip only ſtand in the experimental ſenſe, operations and leadings of this holy Light, Spirit, or Grace, that is ſhed abroad in the hearts of men and women, to conduct them in the holy way of regeneration unto life eternal. This was the ancient, apoſtolical doctrine; they ſpoke what they had ſeen, taſted and handled of the Word of God. And this is our faith, doctrine and practice in this day.

And be not diſpleaſed with us, O King, we intreat thee, if we give this for the reaſon of our abſenting of ourſelves from the publick and common miniſtry or worſhip; namely, that we have no taſte or reliſh, no ſenſe or evidence, that their miniſtry or worſhip are authorized and performed by the apoſtolical Power and Spirit of Jeſus; but rather that they are the inventions, ſtudies and powers of man's nature: All which are but ſtrange fire, and therefore cannot kindle a true and acceptable ſacrifice to God.

For it is not man's ſpirit and degenerate nature ſpeaking and profeſſing the words of God's Spirit, that giveth acceptance with the Lord, or adminiſtreth heavenly edification to men. Nor can we believe, that where envy, paſſion, wrath, malice, perſecution, envy and ſtrife, luſts, vanity, wantonneſs, and wordly-mindedneſs have ſuch a ſway and power, that the true chriſtian ſpirit, life and doctrine can be heartily received and followed.

And as this is the reaſon, in the ſight and preſence of that God that made heaven and earth, and will judge the quick and the dead, wherefore we cannot join in the common and publick worſhip of theſe parts; ſo doth the ſame Light and Spirit of God lay an holy neceſſity upon us, with a meek and quiet ſpirit, to come together after the manner of the ancient Chriſtians, that were the true followers of Jeſus; and with godly fear, and a retired mind, to wait upon God, and meditate in his holy law of life, that he hath writ in our hearts, according to his new-covenant promiſe: That he may feed us, teach us, ſtrengthen us, and comfort us in our inward man. And as by this Holy Spirit, according to the practice of the churches of old, any are inclined or moved to reprove, exhort, admoniſh, praiſe, or pray, we are found exerciſed in theſe holy practices.

Now, O Prince! Give us poor Chriſtians leave to expoſtulate with thee: Did Chriſt Jeſus, or his holy followers, endeavour by precept or example to ſet up their religion with a Carnal Sword? Called he any troops of men or angels to defend him? Did he encourage Peter to diſpute his eſcape with the Sword? But did he not ſay, "Put it "up?" Or did he countenance his over-zealous diſciples, when they would have had Fire from Heaven to deſtroy thoſe that were not of their mind? No: But did not Chriſt rebuke them, ſaying, "Ye know not what ſpirit ye are of?" And if it was neither Chriſt's ſpirit, nor their own ſpirit that would have fire from Heaven? Oh! What is that ſpirit that would kindle Fire on Earth, to deſtroy ſuch as peaceably diſſent upon the account of Conſcience? If we may not wiſh that God would ſmite men of other judgments, becauſe they differ from us, (in which there is no uſe of carnal weapons) can we ſo far deceive ourſelves, as to eſteem ourſelves Chriſtians, and followers of Chriſt, whilſt we encourage men with worldly weapons to perſecute ſuch as diſſent from us?

O King! When did the True Religion perſecute? When did the True Church offer violence for religion? Were not her weapons prayers, tears, and patience? Did not Jeſus conquer by thoſe weapons, and vanquiſh cruelty by ſuffering? Can clubs and ſtaves, and ſwords and priſons, and baniſhments reach the ſoul, convert the heart, or convince the underſtanding of man? When did violence ever make a true Convert, or bodily puniſhment a ſincere Chriſtian? This maketh void the end of Chriſt's coming, which is to *ſave* mens lives, and not to *deſtroy* them; to *perſuade* them, and not to *force* them; yea, it robbeth God's Spirit of its office, which is to "*convince* the world:" That is the Sword by which the ancient Chriſtians overcame. It was the Apoſtles teſtimony, that

1677. their weapons were not carnal, but ſpiritual: But the practice of their pretended ſucceſſors proveth, that their weapons are not ſpiritual, but carnal.

Suppoſe we are tares, as the true wheat hath always been called; yet pluck us not up, for Chriſt's ſake, who ſaith, "Let the tares and the wheat grow together until the harveſt;" that is, "until the end of the world." Let God have his due, as well as Cæſar; the judgment of Conſcience belongeth to him; and miſtakes about religion are beſt known to him.

And here give us leave to mind thee of a noble ſaying of one of thy anceſtors, Stephen King of Poland: 'I am King of Men, not of Conſciences; King of Bodies, 'not of Souls:' And there have been found, and ſtill are, among the emperors, kings, princes and ſtates of the world, ſome that have had that noble ſpirit of indulging their conſcientious diſſenting ſubjects; and not only, with Gamaliel and Gallio, not to perſecute, but alſo eminently to protect and defend them from the hatred and violence of their enemies. Be not thou leſs noble than they: Conſider how quietly and comfortably our friends live under other governments.

And indeed we conceive it to be the prudence of the kings and ſtates of the world: For, if the wiſe man ſaith true, "The glory of a prince is in the multitude of his people:" But this practice ſaith, 'No; the glory of a prince is in the conformity of the 'people to the canons of the clergy;' which ſeemeth to ſtrike at all civil ſociety, which conſiſteth in men of virtue, parts, arts and induſtry. But let men have never ſuch excellent abilities, be never ſo honeſt, peaceable and induſtrious, all which render them good and profitable ſubjects to the prince, yet they muſt not live within their native country, unleſs they will ſacrifice the peace of their conſciences, by an hypocritical ſubmiſſion to the canons and faſhions of the church. Is not this, O Prince! to ſet the Church above the State? The Biſhop above the King? To waſte and give away the ſtrength and glory of a kingdom?

O that thou mayeſt be wiſe, even in thy generation, and uſe the power that God hath given thee, for God, and Truth, and Righteouſneſs; that therein thou mayeſt be like unto God, who, Peter telleth us, "accepteth of all that fear him, and work righteouſneſs, throughout the world: Whoſe ſun ſhineth upon all, whoſe rain cometh "upon all."

And leſt any ſhould be ſo injurious to us, as to render us enemies to Civil Government; be it known unto thee, O King! that we honour all men in the Lord, not with the vain invented honours of this world, but with the true and ſolid honour that cometh from above; but much more Kings, and thoſe whom God hath placed in authority over us: For we believe magiſtracy to be both lawful and uſeful, for the terrifying of evildoers, and the praiſe and encouragement of thoſe that do well.

The premiſes duly conſidered, we intreat thee, O Prince! to take our ſuffering caſe into thy ſerious regard; and, by that power and influence thou haſt with the magiſtrates of this city, to recommend our ſuffering condition to their ſerious conſideration; that we may no longer lie under theſe not only unchriſtian, but unnatural ſeverities, but receive that ſpeedy and effectual relief which becometh chriſtian magiſtrates to give to their own ſober and chriſtian people.

5. 6. 1. The firſt day of the week being come, the meeting began about the eleventh hour, and held till about the fourth hour in the afternoon. There was a mighty concourſe of people from ſeveral places of this country, and that of ſeveral perſuaſions, Baptiſts, Preſbyterians, Socinians, Seekers, &c. and God was with his people, and his Word of life and power, of wiſdom and ſtrength, covered them; yea, the hidden things both of Eſau and Jacob, the myſtery both of iniquity and godlineſs, were opened and declared in the demonſtration of the eternal Spirit that day. And, Oh! bleſſed and magnified be the name of the Lord, that hath not only not left himſelf, but alſo not his ſervants, without a witneſs! Oh, he is worthy to be loved, and feared, and obeyed, and reverenced for ever.

6. 6. 2. Naerden. The next day G. K. R. B. B. F. and myſelf, having taking our leave of dear G. F. and friends, took boat for Naerden, where we arrived about the ſecond hour in the afternoon.

8. 6. 4. Oſnabrug. And after having eaten, we took our leave of thoſe friends that had accompanied us thither, and began our journey in the common poſt-waggon to Oſnabrug, where we came the fourth day following in the evening.

We paſſed through a very dark country to that place; yet I felt not ſo great a weight and ſuffering in ſpirit as ſix years ago, when I went through the ſame places.

At Oſnabrug we had a little time with the man of the inn, where we lay; and left him ſeveral good books of friends, in the Low and High Dutch tongues, to read and diſpoſe of.

Herwerden. 9. 6. 5. The next morning, being the fifth day of the week, we ſet forward to Herwerden, and came thither at night. This is the city where the Princeſs Elizabeth Palatine hath her court; whom, and the counteſs in company with her, it was eſpecially upon us to viſit, and that upon ſeveral accounts:

1. In that they are perſons ſeeking after the beſt things.

2. That they are actually lovers and favourers of thoſe, that ſeparate themſelves from the world for the ſake of righteouſneſs.

For the Princeſs is not only a private ſupporter of ſuch, but gave protection to De Labadie himſelf, and his company: Yea, when they went under the reproachful name of Quakers about ſeven years ſince.

This man was a Frenchman, who being diſſatisfied with the looſeneſs and deadneſs of the French Proteſtants, even at Geneva itſelf, left them, and came for Holland; and ſo vehemently declaimed againſt the apoſtacy of the prieſts and people there, that the clergy were inraged, and ſtirred up the magiſtrates againſt him; and the rather, becauſe many followed him, and ſeveral women of great quality. Upon this the Princeſs gave them an invitation, and they came, and were protected by her. But ſince, ſome miſcarriages falling out in that place, ſhe thereupon in good meaſure withdrew her favour from them, and they removed into another place.

I was moved to viſit this man and his company ſix years ago, and did ſee him, and his two great diſciples; but they would not ſuffer me to ſee the people, which I laboured for. I in that day ſaw the airineſs and unſtableneſs of the man's ſpirit; and that a *Sect-Maſter* was his name: And it was upon me, both by word of mouth and writing, to let them know that the enemy would prevail againſt them to draw them into inconvenient things, if they came not to be ſtayed in the *Light* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to know the *Holy Silence*; and that at laſt they would come to fall out one with another, and moulder away: Which is in ſome meaſure come to paſs, as I feared; for I clearly perceived, that though they had received ſome divine touches, a danger there was they would run out with them, and ſpend them like prodigals; not knowing then where to ſtay their minds for daily bread. Yea, though they were ſomething angelical, and like to the cœleſtial bodies, yet if they kept not their ſtation, they would prove fallen ſtars. They moved not in the motion of Him that had viſited them, but were filled with groſs Mixtures, and thereby brought forth mixed Births; that is to ſay, things not natural, but monſtrous. In fine, they were ſhy of us, they knew us not: Yet I believed well of ſome of the people, for a good thing was ſtirring in them.

And in this alſo was the Counteſs commendable, in that ſhe left all, to have joined with a people that had a pretence, at leaſt, to more ſpirituality and ſelf-denial, than was found in the national religion ſhe was bred up in: For God had reached her, as ſhe told me, about nine years ago, and that by an extraordinary way.

Now it ſeemed great pity to us, that perſons of their quality in the world ſhould ſo willingly expoſe themſelves for the *falſe* Quaker, the reprobate *Silver*, the *Mixtures*, and that they ſhould not be acquainted with the Life and Teſtimony of the *true* Quakers.

About a year ſince, R. B. and B. F. took that city, in the way from Frederickſtadt to Amſterdam, and gave them a viſit; in which they informed them ſomewhat of Friends Principles, and recommended the Teſtimony of Truth to them, as both a nearer and more certain thing than the utmoſt of De Labadie's doctrine. They left them tender and loving.

Soon after this, Gertruydt Diricks and Elizabeth Hendricks from Amſterdam viſited them, and obtained a meeting with them; improving that little way, which God by his providence had made, more cloſely to preſs the teſtimony. And though they, eſpecially the Counteſs, made ſome objections, in relation to the Ordinances, and certain practices of Friends, yet ſhe ſeemed to receive at that time ſatisfaction from them.

Theſe viſits have occaſioned a correſpondence by way of letter betwixt them and ſeveral of us, wherein the "Myſtery of Truth" hath been more clearly opened to their underſtandings; and they have been brought nearer into a waiting frame, by thoſe heavenly directions they have frequently received by way of epiſtles from ſeveral of us.

In anſwer to two of mine, the Princeſs ſent me the following letter; which being ſhort, I inſert it here.

Herford, May 2, 1677.

THIS, friend, will tell you, that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wiſhes for my obtaining thoſe virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. What I have done for his true diſciples, is not ſo much as a cup of cold water; it affords them no refreſhment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the Ducheſs of L. as I have expreſſed at the ſame time unto B. F. But ſince R. B. deſired I ſhould write it, I could not refuſe him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it ſhould expoſe me to the deriſion of the world. But this a meer moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

Your affectionate friend,
Elizabeth.

This digreſſion from the preſent hiſtory I thought not altogether unneceſſary, or unpleaſing.

1677. But to return: Being arrived at that city, part of which is under her government, we gave her to underſtand it, deſiring to know what time next day would be moſt proper for us to viſit her. She ſent us word, 'She was glad that we were come, and 'ſhould be ready to receive us the next morning about the ſeventh hour.'

10. 6. 6. The next morning being come, (which was the ſixth day of the week) we went about the time ſhe had appointed us, and found both her and the Counteſs ready to receive us; which they did with a more than ordinary expreſſion of kindneſs. I can truly ſay it, and that in God's fear, I was very deeply and reverently affected with the ſenſe that was upon my ſpirit of the Great and Notable Day of the Lord, and the breakings-in of his Eternal Power upon all nations; and of the raiſing of the Slain Witneſs to judge the world; who is the treaſure of life and peace, of wiſdom and glory, to all that receive him in the hour of his judgments, and abide with him. The ſenſe of this deep and ſure foundation which God is laying, as the hope of eternal life and glory for all to build upon, filled my ſoul with an holy teſtimony to them; which, in a living ſenſe, was followed by my brethren: And ſo the meeting ended about the eleventh hour.

The Princeſs intreated us to ſtay and dine with her; but, with due regard both to our teſtimony and to her, at that time we refuſed it; deſiring, if ſhe pleaſed, another opportunity that day: Which ſhe with all chearfulneſs yielded to; ſhe herſelf appointing the ſecond hour. So we went to our quarters, and ſome time after we had dined, we returned.

The meeting ſoon began; there were ſeveral preſent, beſides the Princeſs and Counteſs. It was at this meeting that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear. The eternal Word ſhewed itſelf a hammer at this day; yea, ſharper than a two-edged ſword, dividing aſunder between the ſoul and the ſpirit, the joints and the marrow. Yea, this day was all fleſh humbled before the Lord; it amazed one, ſtruck another, broke another: Yea, the noble Arm of the Lord was truly awakened, and the weight and work thereof bowed and tendered us alſo after an unuſual and extraordinary manner; that the Lord might work an heavenly ſign before them and among them; that the Majeſty of him that is riſen among the poor Quakers might in ſome meaſure be known unto them; what God it is we ſerve, and what Power it is we wait for and bow before. Yea, they had a ſenſe and a diſcovery that day, what would become of the glory of all fleſh, when God ſhall enter into judgment. Well! let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I ſhall forget the loving kindneſs of the Lord, and the ſure mercies of our God to us his travelling ſervants that day. O Lord, ſend forth thy Light and thy Truth, that all nations may behold thy glory.

Thus continued the meeting till about the ſeventh hour: Which done, with hearts and ſouls filled with holy thankſgivings to the Lord for his abundant mercy and goodneſs to us, we departed to our lodging; deſiring to know, whether our coming the next day might not be uneaſy or unſeaſonable to her, with reſpect to the affairs of her government; it being the laſt day of the week, when, we were informed, ſhe was moſt frequently attended with addreſſes from her people. But with a loving and ready mind ſhe replied, 'That ſhe ſhould be glad to ſee us the next morning, and at any 'time when we would.'

11. 6. 7. The next morning (being the ſeventh day) we were there betwixt eight and nine; where R. B. falling into ſome diſcourſe with the Princeſs, the Counteſs took hold of the opportunity, and whiſpered me to withdraw, to get a meeting for the more inferior ſervants of the houſe, who would have been baſhful to have preſented themſelves before the Princeſs. And bleſſed be the Lord, he was not wanting to us: But the ſame bleſſed Power that had appeared to viſit them of high, appeared alſo to viſit them of low degree: And we were all ſweetly tendered and broken together, for "Virtue went "forth of JESUS that day," and the Life of our God was ſhed abroad amongſt us as a ſweet ſavour; for which their ſouls bowed before the Lord, and confeſſed to our teſtimony. Which did not a little pleaſe that noble young woman, to find her own report of us, and her great care of them, ſo effectually anſwered. Oh! What ſhall we ſay! Is there any God like to our God, who is glorious in holineſs, fearful in praiſes, working wonders? To his eternal name, power and arm be the glory for ever.

The meeting done, the Princeſs came to us, expreſſing much ſatisfaction that we had that good opportunity with her ſervants; telling us ſhe much deſired they ſhould have a true and right character of us, and that therefore ſhe choſe to withdraw, that they might have freer acceſs, and that it might look like their own act; or words to that purpoſe.

The twelfth hour being come, we returned to our inn, letting them underſtand, we purpoſed (the Lord willing) to viſit them ſome time of that afternoon.

I muſt not here forget, that we found at our inn, the firſt night at ſupper, a young merchant, of a ſweet and ingenuous temper, belonging to the city of Bremen, who took occaſion from that night's diſcourſe, the ſixth day at dinner and ſupper, and the ſeventh day alſo, to ſeek all opportunities of conference with us; and, as we have reaſon to believe, he ſtayed twenty-four hours in that city on our account. We opened to him the Teſtimony of Truth: I know not that in any one thing he contradicted us. At laſt, he plainly diſcovered himſelf unto us to be a follower of a certain miniſter in Bremen, that is, even by his fellow-miniſters and proteſtants, reproached with the name of *Quaker*, becauſe of his ſingular ſharpneſs againſt the formal lifeleſs miniſters and chriſtians in the world. 1677.

We laid faſt hold upon this, and aſked him, in caſe any of us ſhould viſit that city, if he would give us the opportunity of a meeting at his houſe? Which he readily granted us. So we gave him ſome books, recommending him to the true and bleſſed Teſtimony of Chriſt Jeſus, the Light and Judge of the world, and Life of them that receive him, and believe in him; and ſo we parted.

It being now about three in the afternoon, we went to the Princeſs's; where being come, after ſome little time, the Princeſs and Counteſs put me in remembrance of a promiſe I made them in one of my letters out of England, namely, that I would give them an account (at ſome convenient time) of my Firſt Convincement, and of thoſe tribulations and conſolations which I had met withal in this way of the kingdom, which God had brought me to.

After ſome pauſe, I found myſelf very free, and prepared in the Lord's love and fear to comply with their requeſt; and ſo, after ſome ſilence, began. But before I had half done, it was ſupper-time, and the Princeſs would by no means let us go, we muſt ſup with her: Which importunity not being well able to avoid, we yielded to, and ſat down with her to ſupper.

Among the reſt preſent at theſe opportunities, it muſt not be forgotten that there was a Counteſs, Siſter to the Counteſs, then come in to viſit her, and a French-woman of Quality; the firſt behaving herſelf very decently, and the laſt often deeply broken; and from a light and ſlighting carriage towards the very name of a *Quaker*, ſhe became very intimately and affectionately kind and reſpectful to us. Supper being ended, we all returned to the Princeſs's chamber; where making us all to ſit down with her, ſhe, with both the Counteſſes and the French-woman, preſſed from me the continuance of my relation; but none more than the Counteſs's ſiſter. Which, tho' late, I was not unwilling to oblige them with, becauſe I knew not when the Lord would give me ſuch an opportunity.

And I found them affected: It continued till about ten at night; yet many particulars omitted, partly through forgetfulneſs, and partly for want of time. Howbeit, I muſt needs ſay, they heard me with an earneſt and tender attention; and I hope and believe, the Lord hath made it profitable unto them.

This done, ſome diſcourſe they had upon it, and afterwards we ſpoke about a meeting for the next day, being the firſt day of the week; and that we might have not only as many of her own family, but as many of her town as would willingly be there: She yielded to it, and appointed the meeting to begin at the ſecond hour. So we parted, being near the eleventh hour at night.

The next morning we had a meeting among ourſelves in our chamber, wherein the Lord refreſhed us: And there was a great travail upon our ſpirits, that the Lord would ſtand by us that day, and magnify the Teſtimony of his own Truth by us; that he might have a ſeed and people in that place, to lift up a ſtandard for his name. 12. 6. 1.

At dinner there were ſeveral ſtrangers, that came by the poſt-waggon that day: Among whom there was a young man of Bremen, being a ſtudent at the college at Duyſburgh, who informed us of a ſober and ſeeking man of great note in the city of Duyſburgh; to him we gave ſome books. There was one more who was tender and inquiring, to whom alſo we gave ſome books.

The ſecond hour being at hand, we went to the meeting; where were ſeveral as well of the town as of the family. The meeting began with a weighty exerciſe and travail in prayer, that the Lord would glorify his own name that day. And by his own Power he made way to their conſciences, and ſounded his wakening trumpet in their ears, that they might know that he was God, and that there is none like unto him. Oh! the day of the Lord livingly dawned upon us, and the ſearching Life of Jeſus was in the midſt of us! Oh! the Word, that never faileth them that wait for it, and abide in it, opened the way, and unſealed the Book of Life: Yea, the quickening Power and Life of Jeſus wrought and reached to them: And Virtue from him, in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth, and bleſſedly diſtilled upon us his own heavenly Life, ſweeter than the pure frankincenſe; yea, than the ſweet-ſmelling myrrh that cometh from a far country. And as it began, ſo it was carried on, and ſo it ended: Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, and confided in be our God for ever.

As ſoon as the meeting was done, the Princeſs came to me, and took me by the hand (which ſhe uſually did to us all, coming and going) and went to ſpeak to me of the ſenſe ſhe had of that power and preſence of God that was amongſt us, but was ſtopped. And turning herſelf to the window, brake forth in an extraordinary paſſion, crying out, 'I cannot ſpeak to you; my heart is full;' clapping her hands upon her breaſt.

1677. After ſome time of ſilence ſhe recovered herſelf.

It melted me into a deep and calm tenderneſs, in which I was moved to miniſter a few words ſoftly to her, and after ſome time of ſilence ſhe recovered herſelf; and as I was taking my leave of her, ſhe interrupted me thus: 'Will ye not come hither again? 'Pray, call here as ye return out of Germany.' I told her, We were in the hand of the Lord; and being his, could not diſpoſe of ourſelves. But the Lord had taken care that we ſhould not forget her, and thoſe with her: For he had raiſed and begotten an heavenly concernment in our ſouls for her and them; and we loved them all with that love wherewith God had loved us; with much more to that purpoſe.

She then turned to the reſt of the friends, and would have had us all gone to ſupper with her. But we choſe rather to be excuſed; we ſhould eat a bit of her bread, and drink a glaſs of her wine if ſhe pleaſed, in the chamber where we were. At laſt we prevailed with her to leave us.

The Counteſs, the French-woman, and the Counteſs's Waiting-woman, ſtayed with us, and we had a very retired and ſeaſonable opportunity with them.

After the Princeſs had ſupped, we went all down, and took our ſolemn leave of her, the Counteſs, her Siſter, the French-woman, with the reſt of the family, whoſe hearts were reached and opened by our teſtimonies; recommending unto them holy Silence from all will-worſhip, and the workings, ſtrivings, and images of their own mind and ſpirit: That Jeſus might be felt of them in their hearts, his holy teachings witneſſed, and followed in the way of his bleſſed croſs, that would crucify them unto the world, and the world unto them: That their faith, hope and joy might ſtand in Chriſt in them, the heavenly prophet, ſhepherd and biſhop; whoſe voice all that are truly ſheep will hear and follow, and not the voice of any ſtranger whatever.

So we left them in the love and peace of God, praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world. We returned to our lodging, having our hearts filled with a weighty ſenſe of the Lord's appearance with us in that place; and being late (towards the ninth hour) we prepared to go to reſt.

13. 6. 2. The next morning (being the ſecond day of the week) G. K. B. F. and myſelf, got ready to begin our journey towards Franckfort; which, by the way of Caſſel, is about two hundred Engliſh miles. R. B. prepared himſelf to return by the way we came, directly to Amſterdam. But before we parted, we had a little time together in the morning in our chamber, whither came one of the Princeſs's family, and one of the town. The Lord moved me to call upon his great name, that he would be with them that ſtayed, and with them that returned alſo, and with us that went forward in wild and untrodden places. And his bleſſed love and life overſhadowed us: Yea, he filled our cup together, and made us drink into one Spirit, even the cup of bleſſings, in the fellowſhip of the everlaſting Seed; in which we took leave of one another.

And after having eaten, it being about the ſeventh hour, we departed the city.

Paderborn. We came to Paderborn that night, ſix German miles, which are about thirty-ſix Engliſh: It is a dark popiſh town, and under the government of a biſhop of that religion. Howbeit, the woman where we lodged was an ancient, grave, and ſerious perſon, to whom we declared the Teſtimony of the *Light*, ſhewing her the difference betwixt an outſide and an inſide religion, which ſhe received with much kindneſs. We left ſome books with her, which ſhe took readily.

There was alſo with us at ſupper a Lutheran, that was a lawyer, with whom I had very good ſervice, in opening to him the great loſs of the power of godlineſs, as well among them who ſeparated from Rome, as in the Roman church; which he confeſſed. I directed him to the Principle of Light in his conſcience, that let him ſee the lifeleſs ſtate of the falſe chriſtians; and if he turned his mind to that Principle, and waited there for Power, he would receive power to rule and govern himſelf according to true godlineſs; and that it was the loſs of Chriſtendom that they went from this Principle, in which the Power ſtandeth, that conformeth the ſoul to the image and likeneſs of the dear Son of God; and thither they muſt come again, if ever they will have the true knowledge of God, and enjoy life and ſalvation; with much more to that purpoſe; all which he received lovingly.

14. 6. 3. The next morning we ſet forwards toward Caſſel; but through great foulneſs of weather, having only naked carts to ride in, the waters being alſo high with the rains,
Caſſel. we got not to Caſſel till the next day, which was the fourth day of the week. It be-
15. 6. 4. ing late, we made little enquiry that night, being alſo wearied with the foulneſs of the ways and weather.

16. 6. 5. But the next day we made our uſual enquiry, *viz.* Who was worthy in the city? And found ſome that tenderly and lovingly received us, to whom we declared the viſitation of the Light and Love of God. Among the reſt, was Dureus, our countryman, a man of ſeventy-ſeven years of age, who had learned in good meaſure to forget his learning, ſchool-divinity, and prieſt's craft; and for his approaches towards an Inward Principle, is reproachfully ſaluted by ſome with the honeſt title of *Quaker*. 'Tis much better than Papiſt, Lutheran, or Calviniſt, who are not only ignorant of, but enemies to, quaking and trembling at the Word of the Lord, as Moſes and others did.

Upon the ſixth day of the ſame week about noon, we ſet out towards Franckfort,
having left ſeveral books behind us; which hath been our practice in our journey. 17. 6. 6.

At Franckfort we arrived the ſecond day about noon, being juſt a week from Her- Franckfort.
werden; and having from thence and Caſſel made known our intentions of coming to 20. 6. 2.
that city, two conſiderable perſons came and met us about half a German mile from the
city, informing us of ſeveral well-affected in that town. Upon which we told them the
end of our coming, and deſired to have a meeting with them in the afternoon; which
we eaſily obtained at the houſe of a merchant, one of the two that met us. The perſons
that reſorted thither, were generally people of conſiderable note, both of Calviniſts and
Lutherans; and we can ſay, they received us with gladneſs of heart, and embraced our
teſtimony with a broken and reverent ſpirit, thanking God for our coming amongſt them,
and praying that he would proſper his work in our hands.

21. 6. 3. This engaged our hearts to make ſome longer ſtay in this city: We therefore deſired another meeting the next day, which they cheerfully aſſented to, where ſeveral came that were not with us the day before, and the Lord that ſent us into the land was with us, and by his power reached to them, inſomuch that they confeſſed to the truth of our teſtimony.

Of theſe perſons there were two women, one a virgin, the other a widow, both no-
ble of birth, who had a deep ſenſe of that power and preſence of God that accompanied
our teſtimony, and their hearts yearned ſtrongly towards us; the virgin giving us a par-
ticular invitation to her houſe the next morning, where we had the moſt bleſſed oppor- 22. 6. 4.
tunity of the three, for the Lord's power ſo eminently appeared, that not only thoſe that
had been with us before were moſt effectually reached, but a certain ſtudent reſiding in
the houſe of a Lutheran miniſter, ſent for by that young woman, was broken to pieces,
and magnified that bleſſed power which appeared. Alſo there accidentally came in a
doctor of phyſick, who unexpectedly was affected, and confeſſed to the Truth, praying
God to proſper us. This was the bleſſed iſſue of our viſit to Franckfort.

But there is one thing more, not unfit to be mentioned: Among ſome of thoſe that have inclinations after God, a fearful ſpirit, together with the ſhame of the Croſs, hath entered; againſt which our teſtimony in part ſtriking, we took notice it was a Life to theſe noble women, for that was it, as they told us, which had long oppreſſed them, and obſtructed the work of the Lord amongſt them. 'Therefore,' ſaid the young virgin, 'our quarters are free for you, let all come that will come, and lift up your voices 'without fear; for,' ſaid ſhe, 'it will never be well with us till Perſecution come, and 'ſome of us be lodged in the Stadthouſe;' that is, the priſon.

We left the peace of Jeſus with them, and the ſame afternoon we departed out of that city, being the fourth day of the week.

Here I writ an Epiſtle to the Churches of Jeſus.

To the Churches of Jeſus throughout the World, gathered and ſettled in his eternal Light, Power and Spirit, to be One Holy Flock, Family, and Houſhold to the Lord, &c.

Dear Friends and Brethren,

WHO have been viſited with the fatherly viſitation from on high, and have received God's eternal Word and Teſtament in your hearts, by which you have been gathered home to Chriſt Jeſus, the true ſhepherd, from all the idol ſhepherds, and their barren mountains, and unprofitable hills, where you have been ſcattered in the dark and gloomy day of apoſtacy; and by his Light, Spirit and Power, have been convinced of ſin, righteouſneſs, and judgment, and can ſay, 'The prince of this World is judged, 'by his holy, righteous, and powerful appearance in you, unto whom all judgment in 'heaven and earth is committed; who is the bleſſed Lamb of God, the Light and Saviour of the world; who is King of Salem, and Prince of peace:' My ſoul loves you with everlaſting love; even with the love with which my God, and your God, my Father, and your Father hath loved me, and viſited my ſoul, and your ſouls; in this do I dearly ſalute and embrace you all, in this the day of the fulfilling of his glorious promiſes to his Church in the Wilderneſs, and Witneſſes in Sackcloth.

And, O magnified be his Name, and everlaſtingly praiſed and renowned be his holy Power and Arm, by which he hath reached unto us, and brought ſalvation near us! For he hath found us out, and hath heard our ſolitary cries, the deep and mournful ſupplications of our bowed ſpirits, when we were as the little ſilly dove without its mate, and the lonely pelican in the wilderneſs; when we were ready to cry out, 'Is there none 'to ſave? Is there none to help? O when ſhall the time and times, and half a time be 'finiſhed? When ſhall the one thouſand two hundred and ſixty days be accompliſhed? 'And when ſhall the abomination, that ſtands in the holy place, be caſt out? When 'ſhall the captivity of the people be turned back? O when ſhall Babylon come into 'remembrance before God; the dragon, beaſt, and falſe prophet be caſt into the lake? 'And when ſhall the Law go forth out of Sion, and the Word of the Lord out of 'Jeruſalem? When ſhall Sion become the joy, and Jeruſalem the praiſe of the whole 'earth? And when ſhall the earth be covered with the knowledge of the Lord, as the 'waters cover the ſea?'

Friends, The Lord of heaven and earth hath heard our cries; and the full time is come, yea, the appointed time is come, and the voice of the eternal Spirit in our hearts hath been heard on this wiſe many a time: "Awake, thou that ſleepeſt, and I will give "thee Life: Ariſe out of the duſt, and ſhine; for thy Light is come, and the glory of "the Lord is riſen upon thee." And the Lord God hath given us that Light by which we have comprehended the darkneſs in ourſelves and in the world: And as we have believed in it, dwelt in it, and walked in it, we have received power to overcome the evil one in all his appearances in ourſelves, and faithfully and boldly to teſtify againſt him in the world: And the blood of Jeſus, in this Holy Way of the Light, have we felt in our ſouls to cleanſe us from unrighteouſneſs, and give us to know the myſtery of the fellowſhip of the Goſpel one with another, which ſtands in life and immortality. And here we become an holy houſhold and family unto God, that live in his preſence day and night, to do his will, as becometh his redeemed and ranſomed children by the moſt precious blood of his Son, and no more to return to folly.

And, Friends, let it never paſs out of our remembrance, what our God hath done for us, ſince he hath made us a people: Hath any weapon formed againſt us proſpered? Hath he called us, and not protected us? Hath he given power to conceive, and not to bring forth? Hath he not ſheltered us in many a ſtorm? Did he ever leave us under the reproaches and contradictions of men? Nay, hath he not ſpoken peace to us? Were we ever caſt out by men, and he forſook us? No, the Lord hath taken us up: Were we ever in priſon, and he viſited us not? Hungry, and he fed us not? Naked, and he clothed us not? Or have we been ſick, and he came not to ſee us? When were the jails ſo cloſe, that he could not come in, and the dungeons ſo dark, that he cauſed not his Light to ſhine upon us? O nay; he hath never left us, nor forſaken us; yea, he hath provided richly for us; he hath brought us into the wilderneſs, not to ſtarve us, but to try us; yet not above our meaſure: For he fed us with Manna from on high, with pure honey and water out of the rock, and gave his good Spirit to ſuſtain us: By night he was a pillar of fire to us, to comfort us; and by day a pillar of cloud, to hide and ſhelter us. He was a ſhadow of a mighty rock, that followed us; and we never wanted a brook by the way to refreſh us. Was God good to Iſrael outward? Much more hath he abounded to his ſpiritual Iſrael, the proper ſeed and off-ſpring of himſelf. O the noble deeds and valiant acts, that he hath wrought in our day for our deliverance! He hath cauſed one to chace ten, and ten an hundred, and an hundred a thouſand, many a time. None hath been able to ſnatch us out of his hands, who abode in his Truth. For though the winds have blown, and the ſea hath raged, yet hath he rebuked the winds and the ſea for his ſeed's ſake: He hath ſaid to the winds, "Be ſtill;" and to the ſea, "Thus far ſhalt thou come, and no farther." He hath caſt up an high-way for his ranſomed to walk in, ſo plain, that though a fool he ſhall not err therein. This is the Light, in which all nations of them that are ſaved muſt walk for ever.

And therefore, Friends, let us ſtay our minds in the Light of the Lord for ever; and let the awe, fear, and dread of the Almighty dwell in us; and let his holy Spirit be known to be a covering to us, that from the ſpirit of this world we may be chaſtely kept and preſerved unto God, in the holy Light and ſelf-denying Life of Jeſus, who hath offered himſelf up once for all, leaving us an example that we ſhould alſo follow his ſteps; that as he, our dear Lord and maſter, ſo we, his ſervants and friends, and children, might, by the eternal Spirit, offer up ourſelves to God, in body, in ſoul, and in ſpirit, which are his; that we may be his workmanſhip, created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works, to the praiſe of him that hath called us; which calling is an high and an holy calling, by the eternal Light and Spirit in our conſciences. O that it might for ever remain in high eſtimation with us! And that it may be the daily watch and travail of us all, in the preſence of the holy and living God, that hath called us, to make our great call and election ſure; which many having neglected to do, (who have been convinced by the bleſſed Light and Truth of Chriſt Jeſus revealed in their hearts, and who for a time have walked among us) have been overcome by the ſpirit of this world, and turned their hands from the plough, and deſerted the camp of the Lord, and gone back into Egypt again; whereby the heathen have blaſphemed, and the way and people of the Lord greatly have ſuffered.

Therefore, O my dear Friends and Brethren, in the ſenſe of that Life and Power, that God from heaven ſo glorioully hath diſpenſed among us, and by which he hath given us multiplied aſſurances of his loving-kindneſs unto us, and crowned us together with heavenly dominion, and in which my ſpirit is at this time broken before the Lord; do I moſt earneſtly intreat you to watch continually, leſt any of you, that have taſted of the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, fall by temptation; and by careleſneſs and neglect tempt the living God to withdraw his fatherly viſitation from any of you, and finally to deſert ſuch: For the Lord our God is a jealous God, and he will not give his glory unto another. He hath given to man *all* but man himſelf, and *him* he hath reſerved for his own peculiar ſervice, to build him up a glorious temple to himſelf; ſo that we are bought with a price, and we are not our own.

Therefore let us continually watch, and ſtand in awe, that we grieve not his Holy Spirit, nor turn his Grace into wantonneſs; but, all of us, let us wait, and that in an holy travail of ſpirit, to know ourſelves ſealed by the "Spirit of Adoption," unto the day of our compleat redemption; when not only all our ſins, but all ſorrows, ſighings and tears ſhall be wiped away from our eyes; and everlaſting ſongs of joy and thankſgiving ſhall melodiouſly fill our hearts to God, that ſits upon the throne, and to his bleſſed immaculate Lamb, who by his moſt precious blood ſhall have compleatly redeemed us from the earth, and written our names in the book of life.

Friends, The Spirit of the Lord hath often brought you into my remembrance, ſince I have been in this deſolate land; and with joy unutterable have I had ſweet and precious fellowſhip with you in the Faith of Jeſus, that overcometh the world: For, though abſent in body, yet preſent in him that is Omnipreſent. And I can truly ſay, you are very near and very dear to me; and the love that God hath raiſed in my heart unto you, ſurpaſſes the love of women; and our teſtimony, I am well ſatisfied, is ſealed up together. And I am well aſſured, that all that love the Light, ſhall endure to the end throughout all tribulations, and in the end obtain eternal ſalvation.

And now, Friends, as I have been travelling in this dark and ſolitary land, the great work of the Lord in the earth has been often preſented unto my view, and the Day of the Lord hath been deeply upon me, and my ſoul and ſpirit hath frequently been poſſeſſed with an holy and weighty concern for the glory of the name of the Lord, and the ſpreading of his everlaſting Truth, and the proſperity of it through all nations; that the very ends of the earth may look to him, and may know Chriſt, the *Light*, to be given to them for their ſalvation. And when the ſenſe of theſe things hath been deeply upon me, an holy and ſtrong cry God hath raiſed in my ſoul to him, ‘That we, who have known this fatherly viſitation from on high, and who have beheld the Day of the Lord, the riſing of the Sun of Righteouſneſs, who is full of grace, and full of truth, and have beheld his glory, and confeſſed it to be the glory of the only-begotten Son of God; and who, by obedience to his appearance, are become the children of Light, and of the Day, and as the firſt-fruits to God after this long night of apoſtacy, might for ever walk and dwell in his holy Covenant, Chriſt Jeſus, the Light of the World; becauſe in him we have always peace, but out of him comes all the trouble.’

And whilſt this heavenly ſenſe reſted with me, the Lord God, that made me, and called me by his Grace unto ſalvation, laid it upon me to viſit you in an holy exhortation. And it is the exhortation of my Life at this time, in the earneſt and fervent motion of the Power and Spirit of Jeſus, to beſeech you all, who are turned to the Light of Chriſt, that ſhineth in your hearts, and believe in it; that you carefully and faithfully walk in it, in the ſame dread, awe, and fear, in which you began; that the holy poverty of ſpirit, that is precious in the eyes of the Lord, and was in the days of your firſt love, may dwell and reſt with you; that you may daily feel the ſame heavenly hunger and thirſt, the ſame lowlineſs and humility of mind, the ſame zeal and tenderneſs, and the ſame ſincerity and love unfeigned; that God may fill you out of his heavenly treaſure with the riches of life, and crown you with holy victory and dominion over the god and ſpirit of this world: That your Alpha may be your Omega, and your Author your Finiſher, and your *firſt* Love your *laſt* Love; that ſo none may make ſhipwreck of faith, and of a good conſcience, nor faint by the way. And as in this ſtate we are kept in holy watchfulneſs to God, as in the beginning, the table which our heavenly Father ſpreads, and the bleſſing with which he compaſſeth us about, ſhall not become a ſnare unto us, nor ſhall we turn the grace and mercies of the Lord into wantonneſs; but we ſhall eat and drink in an holy fear, apparel ourſelves in fear, buy and ſell in fear, viſit one another in fear; keep meetings, and there wait upon the Lord in fear: Yea, whatſoever we take in hand to do, it ſhall be in the holy fear of God, and with an holy tenderneſs of his glory, and regard to the proſperity of his Truth: Yea, we ſhall deny ourſelves not only in the unlawful things, but in the things that are even lawful to us, for the ſake of the many millions that are unconverted to God.

For, my Friends and Brethren, God hath laid upon us, whom he hath honoured with the beginning of his great work in the world, the care both of this age, and of the ages to come; that they may walk, as they have us for examples: Yea, the Lord God hath choſen you to place his name in you; the Lord hath intruſted you with his glory, that you might hold it forth to all nations; and that the generations unborn may call you bleſſed.

Therefore, let none be treacherous to the Lord, nor reward him evil for good; nor betray his cauſe directly by wilful wickedneſs, nor indirectly by negligence and unfaithfulneſs: But be zealous and valiant for Truth on earth; let none be ſlothful or careleſs:

1677. leſs: O remember the ſlothful ſervant's ſtate. And let the loving-kindneſs of the Lord overcome every ſoul to faithfulneſs; for with him are riches and honour, and every good thing: And whither ſhould any go? He hath the words of eternal life. O, let none loſe their teſtimony, but hold it up for God. Let thy gift be never ſo ſmall, thy teſtimony never ſo little, through thy whole converſation bear it for God; and be true to what thou art convinced of: And wait all upon the Lord, that you may grow in your heavenly teſtimony; that life may fill your hearts, your houſes, and your meetings; that you may daily wait to know, and to receive power to do, the will of God on earth, as it is in heaven.

And, O! That the Croſs of Jeſus may be in high and honourable eſteem with every one; that the liberty of all may ſtand in the Croſs, which alone preſerveth: For it is the Power of God, that crucifieth us to the world, and the world to us. And through death, way is made unto life and immortality; which by this bleſſed Croſs, the Goſpel, the Power, is brought to light. So ſhall the Life that God hath ſown in our hearts, grow; and in that Seed ſhall we all come to be bleſſed, unto whom God hath appointed the dominion over us. And it is good for all to live under the holy government of it; for the ways of it are the ways of pleaſantneſs, and all its paths are peace; and all that are born of it, can ſay, "Thy ſcepter is a ſcepter of righteouſneſs." And, O! That all friends, every where, may continually bow unto his righteous ſcepter, and keep to his holy law, which is written in their hearts; that it may be a light to their feet, and a lanthorn to their paths. So ſhall they come to witneſs that holy promiſe made good unto them, "The Spirit, which I have given unto him, the Seed; "and the words which I have put into his mouth, ſhall not depart from him, nor from "his ſeed, nor from his ſeed's ſeed unto all generations." Iſa. lix. 21.

Wherefore, Friends, redeem the time, becauſe the days are evil; God hath given you to ſee they are ſo: And be ye ſeparated more and more, yea, perfectly diſentangled, from the cares of this world. And be ye not cumbered with the many things; but ſtand looſe from the things that are ſeen, which are temporal.

And you that are poor, murmur not; but be patient, and truſt in the Lord, and ſubmit to his providence, and he will provide for you that which is convenient for you, the days of your appointed time. And you that are rich, keep in the moderation, and ſtrive not to multiply earthly treaſure, nor to heap up uncertain riches to yourſelves; but what God hath given you more than what is convenient for your own uſe, wait for his wiſdom, to employ it for his glory; that you may be faithful ſtewards of this world's mammon; and the Lord God ſhall reward you in your boſoms, of the riches of that kingdom that ſhall never have an end.

O my Friends and Brethren, whether rich or poor, in bonds or at liberty, in whatſoever ſtate you are, the ſalutation of the univerſal Life of Jeſus is to you: And the exhortation is, to bow to what is made known unto you; and in the Light, by which ye have received in meaſure the knowledge of God, watch and wait diligently to the farther revelation of the mind and will of God unto you, that ye may be endued from on high with power and might in your inward man, to anſwer the call and requirings of the Lord; that ye may be enabled to make known to the nations, what is the riches of the glory of this bleſſed myſtery in the Gentiles; which is Chriſt Jeſus, the Light of the world, in you the hope of glory. For this I have to tell you, in the viſion of the Almighty, that the day of the breaking-up of the nations about you, and of the ſounding of the goſpel trumpet unto the inhabitants of the earth, is juſt at the door: And they that are worthy, who have kept their habitation from the beginning, and have dwelt in the unity of the faith that overcometh the world, and have kept the bond of peace, the Lord God will impower and ſpirit them to go forth with his everlaſting Word and Teſtament to awaken, and gather, kindreds, languages, and people to the glory of the riſing of the Gentiles Light, who is God's Salvation unto the ends of the earth.

And I muſt tell you, that there is a breathing, hungering, ſeeking people, ſolitarily ſcattered up and down this great land of Germany, where the Lord hath ſent me; and I believe it is the like in other nations. And as the Lord hath laid it upon me, with my companions, to ſeek ſome of them out, ſo have we found ſeveral in divers places. And we have had many bleſſed opportunities amongſt them, wherein our hearts have greatly rejoiced; having been made deeply ſenſible of the Love of God towards them, and of the great openneſs and tenderneſs of ſpirit in them, to receive the Teſtimony of Light and Life through us. And we have a ſtedfaſt belief, that the Lord will carry on his work in this land effectually; and that he will raiſe up thoſe, that ſhall be as miniſters of his Eternal Teſtament amongſt them. And O! our deſire is, that God would put it into the hearts of many of his faithful witneſſes to viſit the inhabitants of this country, where God hath a great ſeed of people to be gathered; that his work may go on in the earth, till the whole earth be filled with his glory.

And it is under the deep and weighty ſenſe of this approaching work, that the Lord God hath laid it upon me to write to you, to wait for the farther pouring out of the power and Spirit of the Lord; that nothing that is careleſs, ſleepy, earthly, or exalted, may get up, whereby to diſpleaſe the Lord, and cauſe him to withdraw his ſweet and preſerving preſence from any that know him. But let all keep the King of righteouſneſs his peace, and walk in the ſteps of the flocks of the companions: For withering and deſtruction ſhall come upon all ſuch as deſert the camp of the Lord, or with their murmuring ſpirit diſquiet the heritage of God; for they are greater enemies to Sion's glory, and Jeruſalem's peace, than the open armies of the Aliens. 1677.

And it is a warning to all, that make mention of the name of the Lord in this diſpenſation he hath brought us to, that they have a care how they let out their minds in any-wiſe to pleaſe the luſts of the eye, the luſts of the fleſh, and the pride of life; which are not of the Father, but of this world; leſt any be exalted in a liberty, that maketh the croſs of Jeſus of none effect, and the offence thereof to ceaſe: For ſuch will become as ſalt that hath loſt its ſavour, and at laſt will be trod under the feet of God and men. For the Lord will withdraw his daily preſence, and the fountain will come to be ſealed up, and the well of ſalvation be ſtopped again.

Therefore, as all would rejoice in the joy of God's ſalvation, let them wait for the ſaving power, and dwell in it; that knowing the myſtery of the work of regeneration, Chriſt formed in them, the hope of their glory, they may be able, in the motion of him that hath begotten them through death to life, to go forth and declare the way of life and ſalvation.

And all you that are young-convinced of the eternal Truth, come into it, and then you will feel the virtue of it, and ſo you will be witneſſes, otherwiſe "vain talkers, "wells without water, clouds without rain; for which ſtate is reſerved the blackneſs "of darkneſs for ever."

Wherefore gird up the loins of your minds, and be ſober, and tempt not God; but receive the day of your viſitation, and walk worthy of ſo great a love, and delight to retain God in your knowledge; and grieve not his Holy Spirit, but join to it, and be led by it, that it may be an earneſt to you of an eternal inheritance.

And take up your daily croſs, and follow Chriſt, and not the ſpirit of this world. He was meek and lowly, he was humble and plain; he was few in words, but mighty in deeds; he loved not his life unto death, even the reproachful death of the croſs; but laid down his life, and became of no reputation, and that for the rebellious. "O the "height, and the depth, the length, and the breadth, yea, the unſearchableneſs of "the love of God in Chriſt Jeſus!"

Wherefore, while it is to-day, hearken to his voice, and harden not your hearts: And make no bargains for yourſelves, neither conſult with fleſh and blood; but let the Lord be your Light, and your Salvation: Let him be the ſtrength of your life, and the length of your days. And this know aſſuredly, that none ever truſted to the Lord, and were confounded.

Wherefore hold up your teſtimony for God, as you would enjoy the increaſings of his life and love: And let your light ſhine, and confeſs him before the whole world. Smother not his appearance, neither hide thy candle, God hath lighted in thee, under a buſhel; for Chriſt walketh among his candleſticks of pure and tried gold. Wherefore ſet thy light upon a candleſtick, and ſhew forth thy good converſation in meekneſs and godly fear, that thou mayeſt become a good example; and others, beholding thy good works, may glorify God. But for the rebellious, the fearful, and the unbelieving, the day haſtens upon ſuch, that the things that belong to their eternal peace ſhall be hid from their eyes for ever.

And all you, my dear Friends and Brethren, who are in ſufferings for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and a good conſcience; look up to Jeſus, the author and finiſher of your faith; who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, and deſpiſed the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Father in the heavenly place; into which, if you faint not, you ſhall all be received, after the days of your pilgrimage ſhall be at an end, with a "Well done, good and faithful ſervant."

And though theſe afflictions ſeem not joyous, but grievous for the preſent, yet a far more exceeding weight of glory ſtands at the door. Wherefore count it all joy when you fall into theſe trials, and perſevere to the end, knowing that he that ſhall come, will come, and will not tarry, and that his reward is with him. Remember the martyrs of Jeſus, that loved not their lives to the death for his name's-ſake that called them. And Jeſus himſelf, that made a good confeſſion before Pontius Pilate, who hath conſecrated through his blood a new and living way for all that come unto God by him, who is made an high prieſt, higher than the heavens, one that can be touched and moved, and is daily touched and moved, with our weakneſs and infirmity, that through him we may be made ſtrong in the Lord, and more than conquerors through him that hath loved us.

Wherefore let it not ſeem as if ſome ſtrange thing had happened to you; for all theſe things are for the trial of your faith, which is more precious than the gold that periſheth. It is the old quarrel, Children of this World againſt the Children of the Lord; thoſe that are born after the Fleſh, warring againſt thoſe that are born after the Spirit: Cain againſt

Abel,

1677. Abel, the old world againſt Noah; Sodomites againſt Lot; Hagar againſt Sarah; Iſhmael againſt Iſaac; Eſau againſt Jacob; Egyptians againſt Iſraelites; the Falſe Prophets againſt the True Prophets, as Iſaiah, Jeremiah, &c. The Jews, under the profeſſion of the letter of the law, againſt Chriſt, that came to fulfil the law, and all his ſpiritual followers and diſciples: And all the falſe apoſtate Chriſtians againſt the true and ſpiritual Chriſtians and martyrs of Jeſus.

So, your conflict is for the ſpiritual appearance of Chriſt Jeſus, againſt thoſe that profeſs him in words, but in works and converſation every day deny him; doing deſpite to the Spirit of Grace in themſelves, and thoſe that are led by it. But though Gog and Magog ſhall gather themſelves together to lay waſte the city of God, yet the Lord hath determined their deſtruction, and he will bring it to paſs.

" Wherefore rejoice, O thou little hill of God, and clap thy hands for joy; for he that " is faithful and true, juſt and righteous, and able to deliver thee, dwells in the midſt of " thee: Who will cauſe thee to grow and increaſe, till thou becomeſt a great mountain, " till thou becomeſt the praiſe of the whole earth, and the whole earth be filled with " thy glory."

And to you all, who are the followers of the Lamb of God, who was dead, but is alive, and lives for evermore; who is riſen in your hearts, as a bright ſhining Light, and is leading you out of the nature and ſpirit of this world, in the path of regeneration; I have this to ſay, by way of holy encouragement unto you all, The Lord God eternal, that was, and is, and is to come, hath reſerved for you the glories of the laſt days: And if ſo be that the followers and martyrs of Jeſus in ages paſt, when the Church was going into the Wilderneſs, and his Witneſſes into Sackcloth, were, notwithſtanding, ſo noble and valiant for the Truth on earth, that they loved not their lives unto death, and ſuffered joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods for the Teſtimony of Jeſus, how much more ought you all to be encouraged unto faithfulneſs, who are come to the Reſurrection of the day which ſhall never more be eclipſed; in which the Bridegroom is to come, to fetch you his Spouſe out of the Wilderneſs, to give you beauty for aſhes, and the garment of praiſe for the ſpirit of heavineſs; who will cover you with his Spirit, and adorn you with his fine linen, the righteouſneſs of the ſaints. Lean upon his breaſt for ever, and know your joining in an everlaſting covenant with him, that he may lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and delight to do you good: That in bleſſing he may bleſs you, increaſe you, and multiply you in all ſpiritual bleſſings now and for ever; that to God, through him, you may live all the days of your appointed time. To whom be glory and honour, praiſes and thankſgivings in the church throughout all ages, and for ever.

I am, in the faith, patience, tribulation, and hope of the kingdom of Jeſus, your friend and brother,

W. PENN.

My companions in the labour and travail of the teſtimony of Jeſus, ſalute you all in the love of our God. We have paſſed through ſeveral cities of Germany, and are now at Franckfort, where the Lord hath given us three bleſſed opportunities with a ſerious and ſeeking people; whereof, as in other places of this country, many of them are perſons of great worldly quality. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, to whom be glory for ever.

W. P.

Franckfort, the 22d of the
6th month, 1677.

Criſheim, 23. 6. 5. The fifth day we arrived by the way of Worms at Criſheim, in the Paltzgrave's country; where we found, to our great joy, a meeting of tender and faithful people: But it ſeems the inſpector of the Calviniſts had enjoined the Vaught, or Chief Officer, not to ſuffer any preaching to be amongſt our Friends; who, poor man, fearing the indignation of the Clergy, came next day to deſire Friends not to ſuffer any preaching to be amongſt them, leſt he ſhould be turned out of his place. To whom we deſired Friends to ſay, that if he pleaſed he might apprehend us, and carry us to the Prince, before whom we ſhould give an account of our teſtimony.

But, bleſſed be the Lord, we enjoyed our meeting quietly and comfortably; of which a coach-full from Worms made part, amongſt whom was a Governor of that country, and one of the chief Lutheran Prieſts.

It came upon me in this place to ſalute the Princeſs and Counteſs with this following Epiſtle.

A Salutation to Elizabeth, Princeſs Palatine, and Anna Maria De Hornes, Counteſs of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

My worthy friends,

SUCH as I have, ſuch I give unto you, the dear and tender ſalutation of light, life, peace and ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt, the bleſſed Lamb of God; with the unſpeakable

ble joy of which he hath ſo repleniſhed my ſoul at this time, that my cup overfloweth; which is the reward of them that chearfully drink his cup of tribulations, that love the Croſs, and triumph in all the ſhame, reproaches and contradictions of the world that do attend it. My God take you by the hand, and gently lead you through all the difficulties of regeneration; and as you have begun to know and love his ſweet and tender drawings, ſo reſign the whole conduct of your lives to him.

Diſpute not away the precious ſenſe that you have of him, be it as ſmall as a grain of muſtard-ſeed, which is the leaſt of all ſeeds; there is a power in it (if you do but believe) to remove the greateſt mountains of oppoſition. O precious is this faith, yea, more precious than the glory and honour of this world that periſheth. It will give courage to go with Chriſt before Caiaphas and Pilate; yea, to bear his Croſs without the camp, and to be crucified with him, knowing that the Spirit of God and of glory ſhall reſt upon them. To the inheritors of this faith, is reſerved the eternal kingdom of peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt.

O be you of that little flock, unto whom Jeſus ſaid, "Fear not, it is your Father's "good pleaſure to give you the Kingdom:" And to be of this flock, you muſt become as ſheep; and to be as ſheep, you muſt become harmleſs; and to become harmleſs, you muſt hear and follow the Lamb of God, as he is that bleſſed Light which diſcovereth and condemneth all the unfruitful works of darkneſs, and maketh harmleſs as a dove; which word, *all*, leaveth not one peccadillo or circumſtance undiſcovered or unjudged; and the word *Darkneſs* taketh in the whole night of Apoſtacy; and the word *unfruitful*, is a plain judgment againſt all thoſe dark works. Wherefore out of them all come, and be you ſeparated; and God will give you a crown of life, which ſhall never fade away.

O! the lowneſs and meanneſs of thoſe ſpirits, that deſpiſe or neglect the joys and glories of immortality, for the ſake of the things which are ſeen, that are but temporal, debaſing the nobility of their ſouls, abandoning the government of the Divine Spirit, and embracing with all ardency of affection the ſenſual pleaſures of this life; but ſuch as perſevere therein, ſhall not enter into God's reſt for ever.

But this is not all that hindereth and obſtructeth in the holy way of bleſſedneſs; for there is the world's Fear, as well as the world's Joy, that obſtructeth many, or elſe Chriſt had not ſaid, "Fear not," to his little flock. The ſhame of the Croſs is a yoke too uneaſy, and a burden too heavy for fleſh and blood to bear, 'tis true; but therefore ſhall fleſh and blood never enter into the kingdom of God. And not to them that are born of the Fleſh, but to thoſe that are born of the Spirit, through the Word of Regeneration, is appointed the kingdom, and that throne which ſhall judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael, and all the world. The Lord perfect what he hath begun in you, and give you dominion over the love and fear of this world.

And, my friends, if you would profit in the way of God, deſpiſe not the day of ſmall things in yourſelves: Know this, that to deſire and ſincerely to breathe after the Lord, is a bleſſed ſtate; you muſt ſeek before you find. Do you believe? Make not haſte, extinguiſh not thoſe ſmall beginnings by an over-earneſt or impatient deſire of victory. God's time is the beſt time; be you faithful, and your conflict ſhall end with glory to God, and the reward of peace to your own ſouls. Therefore love the judgment, and love the fire; ſtart not aſide, neither flinch from the ſcorchings of it, for it will purify and refine you as gold ſeven times tried; then cometh the ſtamp and ſeal of the Lord upon his own veſſel, "Holineſs to him for ever;" which he never gave, nor will give, to reprobate ſilver, the ſtate of the religious worſhippers of the world. And herein be comforted, that Sion ſhall be redeemed through judgment, and her converts through righteouſneſs; and after the appointed time of mourning is over, the Lord will give beauty for aſhes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praiſe for the ſpirit of heavineſs. Then ſhall you be able to ſay, "Who is he that condemneth "us? God hath juſtified us: There is no condemnation to us that are in Chriſt Jeſus, "who walk not after the fleſh, but after the Spirit."

Wherefore, my dear friends, walk not only not after the fleſhly luſts, but alſo not after the fleſhly religions and worſhips of the world: For that which is not born of the Spirit is Fleſh; and all fleſh ſhall wither as the graſs, and the beauty of it ſhall fade away as the flower of the field, before God's Sun, that is riſen, and riſing. But the Word of the Lord, in which is Life, and that Life the Light of men, ſhall endure for ever, and give life eternal to them that love, and wait in, the Light.

And I intreat you, by the love you have for Jeſus, have a care how you touch with fleſhly births, or ſay Amen, by word or practice, to that which is not born of the Spirit: For God is not to be found of that, in yourſelves or others, that calleth him Father, and he hath never begotten it in them; that latitude and conformity is not of God, but ſecretly grieveth his Spirit, and obſtructeth the growth of the ſoul in its acquaintance and intimate communion with the Lord. "Without me," ſaith Jeſus, "you can do nothing; and all that came before me are thieves and robbers." If ſo, O what are they that pray, and preach, and ſing without Jeſus, and follow not him

1677. in thoſe duties, but even in them crucify him? O that I may find in you an ear to hear, and an heart to perceive and embrace, theſe truths of Jeſus.

And I can ſay, I have great cauſe to hope, and patiently to wait, till the ſalvation of God be farther revealed to you, and the whole family; with whom, I muſt acknowledge, I was abundantly refreſhed and comforted, in that God in meaſure made known the riches of his Grace, and operation of his celeſtial Power to you; and his Witneſs ſhall dwell with you, if we never ſee you more, that God magnified his own ſtrength in our weakneſs. With him we leave our travails, affectionately recommending you to his Holy Spirit of Grace, that you may be conformed to the Image of his own dear Son, who is able and ready to preſerve you. O ſtay your minds upon him, and he will keep you in perfect peace, and abide with you for ever. The Almighty take you into his holy protection now and for ever.

I am your true friend, ready to ſerve you, with fervent love, in the will of God,

William Penn.

My dear companions do, with me, give you the dear ſalutation of unfeigned love, and thoſe in the family that love the Lord Jeſus in ſincerity and truth without wavering.

P. S. We are this evening bound towards Manheim, the court of the Prince Palatine, and have travelled about twelve Engliſh miles on foot.

Franckenthall. 25, 6. 7. Manheim. That night we lodged at Franckenthall, and got next morning, being the ſeventh day of the week, to Manheim; but were diſappointed of our deſign, which was to ſpeak with the Prince, for he was gone the day before to Heydelbergh, his chief city, about fifteen Engliſh Miles from that place. And conſidering that by reaſon of the meeting next day with friends at Criſheim already appointed, we could neither go forward, nor ſtay till he returned; and yet being not clear to come away, as if we had never endeavoured to viſit him, it was upon me to write him this following letter, to let him know we had been there, and briefly our end in coming.

To the Prince Elector Palatine of Heydelbergh.

Great Prince!

IT would ſeem ſtrange that I, both a ſtranger and a ſubject, ſhould uſe this freedom of addreſs to a Prince, were he not one whoſe actions ſhew him to be of a free diſpoſition, and eaſy acceſs to all: Would to God all Princes were of that mind! But I have not choſen this way of application; I am driven to it, by the diſappointment thy abſence from this court gave me, and the neceſſity I am under to expedite my return. And though I cannot ſo fully, and conſequently not ſo clearly, expreſs by letter the grounds inducing me to attempt this viſit, yet this being all the way that is left me, I ſhall declare them as well as I can.

In the firſt place, I do, with all ſincere and chriſtian reſpect, acknowledge and commend that Indulgence thou giveſt to all people profeſſing religion, diſſenting from the National Communion: For it is in itſelf a moſt *Natural*, *Prudent* and *Chriſtian* thing.

NATURAL, becauſe it preſerves nature from being made a ſacrifice to the ſavage fury of fallible, yet proud opinions; outlawing men of parts, arts, induſtry and honeſty, the grand requiſites of human ſociety, and expoſing them and their families to utter ruin for mere nonconformity, not to religion, but to modes and faſhions in religion.

CHRISTIAN, ſince the contrary expreſly contradicteth both the precept and example of Chriſt, who taught us ‘ to love Enemies, not to abuſe our Friends, and triumph ‘ in the deſtruction of our harmleſs Neighbours.’ He rebuked his diſciples, when they called for “ Fire from Heaven upon Diſſenters,” it may be Oppoſers: Certainly, then, he never intended that they ſhould kindle “ Fire upon Earth to devour men for Conſcience.” And if Chriſt, to whom all power was given, and his holy Apoſtles, refuſed to employ human force and artifice ſo much as to conſerve themſelves, ’tis an arrogancy every way indefenſible in thoſe that pretend to be their followers, that they aſſume an authority to ſuperſede, controul, and contradict the precepts and examples of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; whoſe kingdom not being of the nature of this ambitious violent world, was not erected or maintained by thoſe weapons that are carnal, but ſpiritual and intellectual, adequate to the nature of the ſoul, and mighty through God to caſt down the ſtrong-holds of ſin, and every vain imagination exalted in man above the lowly meek fear of God, that ought to have the pre-eminence in the hearts of the ſons of men.

Indulgence is PRUDENT, in that it preſerveth concord: No kingdom divided againſt itſelf can ſtand. It encourageth arts, parts and induſtry, to ſhow and improve themſelves, which indeed are the ornaments, ſtrength and wealth of a country: It encourageth people to tranſplant into this Land of Liberty, where the ſweat of the brow is not made the forfeit of the conſcience.

And, laſtly, it rendereth the prince peculiarly *ſafe* and *great*. *Safe*, becauſe all intereſts, for intereſt ſake, are bound to love and court him. *Great*, in that he is not governed or clogged with the power of his Clergy, which in moſt countries is not only a co-ordinate power, a kind of duumvirateſhip in government, *imperium in imperio*, at leaſt an eclipſe to monarchy, but a ſuperior power, and rideth the prince to their deſigns, holding the helm of the government, and ſteering not by the laws of civil freedom, but certain eccleſiaſtical maxims of their own, to the maintenance and enlargement of their worldly empire in their church: And all this villany acted under the ſacred, peaceable and alluring name of CHRIST, his miniſtry and church; though as remote from their nature, as the wolf from the ſheep, and the Pope from Peter.

The next thing I ſhould have taken the liberty to have diſcourſed, would have been this: What encouragement a colony of virtuous and induſtrious families might hope to receive from thee, in caſe they ſhould tranſplant themſelves into this country, which certainly in itſelf is very excellent, reſpecting taxes, oaths, arms, &c.

Farther, to have repreſented the condition of ſome of our *friends*, and thy own ſubjects; who though they are liable to the ſame tax as Meniſts, &c. (not by part the caſe of other diſſenters) yet the Vaught of the town where they live, came yeſterday to forbid all preaching amongſt them, which implies a ſort of contradiction to the indulgence given.

And, in the laſt place, foraſmuch as all men owe their being to ſomething greater than themſelves, to which it is reaſonable to believe they are accountable, from whence follow rewards or puniſhments;

I had an earneſt deſire to have ſpoken of the nature, truth, uſe, benefit and reward of Religion; and therein, as to have diſcourſed what is Chriſtian Religion *in it ſelf*, freed from thoſe unreaſonable garbs ſome men make it to wear, ſo juſtly offenſive to wiſe and thinking men, ſo to have proved the principle and life of the people in ſcorn called Quakers to have been ſuitable to the true followers of holy JESUS. But as the particulars would ſwell a letter to a book, I ſhall take the freedom to preſent thee, upon my return, with ſome Tracts treating upon all thoſe ſubjects.

Prince! My ſoul is filled with love and reſpect to thee and thy family; I wiſh you all true and laſting felicity, and earneſtly deſire that you may never forget your afflictions; and, in the remembrance of them, be dehorted from thoſe luſts and impieties, which draw the vengeance of heaven upon the greateſt families on earth, that God may look upon you with the favourable eye of his providence. And bleſſed is that man, whoſe God, (by profeſſion) is the LORD in reality, viz. that is ruled and governed by the Lord, and that lives in ſubjection to his Grace; that having a divine ſenſe of God in his heart, delights to retain that ſenſe and knowledge of him, and be meditating in his noble royal law, that converts the ſoul to God, and redeems man from the ſenſual pleaſures of this world, to the true ſatisfaction of the intellectual and divine life.

O the meanneſs and lowneſs of their ſpirits, that abandon themſelves to the government of ſenſe, the animal life; thereby debaſing their natures, rejecting the divine Light, that ſhineth in their hearts, ſaying, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we ſhall die," forgetting whence they are deſcended, and not conſidering the peace and joy of the virtuous!

I deſire that the Lord would put it into thy heart to think of thy latter end; and, with the 'Light of Chriſt in thy Conſcience,' examine how it ſtands with thy ſoul, that thou mayeſt know, and diligently watch to do, thoſe things that belong to thy eternal peace.

One thing more give me leave to recommend to thee, and that is, to be very careful of inculcating generous, free and righteous principles into thy ſon, who is like to ſucceed thee; that when thou art gone, the reputation of the country may not ſink by contrary practices, nor the people of divers judgments (now thy ſubjects) be diſappointed, diſtreſſed or ruined. Which, with ſincere deſires for thy temporal and eternal good, concludes this,

From Manheim, the 25th of
the 6th month, 1677.

Thy unknown, but ſincere friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

Which being done, and having refreſhed ourſelves, we returned that night by the Rhine to Worms; from whence we the next morning, being the firſt day of the week, walked on foot to Criſheim, which is about ſix Engliſh miles from Worms. We had a good meeting, from the tenth till the third hour, and the Lord's power ſweetly opened to many of the inhabitants of the town that were at the meeting; yea, the Vaught, or chief officer himſelf, ſtood at the door behind the barn, where he could hear, and not be

Worms.
26. 6. 1.
Criſheim.

1677. ſeen; who went to the prieſt, and told him that it was his work, if we were hereticks, to diſcover us to be ſuch; but for his part, he had heard nothing but what was good, and he would not meddle with us.

In the evening we had a more retired meeting of the Friends only, very weighty and tender; yea, the power roſe in an high operation among them, and great was the love of God that roſe in our hearts at the meeting to viſit them; and there is a lovely, ſweet, and true ſenſe among them: We were greatly comforted in them, and they were greatly comforted in us. Poor hearts! a little handful, ſurrounded with great and mighty countries of darkneſs! It is the Lord's great goodneſs and mercy to them, that they areſo finely kept, even natural, in the Seed of Life. They were moſt of them gathered by dear William Ames.

The next morning we had another meeting, where we took our leave of them, and ſo came, accompanied by ſeveral of them, to Worms; where having refreſhed ourſelves, we went to viſit the Lutheran prieſt, that was at the meeting the ſixth day before at Criſheim; he received us very kindly, and his wife, not without ſome ſenſe of our teſtimony. After we had diſcourſed about an hour with him, of the true and heavenly miniſtry and worſhip, and in what they ſtood, and what all people muſt come unto, if ever they will know how to worſhip God aright, we departed, and immediately ſent them ſeveral good books of Friends, in High-Dutch.

Worms. 27. 6. 2.

We took boat about the third hour in the afternoon, and came down the river Rhine to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour in the morning, and immediately took an open chariot to Franckfort, where we came about the firſt hour in the afternoon.

Mentz. 28. 6. 3. Franckfort.

We preſently informed ſome of thoſe people, that had received us the time before, of our return to that city, with deſires that we might have a meeting that afternoon; which was readily granted us by the Noble Women, at whoſe houſe we met, whither reſorted ſome that we had not ſeen before: And the Lord did, after a living manner, open our hearts and mouths amongſt them, which was received by them as a farther confirmation of the coming of the Day of the Lord unto them; yea, with much joy and kindneſs they received us.

The meeting held till the ninth hour at night; they conſtrained us to ſtay and eat with them, which was alſo a bleſſed meeting to them. Before we parted, we deſired a ſelect meeting the next morning, at the ſame place, of thoſe that we felt more inwardly affected with Truth's Teſtimony, and that were neareſt unto the ſtate of a Silent Meeting, which they joyfully aſſented to.

29. 6. 4. We went to our lodging, and the next morning we returned unto them, with whom we had a bleſſed and heavenly opportunity, for we had room for our Life amongſt them: It was as among faithful Friends, Life ran as oil, and ſwam a-top of all.

We recommended a *Silent Meeting* unto them, that they might grow into an *Holy Silence* unto themſelves; that the mouth that calls God *Father*, that is not of his own *Birth*, may be ſtopped, and all *Images* confounded, that they may hear the ſoft *Voice of Jeſus* to inſtruct them, and receive his ſweet Life to feed them, and to build them up.

About the ninth hour we departed from that place, and went to Vander Walls, where the meeting was the time before, and there we had a more publick meeting of all that pleaſed to come. The Lord did ſo abundantly appear among us, that they were more broken than we had ſeen them at any time; yea, they were exceeding tender and low, and the love of God was much raiſed in their hearts to the teſtimony. In this ſenſible frame we left them, and the bleſſings and peace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt with and among them.

Mentz.

And after we had refreſhed ourſelves at our inn, we took boat down the Maine to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour. It is a great city, but a dark and ſuperſtitious place, according to the Popiſh way, and is under the government of a Popiſh biſhop. We ſtayed no longer there than till our boat was ready, which might be better than half an hour. From Mentz we went on our way down the Rhine ſix German miles, and came that night to Hampack: From thence the next morning, we went by Bacherach, Coblentz, and other places upon the Rhine, to Treſy that night, being about eleven German miles. Next day, being the ſixth day of the week, we got to Cullen, a great popiſh city, about the third hour in the afternoon. We gave notice to a ſober merchant in that town, 'a ſerious ſeeker after God,' that we were there arrived, who preſently came to us. We ſat down, and had a living and precious opportunity with him, opening to him the 'Way of the Lord, as it had been manifeſted to us;' intreating him, if he knew any in that city, who had deſires after the Lord, or that were willing to come to a meeting, that he would pleaſe to inform them of our being here, and of our deſire to meet with them. He anſwered, 'He would readily do it.'

Hampack. 30. 6. 5. Treſy. Cullen. 31. 6. 6.

This night, when we were in bed, came the Reſident of ſeveral Princes, (a ſerious and tender man) to find us out: We had ſome diſcourſe with him; but being late, he promiſed to ſee us the next day.

1. 7. 7. The next morning came the aforeſaid merchant, informing us that it was a buſy time,

ſeveral preparing for the Mart or great fair at Franckfort; yet ſome would come, and he deſired the meeting might be at his houſe about three in the afternoon. 1677.

In the morning we went to viſit that Reſident, whom we met coming to ſee us; but he returned and brought us to his houſe. We had a good time with him; for the man is an ancient ſeeker, oppreſſed with the cares of this world, and he may be truly ſaid to mourn under them: 'His heart was opened to us, and he bleſſed God that he 'had lived to ſee us.' We gave him an account how the Lord had appeared in the land of our nativity, and how he had dealt with us; which was as the cool and gentle ſhowers upon the dry and ſcorched deſert. About noon we returned home, and after we had eaten, we went to the merchant's houſe to the meeting, where came four perſons, one of which was the Preſbyterian prieſt, who preached in private to the Proteſtants of that place; for they are no ways publickly allowed in that city. Surely the True Day and Power of the Lord made known itſelf to the conſciences of them preſent: Yea, they felt that we were ſuch as had been with Jeſus, and that had obtained our teſtimony, through the ſufferings and travails of the Croſs. They were tender: The reſident and merchant conducted us to our inn, and from thence to the boat, being about ſeven at night. We ſet out towards the city of Duyſburgh, of the Calviniſt Way, belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg, in and near to which we had been informed there were a retired and ſeeking people.

We arrived there the next day about noon, being the firſt day of the week. The firſt thing we did after we came to our inn, was to inquire out one Dr. Maſtricht, a Civilian, for whom we had a letter to introduce us, from a merchant of Cullen; whom quickly finding, we informed him what we came about, deſiring his aſſiſtance, which he readily promiſed us. The firſt thing we offered, was an acceſs to the Counteſs of Falchenſteyn and Bruch: He told us, 'ſhe was an extraordinary woman, one in whom 'we ſhould find things worthy of our love; that he would write to her, to give us an 'opportunity with her; that the fitteſt time was the preſent time, in that we might 'find her at the miniſter's of Mulheim, on the other ſide of the river from her father's 'caſtle; for that ſhe uſed to come out the firſt day morning, and not return till night: 'That we muſt be very ſhy of making ourſelves publick, not only for our own ſakes, but 'for hers, who was ſeverely treated by her father, for the ſake of thoſe religious inclinations that appeared in her, although her father pretended to be of the Proteſtant 'Religion. Duyſburgh. 2. 7. 1.

We therefore diſpatched towards Mulheim, having received his letter, and being alſo accompanied by him about one third of the way; but being ſix Engliſh miles, and on foot, we could not compaſs the place before the meeting was over; for it was paſt three before we could get out from Duyſburgh; and following that way which led to the backſide of the Graef's caſtle and orchard, which was alſo a common way to the town, (though if we had known the country we might have avoided it) we met one Henry Smith, ſchool-maſter and catechizer of Speldorp, to whom we imparted our buſineſs, and gave the letter of Dr. Maſtricht of Duyſburgh, to introduce us to the Counteſs.

He told us, 'He had juſt left her, being come over the water from worſhip, but he 'would carry the letter to her, and bring an anſwer ſuddenly;' but notwithſtanding ſtaid near an hour. When he came, he gave us this anſwer, viz. 'That ſhe would be 'glad to meet us, but ſhe did not know where; but rather inclined that we ſhould go 'over the water to the miniſter's houſe, whither, if ſhe could, ſhe would come to us; 'but that a ſtrict hand was held over her by her father.' After ſome more ſerious diſcourſe with him, concerning the "Witneſs of God in the Conſcience," and the diſcovery, teſtimony, and judgment of that "True Light," unto which all muſt bow that would be heirs of the kingdom of God, (recommending him to the ſame) we parted; he returning homewards, and we advancing to the town. But being neceſſitated to paſs by her father's caſtle, who is ſeignior or lord of that country, it ſo fell out, that at that very inſtant he came forth to walk: And ſeeing us in the habit of ſtrangers, ſent one of his attendants to demand who, and from whence, we were, and whither we went? Calling us afterwards to him, and aſking us the ſame queſtions. We anſwered, 'That we were 'Engliſhmen, come from Holland, going no farther in theſe parts than his own town 'of Mulheim.' But not ſhowing him, or paying him, that worldly homage and reſpect which was expected from us, ſome of his gentlemen aſked us, 'If we knew whom 'we were before? And if we did not uſe to deport ourſelves after another manner before Noblemen, and in the preſence of Princes?' We anſwered, 'We were not conſcious to ourſelves of any diſreſpect or unſeemly behaviour.' One of them ſharply replied, 'Why don't you pull off your hats then? Is it reſpect to ſtand covered in the preſence of the ſovereign of the country?' We told them, 'It was our practice in the 'preſence of our Prince, who is a great king; and that we uncovered not our heads to 'any, but in our duty to Almighty God.' Upon which the Græf called us Quakers,' ſaying unto us, 'We have no need of Quakers here; get you out of my dominions; 'you ſhall not go to my town.' Mulheim.

1677. We told him, ‘ That we were an innocent people, that feared God, and had good-will ‘ towards all men; that we had true reſpect in our hearts towards him, and would be ‘ glad to do him any real good or ſervice; and that the Lord had made it matter of ‘ conſcience to us, not to conform ourſelves to the vain and fruitleſs cuſtoms of this ‘ world,’ or words to this purpoſe. However, he commanded ſome of his ſoldiers to ſee us out of his territories; to whom we alſo declared ſomewhat of the reaſon and intention of our coming to that place, in the fear and love of God, and they were civil to us.

We parted with much peace and comfort in our hearts; and as we paſſed through the village where the ſchoolmaſter dwelt, (yet in the dominions of the Graef) we called upon him, and in the ſenſe of God's power and kingdom, opened to him the meſſage and teſtimony of Truth, which the man received with a weighty and ſerious ſpirit. For under the dominion of the Graef there is a large congregation of Proteſtants called Calviniſts, of a more religious, inward and zealous frame of ſpirit, than any body of people we met with or heard of, in Germany.

After we had ended our teſtimony to him, we took our leave, deſiring him not to fear, but to be of good courage, for the day of the Lord was haſtening upon all the workers of iniquity; and to them that feared his name, where-ever ſcattered throughout the earth, he would cauſe the “ Sun of righteouſneſs to ariſe and viſit them, with healing under his “ wings”: And to remember us with true love and kindneſs to the Counteſs, daughter to this Graef, and to deſire her not to be offended in us, nor to be diſmayed at the diſpleaſure of her father; but eye the Lord, that hath viſited her ſoul with his Holy Light, by which ſhe ſeeth the vanity of this world, and in ſome meaſure the emptineſs and deadneſs of the religions that are in it, and he would preſerve her from the fear of the wrath of man, that worketh not the “ Righteouſneſs of God.” So we left the peace of Jeſus with him, and walked on towards Duyſburgh, being about ſix Engliſh miles from thence, and near the eighth hour at night. The Lord was with us, and comforted our hearts as we walked, without any outward guide, through a tedious and ſolitary wood, about three miles long, with the joy of his ſalvation; giving us to remember, and to ſpeak one unto another, of his bleſſed witneſſes in the days paſt, who wandered up and down like poor pilgrims and ſtrangers on the earth, their eye being to a city in the heavens, that had foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God.

Betwixt nine and ten we reached the walls of Duyſburgh, but the gates were ſhut; and there being no houſes without the walls, we laid us down together in the field, receiving
3. 7. 2. both natural and ſpiritual refreſhment, bleſſed be the Lord. About three in the morning we roſe, ſanctifying God in our hearts, that had kept us that night, and walked till five, often ſpeaking one to another of the great and notable day of the Lord dawning upon Germany, and on ſeveral places of that land that were almoſt ripe unto harveſt.

Soon after the clock had ſtruck five, they opened the gates of the city, and we had not long got to our inn, but it came upon me, with a ſweet, yet fervent power, to viſit this
Duyſburgh. perſecuted Counteſs, with a ſalutation from the love and life of Jeſus, and to open unto her more plainly the way of the Lord; which I did in this following epiſtle.

To the COUNTESS of Falchenſteyn and Bruch, at Mulheim.

My dear friend,

JESUS, the immaculate Lamb of God, (grieved and crucified by all the workers of iniquity) illuminate thy underſtanding, bleſs and be with thy ſpirit for ever!

Though unknown, yet art thou much beloved, for the ſake of thy deſires and breathings of ſoul after the living God: The report whereof, from ſome in the ſame ſtate, hath made deep impreſſion of true kindneſs upon my ſpirit, and raiſed in me a very ſingular and fervent inclination to viſit thee; and the rather, becauſe of that ſuffering and tribulation thou haſt begun to endure for the ſake of thy zeal towards God, myſelf having from my childhood been both a ſeeker after the Lord, and a great ſufferer for that cauſe, from parents, relations, companions, and the magiſtrates of this world. The remembrance whereof hath ſo much the more endeared thy condition unto me; and my ſoul hath often, in the ſweet ſenſe and feeling of the holy preſence of God, and the precious Life of his dear Son in my heart, with great tenderneſs, implored his divine aſſiſtance unto thee, that thou mayeſt both be illuminated to do, and made willing to ſuffer, for his name's ſake; that the Spirit of God and of glory may reſt upon thy ſoul.

And truly I can ſay, I felt the good-will of God, his holy care, and heavenly viſitation of love to extend unto thee. But one thing more eſpecially lay upon my ſpirit to have communicated unto thee, which made me the more preſſing for an opportunity to ſpeak with thee, and that was this, ‘ That thou ſhouldeſt have a true, right and diſtinct ‘ knowledge of thy own ſtate, and what THAT is which hath viſited thee; and in *what* ‘ thy faith, patience, hope and ſalvation ſtand; *where* to wait, and *how* to find the Lord, ‘ and diſtinguiſh between that which is born of God, and that which is not; both with

‘ reſpect to thyſelf in all the motions and conceptions of thy heart, and with reſpect to others in their religious worſhips and performances; to the end that thou mayeſt not be deceived about the things relating to God's kingdom, and thy eternal peace:’ This is of greateſt weight.

Now know certainly, THAT which hath diſcovered unto thee the vanities of this world, the emptineſs and the fading of all earthly glory, the bleſſedneſs of the righteous, and the joy of the world that is to come, is the Light of Chriſt Jeſus, wherewith he hath enlightened thy ſoul: “ For in him was Life, and that Life is the Light of Mankind,” John i. 4. 9. Thus God promiſed, by the prophet Iſaiah, to give him, viz. “ for a Light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his ſalvation to the ends of the earth.” So that Chriſt the Light is God's Gift, and eternal Life is hid in him; yea, all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge, who is the Light of the goſpel-temple, true believers, Rev. xxi. And all that receive this Light into their hearts, and bring their deeds to it, to ſee in what ground they are wrought, whether in God or in the Evil-one, and make this bleſſed Light the guide of their life; fearing, with an holy fear, to do any thing that this Light manifeſts to be evil; waiting and watching with a godly care to be preſerved blameleſs before the Lord; I ſay, all ſuch become Children of Light, and Witneſſes of the Life of Jeſus. O bleſſed wilt thou be for ever, if in the way of this holy Light thy mind walks to the end!

Let *this* that hath viſited thee lead thee; this Seed of Light and Life, which is the Seed of the Kingdom; yea, it is Chriſt, the true and only Seed of God, that viſited my ſoul, even in my young years; that ſpread my ſins in order before me, reproved me, and brought godly ſorrow upon me; making me often to weep in ſolitary places, and ſay within my ſoul, ‘ O that I knew the Lord as I ought to know him! O that I ſerved him as I ought to ſerve him!’ Yea, often was there a great concern upon my ſpirit about mine eternal ſtate, mournfully deſiring that the Lord would give my ſoul reſt in the great day of trouble. Now was all the glory of the world as a bubble; yea, nothing was dear to me that I might win Chriſt; for the love, friendſhip, and pleaſure of this world were a burden unto my ſoul. And in this ſeeking-ſtate I was directed to the Teſtimony of Jeſus in mine own conſcience, as the true ſhining Light, giving me to diſcern the thoughts and intents of mine own heart. And no ſooner was I turned unto it, but I found it to be that which from my childhood had viſited me, though I diſtinctly knew it not: And when I received it in the love of it, it ſhewed me all that ever I had done, and reproved all the unfruitful works of darkneſs; judging me as a man in the fleſh, and laying judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to the plummet in me. And as by the ‘ Brightneſs of his Coming into my ſoul,’ he diſcovered the man of ſin there, upon his throne, ſo by the ‘ Breath of his mouth,’ which is the two-edged ſword of his Spirit, he deſtroyeth his power and kingdom. And ſo having made me a witneſs of the death of the croſs, he hath alſo made me a witneſs of his reſurrection. So that in good meaſure my ſoul can now ſay, ‘ I am juſtified in the Spirit; and though the ſtate of Condemnation unto death was glorious, yet Juſtification unto life was, and is, more glorious.’

In this ſtate of the new man all is new: Behold new heavens, and a new earth! Old things come to be done away; the old man with his deeds put off. Now new thoughts, new deſires, new affections, new love, new friendſhip, new ſociety, new kindred, new faith; even that which overcometh this world, through many tribulations; and new hope, even that living hope that is founded upon true experience, which holds out all ſtorms, and can ſee to the glory that is inviſible (to carnal eyes) in the midſt of the greateſt tempeſt.

Now it is the ſame bleſſed Seed of Light, Life and Grace, which from God the Father is ſown in thy heart, and which hath moved and wrought there the change which thou haſt witneſſed from the ſpirit of this world: Turn to it, watch in it, that by it thou mayeſt be kept from all that it diſcovers to be contrary to God; eſpecially from thyſelf, from thine own runnings, willings, and ſtrivings: ‘ For whatſoever is not born of the Spirit is Fleſh; and that inherits not the kingdom of God; but all that ſow to it ſhall inherit corruption.’ By this thou wilt come to feel, not only all Sin to be a burden, but all thine own Righteouſneſs, yea, all Man's Righteouſneſs, to be a burden. Thou wilt ſee the difference betwixt the duties and prayers which thou begetteſt, and the duties and prayers which, in thy true ſilence from all ſelf-activity of mind, the Lord begets in thee.

O that thou mighteſt know the myſtery of the new birth, and what that is that can truly call God *Father*; even that that is begotten of him, which liveth and breatheth, and hath its beginning and being, in that Life which is hid with Chriſt in God, and by which it hath been quickened to the knowledge and worſhip of Chriſt and God. And this thou ſhalt not fail to know and enjoy, as thou patiently ſuffereſt the Lord to work his own work in thee, by his own bleſſed Spirit. And that which will give thee to ſavour and diſcern the right motions and conceptions, duties and performances in thyſelf, from

1677. the falſe, will give thee to ſavour and diſcern that which is right from that which is falſe in others; that which is of God, from that which is of Man.

Have a care of gathering of ſticks, and kindling a fire of *thine own*, and then compaſſing thyſelf about with the ſparks of the fire which thou haſt kindled, for the end of this ſtate is to lie down in ſorrow; becauſe the Heavenly Fire is abſent, which maketh the ſacrifice acceptable: Yea, the Lord may ſtir in thy heart, but thou mayeſt bring forth: But he that gives to conceive, he brings to the birth, and he giveth power to bring forth acceptably: "For without Chriſt we can do nothing;" and bleſſed are they that ſtir not before the Angel moveth the waters, and go not before Chriſt, but are led by him, and that awaken not their Beloved till he pleaſe; in whoſe hands the times and the ſeaſons are. O bleſſed are they, whoſe eyes are opened to ſee him always preſent, a God always nigh at hand; whoſe hearts are ſtayed upon his holy appearance in them, and are thereby tranſlated into his likeneſs; whoſe faith and hope are in Chriſt in them, the hope of glory.

My dear friend, weigh theſe things with a ſerious, retired, ſweet and tender frame of ſpirit; and the God, that hath called me and thee, by the Light of his dear Son, open thine underſtanding to perceive the Truth as it is in Jeſus, and what is the myſtery of the fellowſhip of the Saints in Light. So to the Lord I recommend thee, the watchman and keeper of Iſrael. The Lord be thy ſtrength and holy comfort, and ſpeak peace to thee, and never leave thee nor forſake thee till he hath conducted thee through all tribulations, to his everlaſting kingdom of reſt and glory.

O dear heart, be valiant, and ſtay thyſelf upon Chriſt Jeſus the everlaſting rock, and feel him a fountain in thy ſoul; feel his blood to cleanſe, and his blood to drink, and his fleſh to eat: Feed upon him, for God hath given him for the life of the world.

I had ſeen thee, had not thy father's ſtrange ſort of ſeverity hindered. I confeſs, I do not uſe to be ſo treated in mine own country, where the Lord hath raiſed up many thouſands of witneſſes, that he hath gathered out of all ſects and profeſſions, to worſhip him, not in their *own* ſpirits or wills, but in *his* Will, Spirit and Truth: And we are generally, after much affliction and ſuffering, in good eſteem, even with the great ones of this world. And this let me add for thy particular comfort, that though I have been a a man of great anguiſh and ſorrow, becauſe of the ſcorn and reproach that hath attended my ſeparation from the world, (having been taught of Jeſus to turn my back upon all, for the ſake of that glory that ſhall be revealed) yet to God's honour I can ſay it, I have an hundred friends for one, yea, God hath turned the hearts of mine enemies towards me; he hath fulfilled his promiſe, "to turn the hearts of the Parents unto the "Children." For my parents, that once diſowned me for this bleſſed teſtimony's ſake, (of the Jew, Chriſtian, Circumciſion, and Baptiſm Inward, againſt the fleſhly Chriſtian) have come to love me above all, and have left me all; thinking they could never do and leave enough for me. O how good is the Lord! Yea, the ways of his mercy are even paſt finding out.

Wherefore, my dear friend, truſt in the Lord for ever; and the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, the God of the prophets and of the apoſtles, the God of all the holy martyrs of Jeſus, illuminate, fortify and preſerve thee ſtedfaſt, that in the end thou mayeſt receive the reward of life and eternal ſalvation: To whom be glory, and to the Lamb that ſits upon the throne, One God, and One Lord, bleſſed and magnified for ever and ever, Amen.

Thy great and faithful lover for the bleſſed and holy Truth's ſake,

Duyſburgh the 13th of the
7th month, S. N. 1677.

W. PENN.

The incloſed I received from a religious young woman at Franckfort. We have had a bleſſed opportunity in this town with ſome that have a deſire after the Lord, in which we are abundantly comforted. We have juſt now received thy meſſage and ſalutation from H. V. which hath exceedingly refreſhed and revived us; for our trouble was not for ourſelves, but for thee; and we hope our love will not turn to thy diſadvantage; for we mentioned nothing of thy name, nor the name of any other perſon, only that we deſired to ſpeak with the miniſter of Mulheim, and that was only to the ſoldier. The Lord made us a good bed in the fields, and we were very well ſatiſfied. We are going this afternoon out of the town towards Weſel, from thence to Cleve, and thence to Herwerden, the Lord willing. So farewell in the Lord.

Here followeth a Letter to her Father, the Graef of Bruch and Falckenſteyn.

To the Graef or Earl of Bruch and Falckenſteyn.

Friend,

I Wiſh thy ſalvation; and the Lord reward thee good for the evil that thou ſhewedſt unto me and my friends the laſt night, if it be his will: But ſince thou art but a mortal man, one that muſt give an account, in common with all, to the immortal God, let me a little expoſtulate with thee.

By what law on earth are men, not ſcandalous, under no proſcription, harmleſs ſtrangers, about lawful occaſions, and men not vagabonds, but of good quality in their own country, ſtopt, menaced, ſent back with ſoldiers, and that at ſun-ſet, expoſed to the Night in an unknown country, and therefore forced to lie in the Fields: I ſay, by what law are we judged, yea, thus puniſhed before heard? Is this the Law of Nations, or Nature, or Germany, or of Chriſtianity? Oh! Where's Nature, Where's Civility? Where's Hoſpitality? But where's Chriſtianity all this while? Well, but we are Quakers. Quakers! What's that for a name? Is there a law of the Empire againſt that name? No: Did we own it? No: But if we had, the letters of that name neither make up drunkard, whoremaſter, thief, murderer nor traitor: Why ſo odious then? What harm hath it done? Why could *Jews* paſs juſt before us, that have *crucified* Chriſt, and not *Quakers*, that *never* crucified him? But Ignorance is as well the mother of Perſecution as Devotion: And the falſe Chriſtian, and the falſe Jew, have but one father.

But, *Argumentum ad hominem*, my friend, bear with me a little: Art thou a Chriſtian? How canſt thou be rude, uncivil, and perſecute then? Thou art to love Enemies, not abuſe Friends; harmleſs Strangers. Well, but this life is dead, this doctrine antiquated, Jeſus Chriſt turned out of doors, I perceive. What art thou for a Chriſtian? A Lutheran? Yes; Canſt thou ſo lately forget the practices of the Papiſts, and with what abhorrence thy anceſtors declared againſt ſuch ſort of entertainment? Were not they deſpiſed, mocked and perſecuted? And are their children treading in the ſteps of their old enemies? Friend, 'tis not reformed Words, but a reformed Life, that will ſtand thee in ſtead. 'Tis not to live the life of the unregenerate, worldly-minded and wicked, under the profeſſion of the ſaints words, that give an entrance into God's reſt. Be not deceived, ſuch as thou ſoweſt, ſuch muſt thou reap in the day of the Lord. Thou art not come to the Berean-ſtate that tried all things, and therefore not noble in the Chriſtian ſenſe. The Bereans were noble, for they judged not before Examination.

And for thy ſaying, 'We want no Quakers here,' I ſay, under favour, you *do:* For a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the Word of the Lord, that worketh out his ſalvation with fear and trembling, and all the days of his appointed time waiteth, in the Light and Grace of God, till his great change cometh; and that taketh up the daily-croſs to his own will and luſts, that he may do the will of God, manifeſted to him by the Light of Jeſus in his conſcience; and according to the holy precepts and examples in the holy ſcriptures of truth, laid down by Jeſus, and his followers, for the ages to come. Yea, he is one that *loveth* his enemies, rather than feareth them; that *bleſſeth* thoſe that curſe him, and *prayeth* for thoſe that deſpitefully treat him; as God knoweth we do for thee. And, O that thou wert ſuch a Quaker! Then wouldſt thou rule for God, and act in all things as one that muſt give an account to God for the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Then would temperance, mercy, juſtice, meekneſs, and the fear of the Lord dwell in thy heart, and in thy family and country. Repent, I exhort thee, and conſider thy latter end, for thy days are not like to be many in this world; therefore mind the things that make for thy eternal peace, leſt diſtreſs come upon thee as an armed man, and there be none to deliver thee.

I am, thy well-wiſhing friend,

Duyſburgh 3d 7th Mo.
1677. S. N.

W. P.

This being done, we went to Dr. Maſtricht's to inform him of what had paſſed; who, tho' of a kind diſpoſition, and very friendly to us, yet ſeemed ſurprized with fear (the common diſeaſe of this country) crying out, 'What will become of this poor 'Counteſs! Her father hath called her Quaker a long time, behaving himſelf very ſeverely to her, but now he will conclude ſhe is one indeed, and he will lead her a 'lamentable life: I know,' ſaid he, 'you care not for ſuffering, but ſhe is to be pitied.' We told him that we loved her, and pitied her, and could lay down our lives for her, as Chriſt hath done for us, in the will of God, if we could thereby do her good; but that we had not mentioned her name, neither was the letter, that he gave us to her, ſo much as ſeen, or known of her father. But ſtill he feared that our carriage would incenſe the Graef ſo much the more againſt both his daughter, and all thoſe ſerious and enquiring people up and down his country. We anſwered, with an earneſtneſs of ſpirit, That they had minded the incenſings and wrath of men *too much* already, and that true religion would never ſpring or grow under ſuch fears; and that it was time for all that felt any thing of the work of God in their hearts, to caſt away the ſlaviſh fear of man, and to come forth in the Boldneſs of the true Chriſtian Life; yea that ſufferings break and make way for greater Liberty, and that God was wiſer and ſtronger than man.

1677. We aſked him if there were any in that city who enquired more diligently after the way of the Lord? He recommended us (as we had already been informed in another place) to the family of the Prætor, or chief Governor of the town; whoſe wife, and ſiſter more eſpecially, were ſeeking after the beſt things: So we parted with him in love; and, by the help of his daughter, were conducted to this family.

We had not been long there, before a ſchool-maſter of Duſſeldorp, and alſo a miniſter came in, enquiring after us, having heard of us at Mulheim, where he preached the day before to the people, or elſe by the way of our attempt to viſit that place, and the entertainment we received at the hands of the Graef. He ſat down with us, and though we had already a ſweet opportunity, yet feeling the power of God to riſe, the meeting renewed: And, O magnified be the name of the Lord! he witneſſed to our teſtimony abundantly in all their hearts and conſciences, who were broken into much tenderneſs; and certainly there is a bleſſed power and zeal ſtirring in that young man; yea, he is very near the kingdom. So we took our leave of them, leaving the Lord's peace and bleſſing upon them.

It was now ſomething paſt the twelfth hour of the day. In the way to our lodging we met a meſſenger from the Counteſs of Falckenſteyn, a pretty young tender man, near to the kingdom, who ſaluted us in her name with much love; telling us, 'That ſhe was much grieved at the entertainment of her father towards us; adviſing us not to expoſe ourſelves to ſuch difficulties and hardſhips, for it would grieve her heart, that any that came in the love of God to viſit her, ſhould be ſo ſeverely handled;' for at ſome he ſets his dogs, upon others he puts his ſoldiers to beat them: 'But what ſhall I ſay! That, *itſelf* muſt not hinder you from doing good,' ſaid the Counteſs.

We anſwered him, that his meſſage was joyful to us, that ſhe had any regard to us, and that ſhe was not offended with us: We deſired the remembrance of our kind love unto her, and that he would let her know that our concern was not for ourſelves, but for her. We invited him to eat with us, but he told us he was an inhabitant of Meurs, and was in haſte to go home. So we briefly declared our Principle and Meſſage, recommending him to Chriſt the true Light in his conſcience, and parted. So we went home to dinner, having neither eaten nor drank ſince firſt-day morning, and having lain out all night in the field.

Holton. We had no ſooner got to our inn, but the man was conſtrained to come after us, and ſat down with us, and enquired concerning our Friends, their Riſe, Principles, and Progreſs; and in all things that he deſired ſatisfaction about, he declared himſelf ſatisfied. Dinner being done, and all cleared, we departed that city, being about the fourth hour in the afternoon, and for want of accommodation were forced to walk on foot eight Engliſh miles to a town called Holton, where we reſted that night.

Weſel. 4· 7· 3. The next morning we ſet out for Weſel, and got thither at noon. The firſt thing we did (as had been our cuſtom) was to enquire who was worthy, particularly for two perſons recommended to us by the Counteſs of Hornes, that lives with the Princeſs Elizabeth. But upon enquiry, we found one of them was gone to Amſterdam with his wife, who had been formerly a preacher, and being conſcientiouſly diſſatisfied with his own preaching laid it down, and is now in a ſeeking ſtate. But in lieu of him we found out three more, with the other perſon that had been recommended to us. We beſpoke a meeting amongſt them after dinner, which accordingly we had at a woman's houſe of good note in the town; who told us, that ſhe had been long in a ſolitary eſtate, diſſatisfied with the religions generally profeſſed in that country, waiting for Salvation, and ſhe hoped that now the time was come, and that we were the meſſengers of it.

The Lord was with us in the meeting, and their hearts were opened, by the Word of God, to receive our teſtimony as glad tidings of ſalvation. Meeting being done, we immediately returned to our lodgings, deſiring we might ſee them together in the ſame place the next morning, to take our leave of them, to which they readily aſſented.

5· 7· 4. Rees. Next morning we came, and had a precious meeting with them; and there were ſome preſent that were not there the night before. So we left them in much love, and went to our inn; where, after having refreſhed ourſelves, we went to Rees, where we met with a Counſellor of Gelderlandt, with whom we had a good opportunity to declare the teſtimony of Jeſus; who received it, and parted with us in much kindneſs.

Emrick. Cleve. From thence we went to Emrick, and there called upon an eminent Baptiſt-Teacher, recommended to us by one of Weſel: We ſpent ſome time with him, opening to him the Way of Life, as in the Light it is manifeſted to all that love and obey the Light; and of that more ſpiritual and pure miniſtry, that from the living Word of God is received by many true miniſters in this day. The man was ſomewhat full of words, but we felt the living viſitation of the love of God reached to him, and ſo we left him, making all the haſte we could to get to Cleve that night; which accordingly we did, though late, being forced to walk one third part of the way on foot.

That night, notwithſtanding, one of us went to a certain Lady, to whom we had recommendations from the Princeſs, and that was particularly known to one of us, informing her that we were come to that city, deſiring to know what time next day we might give her a viſit; ſhe appointed eight in the morning. 1677.

About that time we went to ſee her; ſhe received us (conſidering her quality and courtſhip) far from any appearance of offence at our deportment. We told her our Meſſage and Viſit was to thoſe of that city, that had any inclinations or deſires, hunger or thirſt, after the true and living knowledge of God; for that end we had left our own country, and had wandered up and down in ſeveral parts of Germany. She told us, that ſome there were that ſearched after God; but ſhe feared the name of Quaker would make them ſhy, becauſe they were called Quakers themſelves, by people of the ſame profeſſion, only for being more ſerious and retired in their converſation. 6. 7. 5.

We replied, that it was an honour to the name, that all ſobriety throughout Germany, was called by it; this ought to make the name leſs odious, yea, it will make the way eaſier for thoſe that are truly called ſo, or that are Quakers indeed: It will take off much of the wonder, and, it may be, of the ſeverity of the places, where we come, that the name is gone before us, and hath received a dwelling-place in their towns and cities. In fine, to all ſuch God hath committed to us the Word of Life to preach, and ſuch we ſeek out in all places where the Lord bringeth us: And hitherto we can ſay it, to the praiſe of our God, he hath vindicated our ſervices and teſtimony, by his own bleſſed power, ſhed abroad in their hearts to whom we have been ſent.

So ſhe told us ſhe would ſend for an attorney at law, one that was more than ordinarily eminent; having deſerted the church, and being therefore reproached with the name of Quaker.

In this interval we had cloſe diſcourſe with her; a woman certainly of great wit, high notions, and very ready utterance: So that it was hard for us to obtain a True Silence; a ſtate in which we could reach to her.

But through ſome travail of ſpirit more than ordinary, we had a ſweet time of refreſhment, and the Witneſs was raiſed in her, and we really and plainly beheld a true nobility, yea, that which was ſenſible of our teſtimony, and did receive it.

By this time the perſon ſhe ſent for came, and a bleſſed ſweet time we had: For the power and preſence of the Lord, our Staff and Strength, unto which our eye hath been throughout all our travels, that we might only be acceptable in that, plenteouſly appeared amongſt us (the Lord have the glory of his own work) both confeſſing to the truth of what had been ſaid, and the Attorney to the *living ſenſe* in which the truth had been declared.

We would have returned to our inn to eat, according as we had appointed in the morning, but ſhe laid a kind of violent hands upon us, and neceſſitated us to ſtay and eat with her; which we did. And we had no ſooner ſat down, but her brother-in-law, a man of quality and employment in the court of the Elector of Brandenburgh, came in, who dined with us.

As we ſat at meat, we had a good meeting; for the time was much taken up about the things of God, either in anſwering their queſtions, or miniſtring to them about the true chriſtian nature and life; in all which her brother behaved himſelf with great ſweetneſs and reſpect.

After dinner we took our chriſtian leave of them in the fear of God, recommending unto them the Light of Chriſt Jeſus, that brings all that receive it into the one ſpirit, to live in holy peace and concord together; particularly and alone ſpeaking to the Lady and the Attorney what was upon us as to their ſtates.

And ſo we departed, and ſoon after took waggon for Nimmeguen; where arriving about the ſeventh hour that night, we immediately took waggon for Utrecht, and got thither about the tenth hour next morning. We heard there was a people in that city, but had not now time to viſit them, referring it to another opportunity. Nimmeguen. Utrecht. 7. 7. 6.

About the firſt hour in the afternoon, G. K. and B. F. took waggon for Rotterdam, and I took waggon for Amſterdam, where I came ſafely that night, about ſix in the evening; and I found Friends generally well, though it was a ſickly time in that country. The meeting-houſe was much enlarged, and there was a freſh enquiry among many people after the Truth, and great deſires to hear the teſtimony and declaration of it. I alſo underſtood that dear G. F. was returned from Frederickſtadt and Hamburgh into Urieſlandt, whither T. R. and J. Y. were gone from this city to meet with him. He had an hard time of travail with reſpect to the weather, yet I heard was in good health, through the Lord's power that had kept him. Amſterdam.

Here I received a letter from the Princeſs Elizabeth, in anſwer to mine of the 25th of the ſixth month, from Manheim, alias Frederickſburgh.

The $\frac{4}{14}$ of *September*, 1677.

Dear Friend,

I Have received your greetings, good wiſhes and exhortations, with much joy, and ſhall follow the latter as far as it will pleaſe our great God to give me light and ſtrength. I can ſay little for myſelf, and can do nothing of myſelf, but I hope the

1677. Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end; and ſhall not ſhrink for his fire; I do long for it; and when he aſſures my ways, I hope he will give me power to bear the Croſs I meet therein. I am alſo glad to hear the journey hath been proſperous both in the conſtitutions of your bodies, to withſtand the badneſs of the weather, and in the reception you had in Caſſel, Franckfort, and Criſheim: Nothing ſurprized me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect ſo much ingenuity, having lately writ a book, intituled, "Le Veritable Chretien," that doth ſpeak another way. I wiſh to know what reception you have had at Fredericksburgh; and if this find you at Cleve, I wiſh you might take an occaſion to ſee the two Paſtors of Mulheim, which do really ſeek the Lord, but have ſome prejudice againſt your doctrine, as alſo the Counteſs there. It would be of much uſe for my family to have them diſabuſed; yet God's will be done in that, and all things elſe, concerning

Your loving friend in the Lord Jeſus,

ELIZABETH.

Let both your friends and companions receive my hearty commendations here.

8. 7. 7. This day at night (being the ſeventh day of the week) came John Hill from Urieſlandt to the houſe of G. D. in Amſterdam.

9. 7. 1. The next day (being the firſt day of the week) we had a bleſſed and large meeting, larger than ordinary, becauſe of a great addition of room ſince our journey into Germany. Indeed there was a great appearance of ſober profeſſing people, yea, ſeveral of the chief of the Baptiſts, as Galenus and companions: The Lord's heavenly power was over all, and the meeting bleſſedly ended about the fourth hour.

That night, after ſupper, having taken my leave in a ſweet little meeting among
Horn. Friends, I took boat for Horn (P. Hendrick accompanying me) about the ſeventh
10. 7. 2. hour at night, and got thither about two in the morning; where lying down till about
Enckhuyſen. ſix, we took waggon for Enckhuyſen. We came thither a little after eight in the morn-
Workum. ing; where having refreſhed ourſelves, about the ninth hour we took ſhip for Workum
Harlingen. in Urieſlandt, and arriving about one, immediately took waggon for Harlingen, where
we arrived about ſix; there we met with dear G. F. J. T. J. Y. T. R. J. C. and
his wife.

11. 7. 3. The next day we had two bleſſed meetings; one amongſt Friends, being the firſt monthly meeting that was ſettled for Urieſlandt, Groningen and Embden; the other a publick meeting, where reſorted both Baptiſts, Collegians and others; And among the reſt, a Doctor of Phyſick and a Preſbyterian Miniſter: All ſat with great attention and ſobriety, but the Miniſter and Doctor more eſpecially. The firſt, having a lecture ſermon to preach that evening, went away; but, notwithſtanding, ſpeedily returned, G. F. ſtill ſpeaking: but, as a man in pain to be gone, yet willing to ſtay, ſat at the door till G. F. had done; and then ſtood up, and pulling off his hat, looking up to Heaven, in a ſolemn manner, and with a loud voice, ſpake to this purpoſe: "The All-mighty, the All-wiſe, the Omnipotent Great God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, who is bleſſed for ever and ever, confirm his word that hath been ſpoken this day:" Apologizing, that he could not longer ſtay, for that he was a miniſter of the reformed religion, and was juſt now going to preach, where all that would come ſhould be welcome; and ſo left the meeting.

The Phyſician alſo was called away, but returned, and ſtayed till the meeting was ended. Juſt as the meeting ended came the Miniſter again, who ſaid, in the hearing of ſome friends, 'That he had made his ſermon much ſhorter than ordinary, that he might enjoy the reſt of the meeting.' At night came the Phyſician to ſee me; who, after a ſerious and chriſtian diſcourſe, expreſſing great ſatisfaction in moſt things relating to Friends, left me; withal telling me, 'That if I had not been to go the fourth hour next morning, he would either have ſtayed longer with me, or come again.'

He alſo remembered the Parſon's love to us, and told me, 'That if it had not been for fear of giving offence, or coming too much under the obſervation of the people, he would have come to have ſeen us:' Adding, 'That it was a great pity that this people had not printed their principles to the world:' To which the Doctor anſwered, 'That he had ſome of our books, and he would lend him them.' Bleſſed be the Lord, his glorious work goeth on, and his power is over all. It being now the tenth hour at night, I took my leave of G. F. and friends.

This day it came upon me to write a letter to Joanna Eleonora Malane, the noble young woman at Franckfort.

Dear Friend, J. E. M.

MY dear and tender love, which God hath raiſed in my heart by his living Word to all mankind, but more eſpecially unto thoſe in whom he hath begotten an holy hunger and thirſt after him, ſaluteth thee: And amongſt thoſe of that place where thou liveſt, the remembrance of thee, with thy companions, is moſt particularly and eminently at this time brought before me. And the ſenſe of your open-heartedneſs, ſimplicity and ſincere love to the teſtimony of Jeſus, that by us was delivered unto you, hath deeply engaged my heart towards you, and often raiſed in my ſoul heavenly breathings to the God of my life, that he would keep you in the daily ſenſe of that Divine Life, which then affected you. For this know, it was the Life in *yourſelves*, that ſo ſweetly viſited you by the miniſtry of Life through *us*.

Wherefore, love the Divine Life and Light in yourſelves: Be retired and ſtill; let that holy Seed move in all heavenly things before you move: For no one receiveth any thing (that truly profiteth) but what he receiveth from *above*. Thus ſaid John to his diſciples. Now that which ſtirreth in your hearts, draweth you out of the world, ſlayeth you to all the vain-glory, and pleaſure, and empty worſhips that are in it; this is from *above*, the heavenly Seed of God, pure and incorruptible, that is come down from heaven to make you heavenly; that in heavenly places you may dwell, and witneſs, with the ſaints of old, this heavenly treaſure in earthen veſſels.

O ſtay your minds upon the appearance of Jeſus in you, in whoſe Light you ſhall ſee light! It will make you of a weighty conſidering ſpirit more and more; that you may ſee how the myſtery of iniquity hath wrought, and how mankind is corrupted in all things, and what part you yet have, that belongeth not to the paradiſe of God, that you may lay it all down at the feet of Jeſus, and follow him, who is going up and down, doing good to all that believe in his name. So poſſeſs your ſouls in the ſenſible feeling of his daily viſits, ſhinings and breathings upon your ſpirits; and wait diligently, and watch circumſpectly, leſt the enemy ſurprize you, or your Lord come at unawares upon you, and you be unprepared to receive his ſweet and precious viſitations. That ſo thoſe holy beginnings, which thou art a witneſs of, with thy companions, may not be loſt, or as if they had never been; but that you may, from day to day, feel the growth of his Light, Life, Power and Kingdom in your ſouls, that you may be able to ſay, "The kingdom "of God is come, yea, it is given to the ſaints."

And what I ſay unto one, I ſay unto all that received our teſtimony in that city; to whom thou mayeſt give, if thou pleaſeſt, the remembrance of my dear love, who travail in the Spirit for their redemption, that they may be brought into the glorious liberty of the ſons of God. Particularly ſalute me to the young woman, that met with us at thy lodging. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Prince of Peace, dwell amongſt you, keep your hearts ſtedfaſt in his holy Light, without wavering, all the days of your appointed time, until your great and laſt change ſhall come; when he will receive his own ſheep into his own everlaſting kingdom, from the power of the foxes and the wolves, and all the devouring beaſts and birds of prey; when he will wipe away all tears from their eyes, and ſighing and ſorrowing ſhall be no more; and when it ſhall be ſaid, "There is no more "death, no more night, no more time."

So dear J. E. M. know, that the Lord hath brought us well to Amſterdam, not without good ſervice by the way: For at Cullen we had a precious meeting, and were received with much gladneſs of heart. We alſo went to Duyſburg, and from thence towards Mulheim, being the firſt day of the week, hoping to get an opportunity with the Counteſs of Bruch, and to deliver thy letter: But her father (who is a cruel and ſevere man) meeting us near his caſtle, ſtopped us; and after ſome little time, finding what we were, ſaid, 'There wanted no Quakers there;' and ſent us with ſome of his ſoldiers out of his territory. It was about ſun-ſet, ſo that we were forced to return towards Duyſburg; but the gates of the city being ſhut, and there being no houſes without it, we were forced to lie in the fields all night, where the Lord made us a good and comfortable bed. We told the Graef at parting, 'We were men that feared the Almighty God; we deſired the good of 'all men; and that we came not hither for any evil deſign:' But he would not hear; the Lord, if he pleaſeth, forgive him. Nevertheleſs we had a good meeting at Duyſburg, where we had our hearts deſire, the bleſſed Power and Life of God making its own way in the hearts of thoſe that heard our teſtimony. I alſo writ a large and tender letter to the Counteſs, and received a ſweet and loving meſſage from her; and I have great hopes that all things will work together for the beſt.

From Duyſburg we went to Weſel, where we enquired out who was worthy, and there we found four or five ſeparated from all congregations, "waiting for the Conſolation of "Iſrael," with whom we had two precious meetings: And leaving the peace of Jeſus with them, went to Emrick, where we viſited the Chief Baptiſt-Teacher, who confeſſed to our teſtimony, and received us lovingly. We directed him to that gift of God in himſelf, that pure and eternal Word in the heart, that he might know the pure miniſtry of that, from the miniſtry of man's ſpirit, which cannot profit or give life to the ſoul.

From thence we went to Cleve, where at a lady's houſe, belonging to the Court, we had a precious meeting: And we found ſome that had deſerted the publick miniſtry, as not being anointed of God to preach, neither knowing, by true experience, the way and travail of the new birth, but made and maintained by men: We ſounded the joyful Goſpel

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This laſt Firſt-day I had a great and bleſſed meeting at Amſterdam, almoſt of every quality and religion; the Lord's heavenly power (that is quickening people into a living ſenſe of him, that they may ſay, "the Lord liveth, and he liveth in me") reigned that day over all.

In the evening I took boat for Horn, and from thence came laſt night (being the ſecond day of the week) to this city of Harlingen, where we met with ſome of our brethren, that had been up at Hamburgh and Frederickſtadt; and this day we are to have two meetings here, the one among our friends, the other publick for the town. It is upon me to viſit J. de Labadie's People, that they may know HIM in themſelves, in whom their ſalvation ſtandeth: For theſe ſimple people are to be pitied. From thence I think to viſit Leeuwaerden, Groningen, Embden, Bremen, Herwerden, Weſel, Emrick, Cleve, Utrecht, and ſo to return to Amſterdam, the Lord enabling me by his power.

This ariſeth in my heart to thee; 'Give not thy bread to dogs; ſpend not thy portion; feed not the Serpent, neither hearken to him: Abide with Jeſus, and he will abide with thee, that thou mayeſt grow in wiſdom and in righteouſneſs, through the croſs, that crucifieth thee to the world, and the world to thee.' So in the love which overcometh the world, that is divine, and from above, and leadeth all thither that receive it into their hearts, I take my leave of thee, with thy companions, and all the reſt of that city known to us, remaining

Harlingen, 11th of the
7th month, 1677.

Thy faithful friend, and the Lord's day-labourer,
W. P.

12. 7. 4. Next morning, about the fourth hour, I took boat for Leeuwaerden; J. Claus, who had been at Frederickſtadt with G. F. went with me. G. F. J. Y. and T. R. with P. H. returned that day towards Amſterdam.

eeuwaerden. At Leeuwaerden we came about nine, and began the meeting about ten; which we enjoyed with peace and refreſhment, ſeveral being there (as in other places) that were never at a meeting before.

Wiewart. The meeting being done, and having refreſhed ourſelves with food, we took waggon for Wiewart, the manſion-houſe of the family of the Somerdykes, where J. de Labadie's company reſideth, it being ſtrong upon my ſpirit to give them a viſit. We got thither about five; and as we were walking over a field to the houſe, we met a young man of that company, who conducted us in. I aſked for Ivon the paſtor, and Anna Maria Schurmans. Ivon preſently came with his co-paſtor; they received us very civilly: However, they ſeemed ſhy of letting me ſpeak with A. M S. objecting her weakneſs, age, taking phyſick, &c. But putting them in mind how unhandſomely I was uſed at Herwerden ſix years ago, by J. de Labadie, their father, who, though I came a great journey to viſit him and his people, ſuffered me not to ſpeak with them; they preſently complied, and went in to let her know that ſuch a perſon deſired to ſpeak with her, and quickly returned, deſiring me to come in. But foreſeeing my time would be too ſhort for my meſſage, the ſun being near ſetting, and having two Engliſh miles of unknown way to our lodging, on foot, I deſired them, that they would give me an opportunity the next morning, which they readily complied with. So I took my leave of them, who in a friendly manner brought us a little on our way. That night a great weight was upon my ſpirit, and eſpecially the next morning; yet my faith was in the Power of God, and I had a plain ſight that I ſhould have a good ſervice among them; however, I ſhould clear my conſcience, and my peace ſhould reſt with me.

13. 7. 1. The next morning I returned to them, and J. C. along with me. So ſoon as we came, we were brought into A. M. S's. chamber; where alſo was with her one of the Three Somerdykes.

This A. M. S. aforeſaid, is an ancient maid, above ſixty years of age, of great note and fame for learning, in languages and philoſophy, and hath obtained a conſiderable place among the moſt learned men of this age. The Somerdykes are daughters to a nobleman of the Hague, people of great breeding and inheritances. Theſe, with ſeveral other perſons, being affected with the zealous declamation of J. de Labadie, againſt the dead and formal churches of the world, and awakened to ſeek after a more ſpiritual fellowſhip and ſociety, ſeparated themſelves from the common Calviniſt Churches, and followed him in the way of a refined Independency.

They are a ſerious, plain people, and are come nearer to Friends, as in Silence in Meetings, Women-Speaking, Preaching by the Spirit, Plainneſs in Garb and Furniture in their Houſes. With theſe two we had the company of the Two Paſtors, and a Doctor of Phyſick. After ſome ſilence, I propoſed this queſtion to them: 'What was it that induced them to ſeparate from the common way they formerly lived in? I deſired them that they would be pleaſed to be plain and open with me, as to the ground of their ſeparation; for I came not to cavil, but in a Chriſtian ſpirit to be informed.

Upon this, Ivon, the chief paſtor, gave us the hiſtory of J. de Labadie's education; how he was bred among the Jeſuits, and deſerted them, and embraced the Proteſtant Religion; and finally, of his great diſſatisfaction with the Proteſtant Churches of France, and that if God would not give them a purer church, they Three would ſit down by themſelves, reſolving never more to mix themſelves among the Babyloniſh aſſemblies of the world. Adding ſeveral ſolemn appeals concerning the ſimplicity and integrity of their hearts in theſe things.

Ivon having done, A. M. S. began in this manner: ‘I find myſelf conſtrained to add a ſhort teſtimony. She told us of her former life, of her pleaſure in learning, and her love to the religion ſhe was brought up in; but confeſſed ſhe knew not God or Chriſt truly all that while. And though from a child God had viſited her at times, yet ſhe never felt ſuch a powerful ſtroke, as by the miniſtry of J. de Labadie. She ſaw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death: She reſolved to deſpiſe the ſhame, deſert her former way of living and acquaintance, and to join herſelf with this little family, that was retired out of the world, among whom ſhe deſired to be found a living ſacrifice, offered up entirely to the Lord.’ She ſpoke in a very ſerious and broken ſenſe, not without *ſome trembling*. Theſe are but ſhort hints of what ſhe ſaid.

After ſhe had done, one of the Somerdykes began, in a very reverent and weighty frame of mind, and in a ſenſe that very well ſuited her contempt of the world: She told us how often ſhe had mourned from her young years, becauſe ſhe did not know the Lord as ſhe deſired; often ſaying within herſelf, ‘If God would make known to me his way, I would trample upon all the pride and glory of the world.’ She earneſtly expreſſed the frequent anguiſh of ſpirit ſhe had, becauſe of the deadneſs and formality of the Chriſtians ſhe was bred among, ſaying to herſelf, ‘O the pride, O the luſts, O the vain pleaſures in which Chriſtians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is this the way to glory? Are theſe followers of Chriſt? O No! O God, where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family that will live intirely to thee, that will follow thee? Make me one of that number. And when the ſervant of the Lord, J. de Labadie came into Holland, I, among others, had a curioſity to hear him; and among ſeveral others was deeply affected by him. He ſpoke the very thoughts of my heart: Methought my heart was pricked when I heard him; and I reſolved, by the Grace of God, to abandon all the glory and pride of this world, to be one of thoſe that ſhould ſit down with him in a Separation from the vain and dead worſhips of this world. I count myſelf happy that I ever met with him, and theſe paſtors, who ſeek not themſelves, but the Lord: And we are a family that live together in love; of one ſoul and one ſpirit, intirely given up to ſerve the Lord; and this is the greateſt joy in the World.’

After, Du Lignon, the other paſtor, gave us alſo an account of his inducement to embrace J. de Labadie, but not ſo livelily.

After him the Doctor of Phyſick, that had been bred for a prieſt, but voluntarily refuſed that calling, expreſſed himſelf after this manner: ‘I can alſo bear my teſtimony, in the preſence of God, that though I lived in as much reputation at the Univerſity, as any of my collegues or companions, and was well reputed for ſobriety and honeſty, yet I never felt ſuch a living ſenſe of God, as when I heard the ſervant of the Lord J. de Labadie:’ Adding, ‘The firſt day I heard him, I was ſo ſtruck and affected, that I can truly ſay, through the good Grace of God, and the conduct of the Holy Spirit, it was to me as the Day of my Salvation; he did ſo livingly touch my heart with a ſenſe of the True Chriſtian Worſhip: Upon which I forſook the univerſity, and reſolved to be one of this family; and this I can ſay in the fear of the Lord.’

P. Ivon concluded, ‘This is what we have to ſay concerning the work of God amongſt us.’

All this while I minded not ſo much their words, as I felt and had unity with a meaſure of Divine Senſe that was upon them. Certainly the Lord hath been amongſt them; yea, I had a living ſenſe in my heart that ſomewhat of the Breath of Life had breathed upon them; and though they were in great mixtures, yet that God's love was towards them.

After ſome ſilence, I began on this wiſe:

I come not to judge you, but to viſit you; not to quarrel or diſpute, but to ſpeak of the things of God's kingdom; and I have no prejudice, but great love and regard in my heart towards you: Wherefore hear me with Chriſtian patience and tenderneſs.

I do confeſs and believe that God hath touched your hearts with his divine finger, and that his work is amongſt you: That it was His Spirit that gave you a ſight of the vanity and folly of this world, and that hath made you ſenſible of the dead religions that are in it. It is this Senſe I love and honour; and I am ſo far from undervaluing or oppoſing this tender ſenſe I feel upon you, that this it is I am come to viſit, and you for the love of it. And as for the reproaches that may attend you on the ſcore of your ſeparation, with all the reports that therefore go concerning you, they are what I reſpect you

1677. for, being well acquainted with the nature and practice of this world towards thoſe that retire out of it.

Now ſince I have with patience, and I can truly ſay with great ſatisfaction, heard your account of your experiences, give me the like Chriſtian freedom to tell you mine, to the end you may have ſome ſenſe of the work of God in *me:* For thoſe who are come to any meaſure of a divine ſenſe, they are as looking-glaſſes to each other, as face anſwereth face in a glaſs.

Here I began to let them know how, and when, the Lord firſt appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656. How at times, betwixt that and the fifteenth, the Lord viſited me, and the divine impreſſions he gave me of himſelf: Of my perſecution at Oxford, and how the Lord ſuſtained me in the midſt of that helliſh darkneſs and debauchery: Of my being baniſhed the college; the bitter uſage I underwent when I returned to my father; whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662. Of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the Great Plague in London. In fine, the deep ſenſe he gave me of the vanity of this world; of the *Irreligiouſneſs* of the religions of it. Then of my mournful and bitter cries to him, that he would ſhow me his own way of life and ſalvation, and my reſolutions to follow him, whatever reproaches or ſufferings ſhould attend me, and that with great reverence and brokenneſs of ſpirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world *overtook* me, and I was even ready to give up myſelf unto it, ſeeing as yet no ſuch thing as the 'Primitive Spirit and Church on the Earth;' and being ready to faint concerning my 'Hope of the Reſtitution of all things.'

It was at this time that the Lord viſited me with a certain ſound and teſtimony of his eternal Word, through one of thoſe the world calls *Quakers*, namely THOMAS LOE. I related to them the bitter Mockings and Scornings that fell upon me, the Diſpleaſure of my Parents, the Invectiveneſs and Cruelty of the Prieſts, the Strangeneſs of all my Companions: What a ſign and wonder they made of me; but, above all, that great Croſs of Reſiſting and Watching againſt mine own inward vain Affections and Thoughts.

Here I had a fine opportunity to ſpeak of the Myſtery of Iniquity and Ungodlineſs in the Root and Ground, and to give them an account of the Power and Preſence of God which attended us in our publick teſtimonies and ſufferings; after an indirect manner cenſuring their weakneſſes, by declaring and commending the contrary practices among Friends, too large to be here related. And notwithſtanding all my ſufferings and trials by magiſtrates, parents, companions, and, above all, from the Prieſts of the falſe religions in the world, the Lord hath preſerved me to this day, and hath given me an Hundredfold in this world, as well as the aſſurance of Life Everlaſting: Informing them of the tenderneſs of my father to me, before, and at, his death; and how, through patience and long-ſuffering, all oppoſition was conquered. Then I began my exhortation unto them, which was on this wiſe.

That ſince God had given me and them a divine ſenſe of him, our eye ſhould be to him, not to man; that we might come more into a ſilence of ourſelves, and a growth into that heavenly ſenſe. That this was the work of the True Miniſtry, not to keep people to *themſelves*, ever teaching them, but to turn them to GOD, the New-Covenant Teacher, and to CHRIST the Great Goſpel-Miniſter. Thus John did, and thought it no diſhonour that they left *him* to go to *Chriſt*." "Behold the Lamb of God," ſaid he, "that taketh away the ſin of the world!" And even John's diſciples left him to follow Chriſt. Nay, John teſtifies of himſelf, "That *he* was to "*decreaſe*," and Chriſt was to *increaſe*. Wherefore I preſſed them to have their eye to CHRIST that taketh away the ſin; that is from Heaven, heavenly; to ſee that He increaſe in them. Yea, "that henceforth they ſhould "know no man after the *fleſh*; no, not Chriſt himſelf." That their knowledge of, and regard and fellowſhip with, one another, ſhould ſtand in the revelation of the Son of God in them; who is God's Great Prophet, by whom God ſpeaketh in theſe latter days. And if their miniſters be true miniſters, they will count it their glory to give way to Chriſt, and that they decreaſe, and Chriſt increaſe; that the inſtrument giveth way to him that uſeth it, the ſervant to the Lord. Which, though it ſeemeth to detract from the miniſters, yet it was, and is, the glory of a true miniſter, that God and Chriſt ſhould be *all in all*, and that his will ſhould be fulfilled. For I told them, "The day of the Lord God was come," and all people muſt look to him for ſalvation: That all people muſt now come to keep God's great *ſabbath*, to reſt from *mere man*, and the ſpirit of man, and all mens thoughts, words and works; and that if they were true believers, they were, at leaſt, "*entering* into their reſt."

I cloſely recommended it to them, that they might not be of thoſe that begin in the Spirit, and end in the Fleſh; for that thoſe that ſhould do ſo, and thereby break God's Sabbath-day, would be ſtoned to death, by the "Stone which is cut out of the mountain without hands;" yea, That ſhould fall upon them as a mill-ſtone, and grind them to powder. Therefore let CHRIST have his honour; let *him* preach and ſpeak *among* you, and *in you*, and you in *him*; and by *him only* ſigh, groan, pray, preach, ſing, and not otherwiſe, leſt death come over you: For thereby the apoſtacy came in, by their going before *Chriſt*, inſtead of Chriſt going before *them*. 1677.

And wait in the Light and Spirit of Judgment that hath viſited you, that all may be wrought out that is not born of God; ſo will you come to be born of the Incorruptible Seed, of the Word of God that liveth and abideth for ever: That you may be an Holy Prieſthood, that offers up a Living Sacrifice with God's Heavenly Fire, that God may have his honour in you all, and through all, by Jeſus Chriſt. And turning myſelf towards the Somerdykes, with a ſerious and tender ſpirit, I thus expreſſed myſelf: 'That 'you ſhould be pilgrims in the inheritance of your Father, I have a deep and reverent 'ſenſe of: O that you might dwell with him for ever, and exalt him that hath ſo viſited 'you, with whom are the rewards of eternal bleſſedneſs.'

So I left the bleſſing and peace of Jeſus among them, departing in the love and peace of God: And I muſt needs ſay they were, beyond expectation, tender and reſpectful to us: All of them coming with us, except the ancient A. M. S. (who is not able to walk) to the outward door; giving us their hands in a friendly manner, expreſſing their great ſatisfaction in our viſit. And being come to the porch, and meeting ſeveral perſons of the family, I was moved to turn about and exhort them, in the preſence of the reſt, to keep to *Chriſt*, that had given them a ſenſe of the ſpirit of this world, and had raiſed deſires in them to be delivered from it! And to know no man after the fleſh, but to have their fellowſhip in *Chriſt*, union and communion with *God*, and one with another; that all their worſhip and performances might ſtand in *him*, that *he* might be *all in all:* Deſiring that the Lord might keep them in his fear all the days of their appointed time, that ſo they might ſerve him in their generation, in his own Univerſal Spirit, to his glory, who is bleſſed for ever.

The Lord comforted my ſoul in this ſervice: Yea, all that is within me magnified his holy name, becauſe of his bleſſed preſence that was with us! O let my ſoul truſt in the Lord, and confide in him for ever! O let me dwell and abide with him that is faithful and true, and bleſſed for evermore!

The Two Paſtors and the Doctor came with us a field's length, where we took waggon; and the chief of them took occaſion to aſk me, 'If the Truth roſe not firſt 'amongſt a *poor*, *illiterate*, and *ſimple* ſort of people?' I told him, Yes; that was our comfort, and that we owed it not to the learning of this world: 'Then, ſaid he, 'Let 'not the learning of this world be uſed to defend that which the Spirit of God hath 'brought forth; for ſcholars now coming among you, will be apt to mix ſchool-learning amongſt your ſimpler and purer language, and thereby obſcure the brightneſs of 'the teſtimony.' I told him, it was good for us all to have a care of our own ſpirits, words and works; confeſſing what he ſaid had weight in it; telling him, it was our care to write and ſpeak according to the divine ſenſe, and not human invention.

So in a very ſober and ſerious manner we parted, being about the twelfth hour at noon.

This night about ten we got to Lippenhuſen, where there is a little meeting of Friends, being about 25 Engliſh miles. Lippenhuſen.

The next morning we had a bleſſed meeting among Friends; many of the world came in, were very ſerious and well affected; one whereof was a Magiſtrate of the place. The Lord pleads his own cauſe, and crowns his own teſtimony with his own power. There is like to be a fine gathering in that place. 14. 7. 6.

After dinner we took waggon for the city of Groningen, where we arrived at eight at night, being about 25 Engliſh miles. Groningen.

The next morning we had a meeting among Friends of that city, whither reſorted both Collegian and Calviniſt Students, who behaved themſelves ſoberly: The Lord's power was over all, and his teſtimony ſtands. When meeting was ended, they went out; and as I was concluding an exhortation to Friends, came in a flock of Students to have had ſome conference with us: But having ſet the time of our leaving the city, we recommended them to the univerſal love of God, promiſing them ſome books of our principles, with which they expreſſed themſelves ſatisfied, and civilly parted from us. 15. 7. 7.

After dinner we took boat for Delfzyl, and came thither about ſix at night. The next morning about ſeven, we took boat for Embden, which is about three leagues. On board of that veſſel it came upon me to write a letter to Friends in England, concerning the preſent Separatiſts, and their Spirit of Separation, which had ſeveral times been opened unto me, and had remained ſome days upon my ſpirit. The letter followeth. Delfzyl. 16. 7. 1.

To Friends every-where, concerning the preſent Separatiſts, and their Spirit of Separation.

Friends and Brethren,

BY a mighty Hand, and by an outſtretched Arm, hath the Lord God Everlaſting gathered us to be a people, and in his own Power and Life hath he preſerved us a people unto this day: And praiſes be to his eternal name, no weapon that hath yet been formed againſt us, either from without, or from within, hath proſpered.

Now

1677. Now this I ſay unto you, and that in his counſel that hath viſited us; Whoever go out of the unity with their brethren, are firſt gone out of unity with the Power and Life of God in themſelves, in which the unity of the brethren ſtandeth; and the leaſt member of the body in the unity ſtandeth on the top of them, and hath a judgment againſt them; unto which judgment, of both great and ſmall amongſt the living family that in the unity are preſerved, they muſt bow, before they can come into the unity again: Yea, this they will readily do, if they are come into unity with the Life and Power of God in themſelves; which is the Holy Root that beareth the tree, the fruit, and the leaves; all receiving life and virtue from it, and thereby are nouriſhed unto God's praiſe.

And let all have a care how they weaken that, or bring that under the exaltation and high imagination of thoſe that it is revealed againſt. For I feel that unruly ſpirit is tormented under the ſtroke and judgment of the Power, and in its ſubtilty is ſeeking occaſion againſt the inſtruments, by whom the Power gave it forth. Let all have a care how they touch with this ſpirit in thoſe workings; for by being one with this ſpirit in judging thoſe that have been faithful, according to the gift of wiſdom they have received from God, they will feed it and fortify it, and in the end come to be one with it againſt the Power itſelf, and at laſt run out, and become open enemies and deſpiſers; for whom is reſerved the blackneſs and darkneſs for ever, unleſs they repent.

Wherefore all that labour for the reſtoration of thoſe that are out of the unity with the brethren, let them be ſuch as are of a ſound mind themſelves: Elſe, what will they gather to? Or, what will they gather from? And let them labour in the ſimplicity, integrity, love, and zeal of the Power that firſt gathered us to God. For that which is rightly gotten will endure; but that which is obtained by the contrivance, intereſt and perſuaſions of men, getteth no farther than Man, and is of the Fleſh; and what is of the fleſh, is fleſhly, and ſhall never inherit the kingdom of God.

Therefore let none look out of the Seed for help; for all power is in it, and there the true light and judgment ſtands for ever; and that Seed only hath God ordained to bruiſe the ſerpent's head. They that would ſave it, and thoſe that would bruiſe it by any other thing, are breakers of God's great ordinance, and fly to *Egypt* for ſtrength. For it is *David*, the ſtripling, that ſhall be too hard for *Goliah* the giant; and that not by "Saul's armour", but with "God's living little-ſtone, cut out of the mountain without hands;" without man's invention and contrivance. Oh, this hath wrought all our mighty works in us, and for us, to this day! Wherefore let us be ſtill, and truſt and confide therein for ever. Let none look back, faint or conſult; for if they do, they will darken their pure eye, and loſe their way, and into the eternal reſt of the flocks of the companions will never come.

Brethren; the judgment given forth againſt this ſpirit, and all thoſe that have reſiſted our love and forbearance that are joined to it, muſt *ſtand*; and all that are out of our unity with the judgment, are *judged* by it: Therefore as all would ſtand before the Lord, and his people, let not this ſpirit be reaſoned withal; enter not into propoſals and articles with it, but feed it with judgment, that is God's decree: So may the ſouls that are deceived, come by the right door into the heavenly unity.

My brethren, look forwards, and lift up your eyes, for the fields are even white unto harveſt, up and down the nations. Remember the great name of the Lord, and behold the great work that he is doing before all people; whoſe Saving Health is viſiting the world, and whoſe Eternal Word and Teſtament muſt from among us go forth to gather the nations. "Let *that* that will be unjuſt, be unjuſt ſtill; let the dead bury the dead:" Let us all, who have received the Gift from God, wait in deep humility, to be raiſed up and impowered by him more and more, to eye and proſecute his univerſal ſervice in the world, to whoſe Appearance the kings and kingdoms of the Gentiles ſhall bring their glory: Which noble work had thoſe that are gone into the ſeparation but laid deeply to heart, they would never have ſat at home murmuring, fretting and quarrelling againſt the comely and godly Order and Practice of their Brethren: But Love, Peace and Joy had filled their hearts, and not the "Troubler and Accuſer of the Brethren;" who hath opened an evil eye in them, and begotten them into a diſcontented ſelf-ſeparating mind; and this image they bear, and the pure eye ſees it.

O let none tempt the Lord! let none provoke the eyes of his jealouſy: Let us all dwell in that divine ſenſe that he hath begotten in us; where our love, as a freſh and pure ſtream, will always flow to God and to one another. Here "all his ways are pleaſantneſs, and all his paths are peace;" for where *he* keepeth the houſe, who is Prince of Peace, he will keep all in his heavenly peace. We are but as one Family, and therefore we have but One Lord and Maſter. We are but as One Flock, and we have but One heavenly Shepherd to hear, who goeth before us, and giveth us eternal life to follow him. If any are offended in *him*, or in *his*, it is their own fault: If they faint and grow weary, we are truly ſorry: If, through Unwatchfulneſs, the Enemy hath entered, and begotten coldneſs to the brethren, and careleſsneſs of embracing the opportunities by which the unity is renewed and increaſed; ſo that what is done by the brethren without them, is looked upon firſt with a *ſlight* eye, and then with an *evil* eye, which begets *diſtance,*'and this diſtance, in time, a *Separation*; and Separation continued bringeth forth Enmity, and this Enmity *Death itſelf*; we are in our ſpirits truly grieved for them. However, the judgment of God muſt ſtand againſt them, and that ſpirit that leadeth them, in which they gather not to God, but to themſelves: And woe to them that ſtrengthen their hands, and deſpiſe counſel; they will have much to anſwer for before the Lord. I feel a ſlighting, ſcornful, laughing ſpirit often flying at me with its Venomous Sting; but the Seed of Life is over it, and the Lord God will deſtroy it.

Wherefore, Friends, in all places where this ſpirit hath had entrance, keep ſound judgment upon it, if you will keep your garments clean: And enter not into Diſputes and Conteſts with it; it is that it ſeeketh and loveth: But go on in your teſtimony and buſineſs for the Lord, in the Lord's peaceable Power and Spirit, and his bleſſing and preſence of Life ſhall be with you; and in multiplying he ſhall multiply you; for no good thing will he with-hold from you. We can ſay it of a truth, "God is good to Iſrael, and to all that are of an upright heart." And let us be of good cheer; for it is God's determination, that "the houſe of David ſhould grow ſtronger and ſtronger," and "*His* Branch ſhall increaſe and ſpread, and of *His* government, kingdom and dominion there ſhall be no end."

Your faithful friend and brother, in the ſervice of our dear Lord,

God's bleſſed work increaſeth and proſpereth in theſe lands; magnified be his everlaſting name.

W. P.

From on board the paſſage-boat between Delfzyl and Embden, the 16th of the ſeventh month, 1677.

We arrived at Embden about the 11th hour: This is the city where Friends have Embden. been ſo bitterly and barbarouſly uſed, the like hath ſcarcely been known in any place where Truth hath broke forth in our day; they having here been baniſhed ſome 30, and ſome 40 times and above. The firſt family that received Truth in this city, was Doctor John William Haeſbert, a phyſician, and his wife; at whoſe houſe alſo the firſt meeting was ſet up among Friends to wait upon the Lord, by way of publick teſtimony. They are now both dead, but the memory of their fidelity is as precious ointment among the righteous.

They were with me at a meeting ſix years ago, in this city; and I remember the power of the Lord had that operation upon them, that I ſaid to B. F. and T. R. then with me, 'It will not be long before they will publickly own and bear teſtimony in this place:' And about three months after, he came forth, and ſhe about a year after him. And from their fidelity and integrity, notwithſtanding all the ſore and bitter tempeſt of perſecution, a fine meeting ſprang; but at this day they are ſcattered, being ſtill ſent away as faſt as they return.

We viſited his mother's family, where we found three of his ſiſters in the love of Truth; his fourth ſiſter being alſo a Friend, and is wife of J. C. living at Amſterdam. We had a little ſweet comfortable meeting with them. After it, I returned to my lodging; and as I was writing to Doctor Andrews, Preſident of the Council of State, (who is reported to have been the author of this cruelty to our Friends) a burden came upon me; my writing would not ſerve turn; I muſt go myſelf, in the fear and name of the Lord, to plead the innocent and ſuffering cauſe of our Friends with him.

So away we went to his houſe: He was at firſt aſtoniſhed to ſee what manner of men we were; but after a little time he comported himſelf with more kindneſs than we expected at his hand. I aſked him, 'If he and the Senate had not received a letter in Latin from an Engliſhman about two years ſince, concerning their ſeverity towards the people called Quakers?' He told me, he had. I replied, 'I was the man, and I was conſtrained in conſcience to viſit him on their behalf; and I could not ſee how he, being a Common-wealth's man, and a Proteſtant, could perſecute.'

I pleaded the Unnaturalneſs, the Unchriſtianity, and Imprudence of ſuch proceedings, and preſſed our reaſons earneſtly, but tenderly upon him. He aſſaulted us with ſeveral objections; but, bleſſed be the Lord, they were moſtly fictitious, and therefore eaſily removed and anſwered. He alſo promiſed me, that if I would write to the Senate a remonſtrance of the caſe of our Friends, and expreſs my requeſt to them, and incloſe it to him, he would both preſent it, and get it to be read, and make it appear that he was not ſo much our enemy as we looked upon him to be. I promiſed to ſend him ſome books containing a defence of our principles, which were accordingly put into the hands of Elizabeth Haeſbert, to deliver him in my name.

Having taken our leave of the old woman and her daughters, and a man-friend reſiding in that city, and left the bleſſing and peace of our God amongſt them, we took Lier. ſhip for Lier, where we arrived the next morning. 17. 7. 2. Thence we took waggon for Bremen, Bremen. where we came ſafe, through the Lord's goodneſs, the next day; 18. 7. 3. where we met

1677. our friends and companions, G. K. and B. F. who were come thither ſome hours before us from Amſterdam. In this city there is a work of the Lord begun, though yet obſcurely: We had a travail upon our ſpirits, that the bleſſed and precious Truth of our dear Lord and Maſter might find a place to reſt its foot upon.

17. 7. 4. To that purpoſe we wrote to Two Miniſters, under ſome ſuffering from their brethren, becauſe of their great zeal againſt the formality and deadneſs of the, ſo called, Reformed Churches. This we ſent by a merchant, whom we formerly met at Herwerden. With ſome difficulty we got to them, but the perſon chiefly ſtruck at was ſhy to ſpeak with us: His reaſon was this: ‘It was known that we were in town; and it was one of the accuſations againſt him, that he was a fosterer of all the ſtrange religions that came through the town. Alſo he was then actually under proceſs; and that the people that had heard of the innocency of his cauſe, conceived a prejudice againſt our name, though it might be without cauſe: Therefore he could not at preſent confer with us, and ſaid, he was ſorry for it with all his heart; but what we ſhould ſay to his brother, ſhould be the ſame as if it had been ſaid to him; to whom he referred us.’

However, I took hold of his arm, and ſaid, I have this meſſage to deliver to thee, that I may diſburden myſelf before the Lord; which was this: ‘Mind that which hath touched thy heart; let that guide thee; and do not thou order *that*: Conſult not with Fleſh and Blood how to maintain that Cauſe, which Fleſh and Blood in thy Enemies perſecuteth thee *for*.’ He anſwered, ‘Rather than I will betray that cauſe, or deſert Chriſt, by God's ſtrength, they ſhall pull my fleſh off my bones.’ So he left us in his houſe; and truly we had a good time with his companion, the other miniſter, about three hours, teſtifying unto him, That the day was come, and coming, in which the Lord would gather out of all ſects (that ſtand in the Oldneſs of the Letter) into his own Holy Spirit, Life and Power; and that in This the unity of faith and bond of peace ſhould ſtand. And therefore that he, and all of them, ſhould have an eye to the Principle of God in themſelves; that being turned *to* it, they might ſpeak *from* it; and that therein they would glorify God, and be edified.' So we parted, leaving the man in a ſenſible and ſavoury frame. We viſited the merchant twice, and had a very good time with him: The man is of a loving and ſenſible ſpirit, and the love of God opened our hearts to him.

We alſo viſited Doctor Johan Sophrony Cozack, an odd Compoſitum of a man. He has had great and ſtrange openings; he hath writ ſeveral ſcores of tracts; he is a great enemy to the prieſts, and in ſociety with none: Of a merry, yet of a rough diſpoſition, without any method or decency in his clothes, food, furniture and entertainment. He wants but three of fourſcore, yet of a wonderful vigour and pregnancy.

We were twice with him, and we have reaſon to think he was as loving to us as to any body. And truly he did ſhow at parting ſome ſerious and hearty kindneſs: But we could faſten little upon him as to God's power, or any inward ſenſe of us or our teſtimony: Yet we had little to object againſt what he ſaid; nay, ſome things were very extraordinary.

From him we went to Doctor Bellingham, an Engliſh phyſician, a man of a lowly and tender ſpirit, who received us in much love, lamenting, when we left him, that he had no more time with us.

At the inn we had frequent opportunity to declare the way of Truth, and we muſt needs ſay, we were heard with patience and ſobriety; particularly by a doctor of law, who lodged at the houſe, and an ancient man of Kiel in Holſtein. We left books amongſt them all, and in the love and fear of God we took our leave of them on the fifth day after dinner, and began our journey towards Herwerden, the court of the Princeſs, where we arrived on the ſeventh day in the morning, every way well, through the mercies of the Lord. We ſent to inform her of our arrival, and to know what hour it would be convenient for us to viſit her; who returned us this anſwer, ‘That being then employed in the buſineſs of her government, it would be the ſecond hour in the afternoon before ſhe could be at leiſure.’ Herwerden. 22. 7. 7.

The time being come, we went to viſit her, and found both her and the Counteſs ready to receive us; which they did with much love and tenderneſs. I obſerved them to be much lower in their ſpirits than ever, and that our former bleſſed opportunities had had a bleſſed effect upon them. That afternoon was employed in the narrative of our travels, which they heard with great attention and refreſhment. The whole diſcourſe ended with a precious little meeting. The houſe being clear of ſtrangers, they both earneſtly preſſed us to ſup with them; which being not well able to decline, we ſubmitted to.

At ſupper the power of the Lord came upon me, and it was a *true ſupper* to us, for the hidden *Manna* was manifeſted and broken among us; yea, a bleſſed meeting it proved to us: O the reverent tenderneſs and lowly frame of ſpirit that appeared this evening, both in the Princeſs and Counteſs. The French-woman we found greatly improved, both in her love and underſtanding; yea, ſhe was very zealous and very broken, and was always with us on theſe occaſions. After ſupper we returned to the Princeſs's chamber, where we ſtayed till it was about ten at night. At parting I deſired the Princeſs would give us ſuch another opportunity next day, being the firſt day of the week, as we had the laſt time we were with her: She anſwered me, ‘ With all my ‘ heart; but will ye not come in the morning too?’ I replied, ‘ Yes, willingly: What ‘ time wilt thou be ready to receive us?’ She anſwered, ‘ At ſeven.’

About ſeven the next morning we came; about eight the meeting began, and held 23. 7. 1. till eleven: Several perſons of the city, as well as thoſe of her own family, being preſent. The Lord's power very much affected them, and the Counteſs was twice much broken while we ſpoke. After the people were gone out of the chamber, it lay upon me from the Lord to ſpeak to thoſe two, the Princeſs and the Counteſs, with reſpect to their particular conditions, occaſioned by theſe words from the Princeſs; ‘ I am *fully convinced*; but O my ſins are great!’

Whilſt I was ſpeaking, the glorious power of the Lord wonderfully roſe, yea, after an awful manner, and had a deep entrance upon their ſpirits; eſpecially the Counteſs's, ſo that ſhe was broken to pieces: God hath raiſed, and I hope fixed, his own teſtimony in them.

We returned to our inn, and after dinner we came back to the ſecond meeting on that day, which began about the ſecond hour in the afternoon: And truly, the reverend, bleſſed, ſure Word of Life was divided aright, and a precious ſenſe of Truth was raiſed in the meeting. There came more of the city than in the morning, and we were much comforted in the Lord's power that was with us. For the Truth had paſſage, and the hungry were ſatisfied, and the ſimple-hearted deeply affected.

This day at both meetings was one of the Princeſs's women, that never was at a meeting before, and ſhe (tho' very ſhy of us the laſt time) became tender and loving to us; ſhe was truly reached. O, magnified be the name of the Lord, whoſe Preſence was with us, and whoſe Arm ſtood by us! After meeting the Princeſs preſſed us to ſtay and ſup with her, pleading the quietneſs of the family, and that they were alone. At ſupper (as the night before) it was upon me to commemorate the goodneſs of the Lord, his daily providences, and how precious he is, in the covenant of Light, to the dear children and followers of the Light. Great was the reverence and tenderneſs that was upon the ſpirits of both Princeſs and Counteſs at that inſtant. After ſupper we returned to the Princeſs's Chamber, where we ſpent the reſt of our time, in holy ſilence, or diſcourſe, till about the tenth hour, and then we repaired to our quarters.

Next morning about eight we returned to the court, where the Princeſs and Coun- 24. 7. 2. teſs were ready to receive us. The morning was employed in a very ſerious relation, touching the affairs, practice and ſufferings of our Friends in England, with which they ſeemed greatly affected; when, about the eleventh hour, a rattling of a coach interrupted us. The Counteſs immediately ſtept out to ſee what was the matter, and returned with a countenance ſomewhat uneaſy, telling us, that the young Princes, Nephews to the Princeſs and the Graef of Donaw, were come to viſit her. Upon which I told them we ſhould withdraw, and return to our lodging; but intreated, that foraſmuch as we were to depart that night with the poſt-waggon, we might not be diſappointed of a farewel meeting with them; and the rather, for that I had a great burden upon my ſpirit: Which they readily complied with, telling me, theſe perſons would only dine and be gone. As we went to the door, the Counteſs ſtepped before us, and opened it for us; and as I paſſed by, ſhe looked upon me with a weighty countenance, and fetched a deep ſigh, crying out, ‘ O the cumber and entanglements ‘ of this vain world! They hinder all Good.’ Upon which I replied, looking her ſtedfaſtly in the face, ‘ O come thou out of them then!’

After we had dined at our lodging, ſomething being upon me to write to the profeſſors of religion in that country, I went up to my chamber, that I might be the more retired. Juſt as I was about the concluſion of the paper, came the ſteward of the houſe from the Princeſs, with this meſſage, ‘ That the Princeſs intreated us to come ‘ to her, for the Graef of Donaw had a great deſire to ſee us, and to ſpeak with us.’ This brought a freſh weight and exerciſe upon us; but committing all to the Lord, and caſting our care upon him, we went.

Being arrived, the Graef approached us in French: At firſt he took no notice of our inceremonious behaviour, but proceeded to enquire of us our ſucceſs in our journey, and what we found anſwering our journey and inclinations. Then we fell to points of religion, and the Nature and End of true Chriſtianity, and what was the Way that leadeth to the Eternal Reſt. After ſome ſhort debate about compleat ſanctification in this life, we both agreed, that ſelf-denial, mortification, and victory, was the duty, and therefore ought to be the endeavour, of every ſincere Chriſtian.

From this I fell to give him ſome account of my retreat from the world, and the inducements I had thereto, and the neceſſity of an inward work; with which he ſeemed much pleaſed. After this he fell to the hat, &c. This choketh, and the rather, becauſe it telleth tales: It telleth what people are; it marketh men for ſeparatiſts; it is

1677. blowing a trumpet, viſibly croſſing the world; and that the fear of man (greatly prevalent with too many ſerious people in that land) cannot abide, ſtarteth at, and runneth away from. Howbeit, the Lord enabled me to open the thing to him; as that it was no plant of God's planting, but a weed of degeneracy and apoſtacy; a carnal and earthly honour; the effect, feeder, and pleaſer of pride, and of a vain mind, and that no advantage redounded to mankind by it; and how could they, that ought to do all to the glory of God, uſe that vain and unprofitable cuſtom, which cannot be done to the glory of God? I intreated him ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf the riſe and end of it; whence it came, what it pleaſed, and what that was that was angry it had it not.

I alſo told him of the ſincere and ſerviceable reſpect which Truth ſubſtituteth in place thereof: And I exhorted him to ſimplicity and poverty of ſpirit; to be like that Jeſus he profeſſed to be his Saviour, whoſe Outſide, as well as Doctrine, pleaſed not the Jews; and ſo we parted. He took his leave of the Princeſs, and then of us with great civility.

After he was gone, the Princeſs deſired us to withdraw to her bed-chamber, and there we began our farewell meeting. The thing lay weighty upon me, and that in the deep dread of the Lord; and eternally magnified be the name of the Lord that overſhadowed us with his glory: His heavenly, breaking, diſſolving power richly flowed amongſt us, and his miniſtring Angel of Life was in the midſt of us. Let my ſoul never forget the divine ſenſe that overwhelmed all. At that bleſſed farewell I took of them, much opened in me of the hour of Chriſt's Temptation, his watchfulneſs, perſeverance and victory: Alſo about the Ten Virgins, what the true Virgin was, the true oil and lamp; and what the Bridegroom, his door, chamber and ſupper: And in the concluſion of that torrent of heavenly, melting love with which we were all deeply affected, I fell on my knees, recommending them unto the Lord, crying with ſtrong cries to him for their preſervation, and beſeeching the Lord's preſence with us, and ſo ended.

After ſome pauſe, I went to the Princeſs, and took her by the hand, which ſhe received and embraced with great ſigns of a weighty kindneſs, being much broken: I ſpoke a few words apart to her, and left the bleſſing and peace of Jeſus with and upon her. Then I went to the Counteſs, and left a particular exhortation with her, who fervently beſeeched me to remember her, and implore the Lord on her behalf. From her I went to the French-woman, and bid her be faithful and conſtant to that which ſhe knew: She was exceedingly broken, and took an affectionate and reverent leave of us.

Then I ſpoke to the reſt, and took leave ſeverally of them; my companions did all the like. They followed us to the outward room, and there it was upon me to ſtep to the Counteſs, and once more to ſpeak to her, and take my leave of her, which ſhe received and returned with great ſenſe, humility and love. So turning to them all, my heart and eye to the Lord, I prayed that the Fear, Preſence, Love and Life of God, with all heavenly bleſſings, might deſcend and reſt with and upon them, then, and for ever.

25. 7. 3. Home we went to our lodging, cleared the houſe, exhorted the family, left books,
26. 7. 4. and then took waggon for Weſel, about 200 Engliſh miles from Herwerden. We rode three nights and days without lying down on a bed, or ſleeping, otherwiſe than in the waggon, which was only covered with an old ragged ſheet. The company we had with us, made twelve in number, which much ſtreightned us: They were often, if not always, vain; yea, in their religious ſongs, which is the faſhion of that country, eſpecially by night; they call them Luther's ſongs, and ſometimes Pſalms. We were forced often to reprove and teſtify againſt their hypocriſy, to be full of all vain, and often prophane talk one hour, and ſing pſalms to God the next; we ſhewed them the deceit and abomination of it. We paſſed through ſeveral great towns by the way, as Lipſtad, Ham, &c. Many diſcourſes we had of Truth, and the religion and worſhip that was truly Chriſtian, and all was very well; they bore what we ſaid. But one thing was remarkable, that may not be omitted: I had not been ſix hours in the waggon, before an heavy weight and unuſual oppreſſion fell upon me; yea, it weighed me almoſt to the grave, that I could almoſt ſay, 'My ſoul was ſad even unto death.' I knew not at preſent the ground of this exerciſe; it remained about twenty-four hours upon me. Then it opened in me, that it was a travail for the Seed of God, that it might ariſe over all in them I had left behind, and that nothing might be loſt but the ſon of perdition. O the ſtrong cries, and deep agonies, many tears and ſincere bowings and humblings of ſoul before the Lord, that his holy ſenſe, which was raiſed in them, might be preſerved alive in them, and they for ever in it! That they might grow and ſpread as heavenly plants of righteouſneſs, to the glory of the name of the Lord.

The narrative from the 27th of the 7th month incluſive, to the 10th of the 8th month excluſive, is inſerted in the following letter to the Counteſs of Hornes.

1677.

For ANNA MARIA DE HORNES, ſtiled Counteſs of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

My dear Friend,

O That thou mayeſt for ever dwell in the ſweet and tender ſenſe of that divine Love and Life which hath viſited thy ſoul, affected and overcome thy heart! O tell me, hath it not ſometimes raiſed thy ſpirit above the world, and filled thee with fervent and paſſionate deſires, yea, holy reſolutions, to follow Jeſus thy bleſſed Saviour, who hath given his moſt precious blood for thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not live to thyſelf, but to him that hath ſo dearly purchaſed thee?

O the retired, humble, reverent frame that I have beheld thee in, when this bleſſed Life hath drawn thee into itſelf, and adorned and ſeaſoned thee with its own heavenly virtue; beautifying thy very countenance beyond all the vain and fooliſh ornaments of the wanton daughters of Sodom and Egypt; for therein are charms not known to the children of this world.

O that this holy and chaſte Life may be always precious with thee! And that thou mayeſt be for ever chaſtely kept in the love and fellowſhip of it! That out of this world's nature, ſpirit, and practice, thou mayeſt be redeemed, by him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; who, as thou watcheſt with holy vigilance, will not only daily manifeſt the devices of the enemy to thee, but ſave thee from him. For Chriſt's work in thee is thy Sanctification, as it is in him his Father's Will, as Paul ſaid of old to the believers, "This is the Will of God, even your Sanctification."

My dearly beloved friend, be ſtedfaſt, immoveable, without wavering; and work out thy great ſalvation with fear and trembling; and loſe not that ſweet and precious ſenſe that the Lord hath begotten in thee: It is ſoon loſt, at leaſt weakened, but hard to recover. Wherefore let not the ſpirit of the world in any of its appearances, vain company, unneceſſary diſcourſe, or words, or worldly affairs, prevail upon the civility of thy nature; for they will oppreſs the innocent Life, and bring grievous weights and burdens upon thy ſoul, and prolong the coming of the Lord, whom thou lookeſt for, and put the day of thy redemption afar off. O beware of this compliance! Let me put thee in mind of that ſenſible reſolution ſo frequently and ſo paſſionately repeated by thee; '*Il faut que je rompe, Il faut que je rompe.*' Ah! this ſpeaketh a Weight, this Weight a ſenſe, and this Senſe a ſtrong Conviction. Now be aſſured, that till obedience be yielded to that preſent manifeſtation and conviction, the good things deſired and thirſted-after can never be enjoyed.

Wherefore, my dear friend, be faithful, and watch againſt the workings of the ſpirit of this world in thyſelf; that the nature and image of it in all things may be crucified, that thou mayeſt know an entire tranſlation, with holy Enoch, and walk with God. Jeſus, the holy Light, is this Croſs and Power of God, that killeth and maketh alive; and he is the heavenly Vine too: If thou abideſt in him, thou wilt bring forth fruit; but if thou abideſt not in him, thou wilt not bring forth that fruit, in which his heavenly Father only can be glorified. O ſee what the mind daily abideth in! O my ſoul is even raviſhed with the ſenſe of that holy and quiet habitation! "In me" ſaith he, "you ſhall have peace, but in the World trouble; however, be of good chear, "I have overcome the World; I am not of the World:" As if he had ſaid, 'I am 'not of the World's Ways, Worſhips, Cuſtoms, or Faſhions; for whatever is of the 'nature and ſpirit of this World, hath no part in *me*: And as I am not of this World, 'neither are *you* of this World; for I have choſen you *out* of the World; out of the 'Inventions, out of the Worſhips, and Faſhions of the World. You are to leave them 'all, to come out of them all, and live and walk as Pilgrims in the World; that is 'Strangers: To what? To the Life and Practice of the World; not uſing, but renouncing, the vain cuſtoms and ceremonies, yea, the whole converſation of the World, 'remembring that the Friendſhip of this World is Enmity with God. And what if the 'World hate you, it hated me *firſt*; and the Diſciple is not greater than his Maſter, 'nor the Servant than his Lord: If you were of the World, the World would *love* 'you, and not reproach and perſecute you; for the World loveth *its own*.' O my dear friend, that thou mayeſt be perfectly ſenſible what it is, not to be of this World.

But there is yet a farther myſtery in theſe words, not diſcerned even of many, in whom ſome tenderneſs and inquiry is begotten, much leſs of the worldly Chriſtians. This World hath a falſe Earth, and a falſe Heaven, a falſe Foundation, and a falſe Joy: Not only groſs wickedneſs, but iniquity in a myſtery inwardly and outwardly. The Whore, falſe Prophet, and Dragon, and all their off-ſpring are here concerned. This is their World, that muſt be burnt with Fire, that Chriſt is not of, nor his true Diſciples. O the Light of Jeſus diſcovereth it! And he is that ſpiritual Solomon, that giveth true judgment, and that ſaveth the Living Child, the true Birth; giving it to the right Mother, and not to the falſe Pretender. And all that hear his voice, and

follow

1677. follow him, ſhall receive true Light, Diſcerning and Judgment, to whom all judgment is given: They ſhall know his voice from man's.

There are Two Trees, of differing natures, that have contrary fruits and leaves. The one is the *Tree of Life*, which is *Chriſt*; the other, the *Tree of Death*, and that is *Satan*. The Fruit of the one giveth *Life*; The Fruit of the other bringeth *Death*: The Leaves of the firſt *heal*; the Leaves of the laſt *poiſon*. Many that diſcern the Tree, cannot clearly diſtinguiſh the Branches: And thoſe that ſee many Arms and Branches, cannot diſtinctly behold the Leaves, much leſs the Fruit. This cometh by the gradual Diſcoveries and Revelations of the Light of Jeſus, the Word of God, as it is daily received, and daily obeyed. Yea, and that Word is the Ax and Sword of the Almighty, to cut it down; daily feel the ſtrokes of this eternal ſearching Light and Word at the very root of this corrupt tree, this evil one, and his corrupt nature, works and effects. For which end Jeſus Chriſt is come, and therefore is called a Saviour, which is little known in truth to the Chriſtians of this world.

Ah! my dear friend, thou knoweſt this Word, yea, thou haſt felt it: O hide it in thy Heart! Treaſure it up in thy Soul, and love it, and abide with it for ever. Alas! Whither ſhouldſt thou go? This hath the *Words*, and is the *Word*, of Eternal Life: Daily, therefore, watch and wait, that thou mayeſt be grafted more into it; that thou mayeſt live and grow by the virtue and life of it, and that it may grow in thy heart, as it grew among the firſt Chriſtians, the holy followers of the perſecuted Jeſus. And when it ſearcheth thy wound, and cutteth away thy dead fleſh; yea, when it ſeparateth between the ſoul, and the ſpirit of this world, and divideth between joints and marrow, when it cutteth off the right hand, and plucketh out the right eye; O watch unto prayer, and pray that thou mayeſt endure! O keep the holy patience of this pure and living Word; and this very Word will *keep thee* in the hour of thy ſharpeſt trials, and soreſt tribulations! *All Virtue* is *in it!* It is a *tried Word*, a *ſure Refuge*, the *Staff* and *Strength* of the righteous in all ages. 'Twas David's *Teacher* and *Buckler*; a *Light* to his feet, and a *Lanthorn* to his paths. Walk thou in the Light thereof, and thou ſhalt not ſtumble: "In this Word is Life (as in "the Root) and this Life is the Light of men." They that receive and love the Light of it, will therein receive divine Life from it to live to God. This is the *Bread* of *God*, that cometh from God, and feedeth, and leadeth up to God: By this only, that which is born of God liveth, and is nouriſhed: This is that Carcaſe to which the wiſe Eagles gather; and ſee thou gathereſt to no other, and feedeſt on no other. This is that *hidden Manna*, that cometh from Heaven; that feedeth God's Goſpel Iſrael. The world hath a Manna, but it periſheth; but this endureth for ever: For 'tis not of *Man*, nor from *Man*, but immortal, and from God; *hid* from the knowledge of all the Vain Chriſtians in the world: So that the Iſrael of God can ſay to the Children of this World, and that in truth and righteouſneſs, "We have a bread you know not of." For this Manna wait daily, that thou mayeſt be ſtrengthened in thy Wilderneſs-Travel to the Land of Eternal Reſt.

Wherefore "labour not for the bread that periſheth;" that is, the Bread of Man's inventing and making, which cometh from below, and profiteth not, becauſe it giveth not life eternal. But labour thou, my dear friend, for the bread that *never* periſheth, that endureth for *ever*, and that giveth life eternal to all that feed upon it. O caſt thy care upon this Word; love it, and dwell with it; wait daily upon it, hear its voice only, and follow it, for it bringeth the ſoul to the eternal habitation of reſt and glory. Yea, when all fleſh ſhall wither, and the beauty thereof fade away, this Word, and they that are grafted into it, "ſhall abide for ever." O that this may be thy *Choice*, and it ſhall be thy *Diadem*, and thy *Eternal Crown* of *Glory*.

Theſe are the fervent deſires, and theſe the daily prayers of my ſoul, to the God of my ſalvation for thee; not only that nothing in thee may be loſt, beſides the Son of Perdition; but that thou mayeſt "caſt off every weight and burden, and that ſin that "doth ſo eaſily beſet thee," that grieveth, boweth and oppreſſeth thee; under the heavy weight of which thou groaneſt, and ſigheſt that thy Redeemer would come from Zion to deliver thee. O give not heed to the Enemy, the *Falſe Accuſer*, that ſeeketh to devour that which is begotten of God in thee: Neither look upon thine own ſins, burdens, or weakneſſes; but lift up thy head, and look to Jesus, the author of thy bleſſed viſitation, and wholly hunger and thirſt after him, the *Spiritual Brazen Serpent*, that healeth and relieveth all that in faith and full aſſurance look to him. Want of looking to him, hearing and obeying him, and having *true faith* in him, is the cauſe both of all the preſumption and deſpair that are at this day. He did no mighty things of old in thoſe places where they *believed* not.

O faint not; look not back; remember the holy ancients, the holy pilgrims of faith, the royal generation of Heaven! Heb. xi. Thou believeſt in God; believe alſo in *him*, for the *work*'s ſake that he has already wrought in thee: He will miniſter to thee, as he was miniſtred unto by his Father's Angels in the hour of his abaſement and great temptation. O Watch, and be faithful, and thou ſhalt be a noble witneſs for the Lord.

1677. Once more let me expoſtulate with thee: Wouldſt thou overcome the enemies of thy ſoul's peace, and enjoy the delightful preſence of the Lord with thee? then keep nothing back; let nothing be with-held that he calleth for: Remember that Saul of old loſt his kingdom, for keeping that alive which he ſhould have ſlain: Thou knoweſt what befel Ananias and Sapphira outwardly: But be thou like the poor widow of old, that therefore gave more into the treaſury than all the reſt, becauſe *they* reſerved the *greateſt* part to *themſelves*; but *ſhe* gave *all ſhe had*. O bleſſed are they that make no bargains for themſelves; that have no reſerves for ſelf; neither conſult with fleſh and blood; nor in any ſenſe conform to the leaſt ceremony which is born of them; but that ſubmit their wills, in all things, to the Lord's, that they may be made perfect through ſufferings, as Chriſt was.

Read me in the Myſtery of Life: I ſpeak not of deſerting, or flinging away all outward ſubſtance; but that thy heart may reign above all viſibles, and make God its treaſure, and never ſtick in any thing of this lower world, or reſt ſhort of CHRIST, the Eternal Reſt of all the Seed of Faith.

Here beginneth the NARRATIVE.

Weſel. 27. 7. 5. THE Lord brought us well to Weſel on the fifth day after we left Herwerden, having ſome ſervice by the way. At Weſel we had a good time with Doctor Schuler, and Roſendale, and the Woman we mentioned to thee; but the Taylor was ſhy, and fearful of coming to us at the Doctor's.

28. 7. 6. The next day we went towards Duyſburgh: We viſited the Schult, or Chief Governor, that night, whom we found at home; he received us in much kindneſs. His wife and ſiſter, we fear, have been ſhaken in their good teſtimony ſince we were laſt there; ſome fowls of the air have devoured the ſeed that was ſown. O that ſweet and tender frame in which we left them the time before! However, the entrance we had upon the ſpirit of the Schult, a little conſolated us. Hence we ſent Maria Martha's friend a letter, deſiring him to let us have his anſwer the next night at Duſſeldorp, incloſed to Neander, when and were we might ſee him, either at Duſſeldorp, Mulheim, or Duyſburgh, and if it were poſſible, we would gladly viſit the Counteſs of Bruch.

Duſſeldorp. 29. 7. 7. We got early to Duſſeldorp next day, being the laſt day of the week: But Neander was gone to Mulheim, in order to preach on the morrow; ſo that we were diſappointed of our intelligence.

Next morning we went towards Collen, and there arrived that evening. Collen.

The next day we had a good opportunity with Van Dinando, and Docemius, at the 30. 7. 1.
houſe of the latter; and that afternoon took boat back for Duſſeldorp: Where arri- 1. 8. 2. Duſſeldorp.
ving next morning, we preſently ſent for Neander; who came to us, and three more
in company. We had a bleſſed meeting with them, and one of the three that came 2. 8. 3.
with him our ſouls were exceedingly affected with.

The meeting done, they went away, but Neander returned. And firſt, of our letter to Mulheim: We found by him, (as alſo at our return to Duyſburgh) that Kuper was ſo far from endeavouring our viſit to the Counteſs, that he would not meet us himſelf, neither at Duſſeldorp, Mulheim, or Duyſburgh: Nay, it did not pleaſe him to ſend us an anſwer, much leſs any the leaſt ſalutation. I confeſs it grieved us now for Neander; the young man hath a zeal for God, and there is a viſitation upon him; my ſoul deſireth that it may not be ineffectual: But I have a great fear upon me. For this I know certainly, from the Lord God that liveth for ever, and I have a cloud of witneſſes to my brethren, that *Retirement* and *Silence* before God is the alone way for him to feel the heavenly gift to ariſe, and come forth pure and unmixed. This *only* can aright preach for God, pray to God, and beget people to God, and nothing elſe. But, alas! his office in that family is quite another thing; namely, to perform *ſet* duties, at fixed times: pray, preach, and ſing, and that in the way of the World's appointment. His very office is Babyloniſh, namely, a Chaplain; for it is a Popiſh invention.

In the good old times, godly Abraham, that was a Prince, and Joſhua a great General, and David a King, with many more, inſtructed their Families in the knowledge and fear of God: But now people are too idle, or too great, to *pray for themſelves*, and ſo they worſhip God by *proxy*. How can a miniſter of the Goſpel be at the beck of any mortal living, or give his ſoul and conſcience to the time and appointment of another? The thing in itſelf is utterly wrong, and againſt the very nature and worſhip of the new and everlaſting covenant. You had better meet to read the Scriptures, the Book of Martyrs, &c. if you cannot ſit and wait in *ſilence* upon the Lord, till his *angel move* upon your *hearts*, than to uphold ſuch a formal, limited and ceremonious worſhip. This is not the way out of Babylon. And I have a deep ſenſe upon my ſoul, that if the young man ſtrive beyond the talent God hath given him, to anſwer his office, and fill up his place, and wait not for the pure and living Word of God in his heart, to open his

1677. mouth, but either ſtudieth for his ſermons, or ſpeaketh his own words, he will be utterly ruined.

‘ Wherefore, O dear friend, have a care thou art no ſnare to him, nor he to thee! Man's works ſmother and ſtifle the true Life of Chriſt: What have you now to do but to look to Jeſus, the author of the holy deſires that are in you, who himſelf hath viſited you. Tempt not the Lord, provoke not God. What ſhould any man preach *from*, but *Chriſt?* And what ſhould he preach people *to*, but *Chriſt in them*, the hope of glory? Conſider, nothing feedeth that which is *born* of God, but that which cometh down from God; even the bread of God, which is the *Son* of *God*, who giveth his Life for the world. Feel it, and feed on it: Let none mock God, or grieve his eternal Spirit, that is come to ſeal them up from the mouth of man that hath deceived them; that Jeſus, the Anointing, may teach them, and abide with them for ever.

‘ Be ſtedfaſt and immoveable; and this will draw the young man nearer to the Lord, and empty him of himſelf, and purge away mixtures, and then you will all come to the *divine ſilence*. And when all fleſh is *ſilent* before the Lord, then is it the *Lord's* time to ſpeak; and if you will *hear*, your ſouls ſhall *live*. O my ſoul is in great pain, that you may be all chaſtely preſerved in that divine ſenſe begotten in your hearts by the eternal Word of God, that abideth for ever; that nothing may ever be able to extinguiſh it. But more eſpecially that thou, my dear friend, mayeſt be kept in faithfulneſs: For the Lord is come very near to thee, and thou muſt begin the work, the Lord God expecteth at thy hand. If one ſheep break-through, the reſt will follow: Wherefore watch, O watch that thou mayeſt be ſtrengthened and confirmed; and ſtrengthen all that is begotten of God in that family, by thy weighty, ſavoury and circumſpect life! O how is my ſoul affected with thy preſent condition! It is the fervent ſupplication of my heart, that thou mayeſt, through the daily obedience of the Croſs of Jeſus, conquer and ſhine as a bright and glorious ſtar in the firmament of God's eternal kingdom. So let it be, Lord Jeſus! Amen.’

Duyſburgh.

We tenderly, yet freely, ſpoke our hearts to him, before we parted; which done, in God's love we took our leave of him at Duſſeldorp, and got that night to Duyſburgh, being the third day of the week. We firſt viſited Dr. Maſtricht, a man of a good natural temper, but a rigid Calviniſt. I perceived by him, that they held a conſultation about ſeeing us at Bruch; but they all concluded it was beſt to decline meeting with us, becauſe of the Graef, he being ready to fling our name, in reproach, upon them, in his diſpleaſure; and this would confirm him in his jealouſies of them. This might excuſe the Counteſs, but by no means Kuper; and if I had any ſenſe, Maſtricht was there with them, upon deſign to fruſtrate the hopes we had conceived of meeting with her. We from that deſcended to other things of weight, and in love and peace parted.

From his houſe we returned to our inn; and after ſupper we viſited the Schult, who with much civility and ſome tenderneſs received us. His Siſter alſo came to us, and we had a good little meeting with them, and our God was with us, and his pure and tender Life appeared for our juſtification, and pleaded our innocent cauſe in their conſciences: And ſo we parted with them, leaving our Maſter's peace among them.

Weſel.
3. 8. 4. The next day we came to Weſel, being the fourth-day; where we underſtood by Dr. Schuler, that thy Siſter deſired we would be ſo kind as to ſee her when we returned: Upon that we went and viſited her; ſhe received us very kindly. Thy Brother-in-law's Two Siſters were preſent; we ſtayed with her at leaſt two hours. Many queſtions ſhe put to me, which I was glad to have an opportunity to anſwer, for it made way for a meeting: She intreated us to come again if we ſtayed, and told us our viſit was very grateful to her: Adding, That becauſe we paſt her by the laſt time, ſhe concluded with herſelf, ‘ we had no hopes of her;’ with more to that effect. From thence we went to Dr. Schuler's, who freely offered us his houſe for a meeting next day: And, indeed, the man is bold, after his manner.

4. 8. 5. The next day about ſeven, I writ a billet in French to thy Siſter, to inform her of the meeting to begin about eight: She came, and her Two Siſters with her; there was Roſendale, Colonel Copius and his wife, and about three or four more; and to our great joy the Lord Almighty was with us, and his holy Power reached their hearts, and the Doctor and Copius thereby confeſſed to our teſtimony.

The meeting laſted about four hours: Being ended, we took our leave of them in the Spirit of Jeſus, and ſo returned to our inn. The Taylor was all this while afraid of coming to our inn, or to the Doctor's to the meeting: Great fears have overtaken him, and the poor man liveth but in a dry land. After dinner we viſited Copius and Roſendale; and at Copius's we had a bleſſed broken-meeting; he, his wife, Roſendale, his wife, and another woman, (wife to one Dr. Willick's brother) preſent; they were extremely affected and overcome by the power of the Lord: It was like one of our Herwerden meetings; indeed much tenderneſs was upon all their ſpirits.

This done, and having left books, both there, and with thy ſiſter, we left Weſel with hearts full of joy and peace: And let me ſay this, that more kindneſs, and openneſs,

1677. we have ſcarcely found in all our travels: O that this bleſſed ſenſe may dwell with them. A ſeed there is in that place God will gather; yea, a noble people he will find out: And I doubt not but there will be a good meeting of Friends in that city before many years go about; my love is great to that place. O how good is our dear Lord to us, who helpeth our infirmities, and carrieth through all oppoſition, and feedeth us with his Divine Preſence, in which is life! His Candle hath hitherto reſted on our tabernacle, and he hath made us glad in his own ſalvation: Eternal glory be to his excellent name.

Cleve. 5. 8. 6. We immediately took a poſt-carr, and came next day about two in the afternoon to Cleve, where we had a very precious meeting at an honeſt Procurator's houſe, who received us with much love: Four or five more were preſent, all grave and tender: Our hearts were greatly affected with their love and ſimplicity. We alſo viſited the Lady Hubner, who was kind to us.

Nimmeguen. Utrecht. 6. 8. 7. Next morning we ſet out for Nimmeguen, and thence immediately to Utrecht, where we arrived that night; and took the night-boat for Amſterdam, becauſe of a preſſure upon my ſpirit to be next day at the meeting; and the rather, having intimated as much from Cullen.

Amſterdam. 7. 8. 1. We arrived in the morning at Amſterdam, where we found our dear Friends generally well, the city much alarmed, and great Curioſity in ſome, and Deſires in others, to come to the meeting. We had a very great meeting, and many people of note reſorted: God's Goſpel-Bell was rung, the Great Day of the Great God ſounded, and the "dead "was raiſed," ſo as much tenderneſs appeared in ſeveral. O bleſſed be the name of the Lord, whoſe work and teſtimony proſpereth.

8. 8. 2. The next day was ſpent in divers affairs relating to the Truth.

9. 8. 3. The day following we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams, (the great father of the Socinian Meniſts in theſe parts) accompanied with ſeveral preachers and others of his congregation; divers of our friends were alſo preſent. It continued about five hours: He affirmed, in oppoſition to us, 'That there was was no Chriſtian Church, Miniſtry, 'or Commiſſion Apoſtolical now in the world;' but the Lord aſſiſted us, with his wiſdom and ſtrength, to confound his attempts.

Here endeth the Narrative.

I intend a viſit at the Hague to the Lady Overkirk, ſiſter of the Somerdikes, and ſome others that have ſober characters of Truth and Friends; and thence to Rotterdam, where I have much to do, both with reſpect to meetings and the preſs.

Thus, my dear friend, have I given thee a tedious narrative, yet I hope not altogether unpleaſant. Perhaps the brevity of my letters hereafter, may beſt apologize for the length of this: However, I conſider two things; one is, that thou haſt time enough, one time or other, to look over it; and next, that I have plentifully anſwered thy requeſts, and demonſtrated "I have not forgotten thee." O dear friend, let us live and remember one another (now abſent) in that divine ſenſe in which the Lord God diſſolved our ſpirits when together. O the *Unity* of this *Faith*, the *Purity* of this *Love*, and the *Bond* of this *Peace!* The Lord Jeſus be with thy ſpirit, and keep thee in this "the hour "of thy temptation," that thou mayeſt come forth as "gold ſeven times tried." So ſhall thy teſtimony ſhine for the God that hath called thee, and HE will reward thee with honour, glory, and eternal life. Amen.

"Thus ſaith the Lord, I remember thee, the kindneſs of thy youth, the love of "thine eſpouſals, when thou wenteſt after me in the wilderneſs, in a land that was "not ſown." Jer. ii. 2. Dear friend conſider this.

Yet again: "The way of the juſt is uprightneſs: Thou, moſt upright, doſt weigh "the paths of the juſt; yea, in the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited "for thee, the deſire of our ſoul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee."

"With my ſoul have I deſired thee in the night; yea, with my ſpirit within me "will I ſeek thee early; for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the "world will learn righteouſneſs."

"Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us; for thou alſo haſt wrought all our works "in us."

"O Lord our God, other lords beſides thee have had dominion over us; but by *thee* "*only* we make mention of thy name."

"Lord, in trouble have they viſited thee; they poured out a prayer when thy chaſtening was upon them."

"Like as a woman with child, that draweth near the time of her delivery, is in pain, "and crieth out in her pangs, ſo have we been in thy ſight, O Lord."

"We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have as it were brought forth "wind, we have not wrought any deliverance in the earth, neither have the inhabitants "of the world fallen."

1677. "Thy dead men ſhall live, together with my dead body ſhall they ariſe: Awake and "ſing, ye that dwell in the duſt, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth "ſhall caſt out the dead."

"Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and ſhut thy doors about thee; "hide thyſelf as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpaſt."

"For behold, the Lord cometh out of his place, to puniſh the inhabitants of the "earth for their iniquities; the earth alſo ſhall diſcloſe her blood, and ſhall no more "cover her ſlain." Iſa. xxvi. 7, 8, to 21. So come, dear Lord Jeſus, that was dead, and is alive, and liveth for ever. Amen.

Very dearly farewell,

Amſterdam, 10th of the
8th month, 1677.

Thy friend, that faithfully travaileth
for thy redemption,
W. PENN.

10. 8. 4. The ſame day we had a bleſſed publick meeting, never to be forgotten: O the majeſty, glory, and life that the Lord attended us with! Our hearts were deeply affected with his preſence; great reverence and brokenneſs was over the meeting, more than I had ſeen. The meeting done, we were oppoſed by a preacher, who was cloſely encountered and purſued by ſeveral merchants, &c. (not of us) that cried, 'He was 'rude and ignorant,' and, that they had a teſtimony for us;' and offered to diſpute in our defence, but the prieſt ran away: They followed him till they houſed him; what followed I know not.

It was upon me this day to engage Galenus Abrahams to a ſecond conference, that we might more fully debate and confute his grand objections againſt the preſent 'Diſpenſation of Truth, and the heavenly miniſtry witneſſed among Friends.' He refuſed not my offer of a ſecond meeting, but ſent me word his buſineſs would not give him leave to let it be any time this day. 11. 8. 5. Upon which the next morning was fixed for the conference, to begin at eight, which accordingly it did, and held till one. The account of both the conferences is not yet found; but with the latter ſome of his own friends ſeemed better ſatisfied, and it ended very comfortably to us, becauſe to a general ſatisfaction.

The meeting thus ended, and having refreſhed ourſelves, after a ſolemn leave taken of our dear friends at Amſterdam, G. F. and myſelf went that night to Leyden, accompanied by B. F. Coming there late at night, we forbore to inquire after any worthy in that place. Leyden.

12. 8. 6. But the next morning we found out two, one a German, of, or near, Darmſtad, who not only expreſſed much love to the Principle of Truth, and unto us the Friends thereof, but alſo informed us of a retired perſon, of great quality, that liveth about two hours back again towards Amſterdam, at a village called Wonderwick. Our reſolutions of being that night at Rotterdam, and having the Hague to viſit by the way, made our return at that time impracticable. However, the relation of the German concerning the good inclinations of the great man and his wife, their diſdain of the world, and voluntary retreat from the greatneſs and glory of it, reſted ſtrongly upon our ſpirits. This perſon preſently conducted us to the houſe of one who had formerly been a Profeſſor in the Univerſity, and there left us.

To this perſon both G. F. and myſelf were more than ordinarily open: He was of a ſweet, yet quick; of a wiſe, yet very loving and tender ſpirit: There were few ſtrangers we felt greater love to. He aſſented to every thing we ſaid: And truly his underſtanding was very clear and open to the things that lay upon us to declare; and he expreſſed his firm belief of great revolutions at hand, and that they ſhould terminate in the ſetting up of the 'glorious Kingdom of CHRIST in the World.'

What ſhall I ſay? the man felt our ſpirits, and therefore loved us; and in the freſh ſenſe of that love, writ a letter by us to a retired perſon at the Hague, like himſelf: Which in ſeveral places of Germany was the way whereby we found out moſt of the retired people we viſited. After near two hours time with him, we took waggon for the Hague, leaving the Peace of God upon him. Hague.

The firſt thing we did there, was to enquire out the Lady Overkirk, a perſon of a retired and religious character, ſeparated from the publick worſhip of that country: She was at home; but her huſband's being with her, a great man of the army, of another diſpoſition and way of living, hindered our acceſs at that time.

The next perſon we went to, was a Judge of the Chief Court of Juſtice in that Republick: He received us with great reſpect, and a more than ordinary deſire to know the 'Truth of our Faith and Principles.' We declared of the things moſt ſurely believed amongſt us, in the power and love of God. He made his obſervations, objections, and queries upon ſeveral things we ſpake; to whom we replied, and explained all matters in queſtion; inſomuch as he declared himſelf ſatisfied in our confeſſions, and his 'Good 'belief of us and our principles.' We took a ſolemn and ſenſible leave of him, and we felt the Witneſs of God reached in him, and his ſpirit tendered, which filled our hearts with dear love to him: He brought us to his ſtreet-door, and there we parted.

From him we went to viſit that perſon for whom we had a letter from the Doctor at Leyden, but he was not at home. We immediately took waggon for Delft, and from thence an expreſs-boat for Rotterdam, where we arrived well about eight at night. Delft. Rotterdam.

The next day was moſtly ſpent in viſiting of Friends, and the friendly people in that place, which conſiſted of ſeveral perſons of worldly note. 13. 8. 7.

The next day, being the firſt day of the week, we had a large and bleſſed meeting, wherein the deep 'Myſteries of the Kingdom of CHRIST and *Antichriſt*, were declared in the Power of an Endleſs Life.' Several of divers religions were there, but no diſturbance or contradiction; but a profound ſilence and reverent attention were over the meeting. 14. 8. 1.

A perſon then convinced, tho' the world prevailed, died lately, acknowledging it, and cried out, 'How happy had I been, if I had then obeyed.'

That night I had a bleſſed meeting at my lodging, with thoſe perſons of note, that at ſome times viſited our publick meetings, as that day, and have a convincement upon them: The Lord's Love, Truth and Life, preciouſly reached towards them, and they were very ſweetly affected.

Next day I beſtowed in perfecting and correcting ſeveral publick letters, which I was moved to write, both in my firſt and ſecond journey in Germany, and after my return to theſe Low-Countries. The titles whereof follow.* 15. 8. 2.

I. A Summons, or Call to Chriſtendom; in an Earneſt Expoſtulation with her, to prepare for the Great and Notable Day of the Lord that is at the door:
II. To all thoſe who are ſenſible of the Day of their Viſitation, and who have received the Call of the Lord, by the Light and Spirit of his Son in their Hearts, to partake of the Great Salvation, where-ever ſcattered throughout the World; but more eſpecially in the High and Low-Dutch Nations; Faith, Hope, and Charity, which overcome the World, be multiplied among you:
III. To all thoſe Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, that are externally ſeparated from the viſible Sects and Fellowſhips in the Chriſtian World, (ſo called) wherever Hidden or Scattered: True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from God the Father, through Chriſt Jeſus, be increaſed:
IV. A Tender Viſitation, in the Love of God that overcometh the World, to all People in the High and Low-Dutch Nations, who Hunger and Thirſt after Righteouſneſs, and deſire to know and worſhip God in Truth, and in Sincerity; containing a Plain Teſtimony to the Ancient and Apoſtolical Life, Way and Worſhip that God is reviving and exalting in the Earth, in his Spirit and Truth.

The ſenſe of the ſerious retreat of the great man we heard of at Leyden, was ſo ſtrong upon me, that I could not ſee myſelf clear to leave the country before I had given him a viſit. I purpoſed therefore the next morning to ſet forward to the Hague, from thence to Leyden, and ſo to Wonderwick.

I arrived there in the evening with B. F. A. Sonnemans, and M. Sonnemans, and immediately made known our coming, and the end of it, to him and his wife, by the means of the young German, who was got thither before us to viſit them. An invitation came to us all at our inn, and immediately we repaired to his houſe, which was very ſtately, and yet plain. He preſently came to us, took us by the hand, and bid us 'Heartily Welcome.' We immediately ſat down, and after ſome time of retirement, I ſpoke ſomething of what was upon me; yet not before he had given us a ſober and pathetical account of his life, and of the preſent frame and diſpoſition of his ſpirit. Wonderwick. 16. 8. 3.

All this was in the abſence of his wife; but ſo ſoon as I had finiſhed what was then upon me to ſpeak of the Witneſs of God, and of its work in man, upon the occaſion of the hiſtory he gave us of his life, he led us into another room, where his wife was: He told her, here were ſome Chriſtian Friends come to viſit her; ſhe ſaluted us very kindly.

We all ſat down, and after ſome ſilence, the heavenly Power of God did, in a living and tender manner, open their ſtates and conditions to me, and opened my mouth to them. The ſubſtance of my teſtimony was to this purpoſe, 'That *Death* reigned 'from *Adam* to *Moſes*; *Moſes* was till the *Prophets*; the *Prophets* till *John*; and *John* 'till *Chriſt*: What Chriſt's Day was: How few ſee this Day: And whilſt people are 'talking of being in CHRIST, under Grace, and not under the Law, Death reigneth 'over them, and they are not come to Moſes, nor the Shaking or Quaking Mountain, the Thunderings, Lightnings and Whirlwinds: And what was that Way which 'led to CHRIST, and what it was to be *in* him, and under the government of his 'Grace; directing them to the bleſſed Principle of Light, and Truth, and Grace, 'which God had ſhed abroad in their Hearts. I declared the Nature and Manner of

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* They are inſerted in this Collection.

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1677. ' the Appearing and Operating of this Principle; and appealed to their own Conſciences for the Truth of what was ſaid:' And I can truly ſay, the Holy Life of JESUS was revealed amongſt us, and, like Oil, ſwam on the top of all. In this ſenſe I was moved to kneel down and pray: Great Brokenneſs fell upon all; and *That* which was before the world began, was richly manifeſted in and amongſt us.

The meeting being done, the great man and his wife bleſſed us, and the work of God in our hands, ſaying, with tears in his eyes, 'My houſe is bleſſed for *your ſakes*; and bleſſed be God that I ever lived to ſee you.'

And thus we left them, though with much difficulty; for they preſſed us, with great earneſtneſs, both to eat and to lodge with them; and it was hard for them to bear our refuſal. They ſaid it was a ſcandal to their houſe, that they ſhould let ſuch good people as we were go out of it; or ſuffer us to lodge in any other place: But we declared our pre-engagement elſewhere, and that it was not for want of true kindneſs towards them.

One paſſage I had almoſt forgot to mention: 'I was,' ſaid he, 'once at table with the Duke of Holſteyn at Frederickſtadt, when the magiſtrates came to complain againſt a people called Quakers in that city: The Duke was ready to be prejudiced againſt them; but at the very *naming* of them, I conceived a more than ordinary *kindneſs* in my mind towards them. I aſked the magiſtrate, what they were for a people? He told me that they would not pull off their hats to their ſuperiors: I aſked him, whether they would pull off their hats to *God?* He ſaid, Yes. Said I, That may be the reaſon why they will not pull them off to *Man*. Do they live peaceably? Yes. Do they pay their taxes? Yes. Do they rub their hats in your eyes? No. Do they do any harm with them? No. Why what is your quarrel then? They meet in Silence, and they will not ſpeak or pray unleſs they be *moved by the Spirit*. Why, that is according to the doctrine of Scripture: If this be to be a Quaker, I would I were a Quaker too. But,' ſaid he, 'I never ſaw one before, but I bleſs God I ſee you now.' He very much inveighed againſt the falſe Chriſtianity that is in the world, and greatly magnified a tender, mortified and retired eſtate. I have great hopes he and his wife will die in the Truth. We returned to our inn to ſupper, and to bed.

Hague. 17. 8. 4. Next morning we took waggon for the Hague, where we met with Docemius, the King of Denmark's Reſident at Cullen, who had been at Rotterdam to ſeek us, and came back thither, with hopes to meet us. We had ſome ſervice there with a Lawyer; but were again diſappointed of viſiting the Lady Overkirk, becauſe of her huſband's preſence; and the other retired man before-mentioned was again from home: The Judge would gladly have received us, but a great cauſe then depending commanded his attendance. Delft. Rotterdam. That afternoon we took boat for Delft, and ſo to Rotterdam, where we all arrived well.

18. 8. 5. It was my deſire to have been the next day at a meeting at Dort; but it ſeems the way that we hoped had been open for us, was ſhut, inſomuch that we were prevented of that ſervice. However, I applied myſelf to the perfecting of what yet wanted to be completed in thoſe writings I left behind me to be printed.

19. 8. 6. The next day, being the ſixth day of the week, we had a very bleſſed publick meeting, taking therein our leave of the country: And after that was done, we had another amongſt Friends, recommending to them the 'Peaceable, Tender, Righteous TRUTH;' deſiring that they might live and grow in it, and be a people to the Lord's praiſe; ſo ſhould his work proſper, his dominion be enlarged and increaſed among them. In the evening I had alſo a meeting at my lodging among the Great People of that place, of which I have before made mention: And magnified be the name of the Lord, his Power did ſo ſweetly viſit them, and effectually reach them, that, at their departure, ſome of them fell upon our necks, and, with tears of love, prayed, that they might be remembered by us, and that they might have ſtrength to anſwer our great travail for them. We recommended them unto the Lord, and the pure Word of his Grace in their hearts.

20. 8. 7. The next day, the generality of Friends of that place met at Simon Johnſon's houſe, early in the morning, where we took our leave of one another, in the Love and Power of the Lord, feeling his living Preſence with them that ſtayed, and with us that went.

Briel. Several accompanied us to the Briel, where we arrived about noon. There accompanied us the King of Denmark's Reſident at Cullen, who had been with us at thoſe meetings at Rotterdam, P. Hendricks, and C. Rocloffs of Amſterdam, and A. Sonnemans, B. F. M. S. and S. J. with ſeveral others of Rotterdam. The pacquet-boat not being come, we were neceſſitated to lie there that night.

That night it was upon me, in the earneſt love of God, to ſalute the Princeſs and Counteſs, with a few farewell-lines, as followeth.

To the Princeſs ELIZABETH,

Salvation in the Croſs, Amen.

Dear and Truly Reſpected Friend,

MY ſoul moſt earneſtly deſireth thy temporal and eternal felicity, which ſtandeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as it is done in heaven. O dear Princeſs, do it! Say the word once in truth and righteouſneſs, "Not my will, but "thine be done, O God!" Thy days are few, and then thou muſt go to judgment: Then an account of thy talent God will require from thee. What improvement haſt thou made? Let it prove and ſhew its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all, that love it, to God. O that thou mayeſt be able to give an account with joy!

She died about Four years after.

I could not leave this country, and not teſtify the reſentments I bear in my mind of that humble and tender entertainment thou gaveſt us at thy court: The Lord JESUS reward thee: And ſurely he hath a bleſſing in ſtore for thee. Go on, be ſtedfaſt, *overcome*, and thou ſhalt *inherit*. Do not deſpond: One that is mighty is near thee; a preſent help in the needful time of trouble. O let the deſire of thy ſoul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him. O wait upon the Lord, and thou ſhalt renew thy ſtrength! The youth ſhall faint, and the young men ſhall fail, but they that truſt in the Lord ſhall never be confounded.

I wiſh thee all true and ſolid felicity, with my whole ſoul. The Lord God of Heaven and Earth have thee in his keeping, that thou mayeſt not loſe, but keep in that Divine Senſe, which, by his Eternal Word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear Princeſs, my ſincere and chriſtian ſalutation. Grace, Mercy, and Peace be multiplied among you all that love the Lord JESUS.

Thy buſineſs I ſhall follow, with all the diligence and diſcretion I can, and by the firſt give thee an account, after it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to bring me ſafe to London. All my Brethren are well, and preſent thee with their dear love, and the reſt with thee that love JESUS, the Light of the World, in thy family. Thou haſt taught me to forget thou art a *Princeſs*, and therefore I uſe this freedom; and to That of God in thee am I manifeſt; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou pleaſeſt, the ſalutation of my dear love to A. M. de Hornes, with the incloſed. Dear Princeſs, do not hinder, but help her: That may be required of her, which (conſidering thy circumſtances) may not yet be required of thee. Let her ſtand *free*, and her freedom will make the paſſage eaſier unto thee. Accept what I ſay, I intreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and reſpect in which I write ſo plainly to thee. Farewel, my dear Friend, and the Lord be with thee. I am, more than I can ſay,

Thy great lover and reſpectful friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

I refer thee to the incloſed for paſſages: We viſited Giftall and Hooftman, and they us: They were at one or two of the meetings at Amſterdam. *Vale in Æternum.*

For ANNA MARIA DE HORNES, ſtiled Counteſs of Hornes.

Jeſus be with thy Spirit. Amen.

BEloved, and much eſteemed for the ſake of that love which is raiſed in thy heart to the Eternal Truth of God; the increaſe of which I earneſtly deſire; that thou mayeſt be more than conqueror, through the powerful workings of that Divine Love in thy ſoul, which caſteth out all falſe fear, and overcometh the world. In this Eternal Love it is that I love thee, and would be loved of thee: Bleſſed are they that hold their fellowſhip in it. It is pure, harmleſs, patient, fervent and conſtant: In fine, it cometh from God, and leadeth all that receive it to God. Indeed it *is* God, and they that live in *Love*, live in *God*. If we keep and abide in him that hath viſited us, we ſhall always feel his Love as a fountain; and wonderful are the effects of it. 'O it can lay 'down its life for its friend!' It will break through all difficulty, and hath power to conquer death and the grave: This tranſcendeth the friendſhip of the world, and the vain-glorious honour of the courts of this world. This kindneſs is inviolable: Our pureſt Faith worketh by this Love. O the tenderneſs of that ſoul in which this Love liveth and hath place! the humility and compaſſion that always keep it company!

And who can livelily enough deſcribe the lovely image it giveth, the attracting and engaging converſation it hath: But it is diſcerned, and greatly valued, by the Children of Love, who are born of it, which all the Children of *Light* are. What ſhall I ſay!

1677. It is the great command, and it keepeth all the commands; Love, pure and undefiled, it fulfilleth the Law and Goſpel too: Bleſſed are they that feel any of this Love ſhed abroad in their hearts.

With this Love it is that God hath loved us; and by the Power of this Love Chriſt Jeſus hath died for us. Yea, it is this Love that quickeneth us to Jeſus, that inflameth our ſouls with pure and ardent love to him, and zeal for him: Yea, it is this holy Love, that forſakes father and mother, ſiſter and brother, huſband, wife and children, houſe and land, liberty and life for the ſake of Jeſus: That leaveth the dead to bury the dead, and followeth Jeſus in the narrow way of regeneration: That can truſt him in the winds, and in the earthquakes, in the fire, and in the waters; yea, when the floods come in, even unto the ſoul, this deſpondeth not, neither murmureth.

And as it cannot deſpair, ſo it never preſumeth: Yea, it can triumphantly ſay, What ſhall be able to ſeparate me from the Love of God that is in Chriſt Jeſus? Shall principalities or powers? Things preſent, or things to come? Shall life or death? O no, neither time nor mortality.

My dear friend, let this noble plant of Paradiſe grow in thy heart. Wait upon the Lord, that he would water it, and ſhine upon it, and make an hedge about it; that thy whole heart may be repleniſhed with the heavenly increaſe and fruits of it. O that thou mayeſt grow, in thy inner man, in wiſdom, ſtrength, and a pure underſtanding; in favour with God, and with all people that are in the ſame nature and image! For the world only loveth its own.

I hoped not to have been ſo quick upon my laſt long letter; but God's pure Love (that hath redeemed me from the earth, and the earthly nature and ſpirit) moved fervently upon my ſpirit to viſit thee once more, before I leave this land. I deferred it to this extremity; and being not clear to go hence, I ſend thee my Chriſtian Salutation, in this pure Love that many waters cannot quench, diſtance cannot make it forget, nor can time wear it out. My ſoul reverently boweth before the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that it would pleaſe him to preſerve thee. Fear him, and thou needeſt not fear, for the Angel of the Lord encampeth about thoſe that truſt in his name. The Angel of his eternal preſence guard thee, that none of the enemies of thy ſoul's peace may ever prevail againſt thee! Perſeverance and Victory be thy portion in this world, and a Crown of endleſs Glory be thy reward in that which is to come. Amen.

Since my laſt (being the next day after the date thereof) we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams and his company: The ſucceſs thou mayeſt perhaps ſee ſuddenly in print, and therefore I ſhall defer the narrative: Only, in general, our dear Lord, our ſtaff and ſtrength, was with us, and Truth reigned over all.

That night we went to Leyden, where we viſited ſome retired perſons.

Thence, next day, to the Hague, where alſo we had a little meeting. O the luſt and pride of that place! Thou cameſt into my mind as I walked in the ſtreets, and I ſaid in myſelf, 'Well! ſhe hath choſen the Better Part.' O be faithful, and the Lord will give thee an eternal recompence!

Thence we came to Rotterdam, where the Lord hath given us ſeveral heavenly opportunities in private and publick.

We are now come to the Briel, and wait our paſſage. The Lord Jeſus be with you that ſtay, and with us that go, that in him we may live and abide for ever.

Salute me to my French Friend; bid her be conſtant. I wiſh thy ſervants felicity; but *thine* as mine own. God Almighty overſhadow thee, hide thee under his pavilion, be thy ſhield, rock, and ſanctuary for ever. Farewel, farewel.

Thy Friend, and the Lord's Servant,

Briel, $\frac{20}{30}$ 8th Month,
1677.

W. P.

21. 8. 1 Next morning the packet-boat arrived, and about ten we went on board, having firſt taken our ſolemn leave of thoſe Friends that accompanied us thither.

22. 8. 2. We immediately ſet ſail, with a great number of paſſengers: But, by reaſon of con-
23. 8. 3. Harwich. trary and tempeſtuous weather, we arrived not at Harwich till the third day about the
24. 8. 4. 7th hour. Whence, next morning, I writ this following ſalutation and account to the
Friends of Holland and Germany, to return with the boat.

A Letter from Harwich, to Friends in Holland and Germany, containing the Paſſages from Holland to England.

Let this be ſent to the Friends in High and Low-Dutch-Land.

O My ſoul magnifieth the Lord, and my ſpirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour, who hath rebuked the winds and the ſeas, and made us to drink of his ſalvation upon the great deeps! yea, we could not but praiſe him in the tempeſt, for all things are full of his majeſty. Bleſſed is the eye that ſeeth, and the heart that dependeth upon him at all times. There is not another God; he is the *Lord* alone that the holy ancients truſted in, and were not confounded. What ſhall my ſoul render unto the Lord? We are full of his mercy, he hath made us witneſſes of his care We can ſay, in righteouſneſs, they are bleſſed whoſe God is the Lord, and that ſerve all the day long no other maſter than our God. 1677.

Friends, this is an endeared ſalutation to you all in High and Low-Dutch-Land, in the deep and freſh ſenſe of the Lord's preſerving power. O that you may abide in that ſenſe of him which he hath begotten in you, and in the reverent knowledge of him, according to the manifeſtation which you have received of him, in the Light of his dear Son: That you may be faithful, and fervent for the Lord; that his glorious Life and Power may break through you; and theſe lands, long dry and barren as the Wilderneſs, may ſpring and bloſſom as the Roſe. For what have we do here, but to exalt him, that hath viſited and loved us; yea, ſaved us in great meaſure? Ah, he is worthy! my ſpirit reverenceth him, my heart and ſoul do bow before him: Eternal bleſſings dwell for ever with him.

Dear Friends, my love floweth to you as a fountain. God, even my God, and your God, hath made you dear to me; yea, dearer than all natural kindred. You are fleſh of fleſh indeed. Nor ſea nor land, nor time nor place, can ever ſeparate our joy, divide our communion, or wipe out the remembrance that I have of you. Yea, the living remembrance that my God often giveth me of you, in the Life of his Son, abideth; which breaketh my heart to pieces: And I can ſay, I left much of my heart behind me; and the Lord only could have outwardly ſeparated me ſo ſoon from you. O this Love! that is ſtronger than death, more excellent than the love of women; for it endureth for ever: This privilege have all the ſaints. Jeſus, the Light of the world, that ſaveth from the world, be with you. Amen.

We got well laſt night about ſeven to Harwich, being three days and two nights at ſea: Moſt part of the time was a great ſtorm of wind, and rain, and hail; the weather was againſt us, and the veſſel ſo leaky, that two pumps went night and day, or we had periſhed. It is believed that they pumped twice more water out than the veſſel could contain; but our peace was as a river, and our joy full. The ſeas had like to have waſhed ſome of the ſeamen over-board, but the great God preſerved all well. Frights were among the people, and deſpondencies in ſome, but the Lord wrought deliverance for all.: We were mightily thronged, which made it the more troubleſome.

But it is obſervable, that though the Lord ſo wonderfully delivered us, yet ſome vain people ſoon forgot it, and returned quickly to their wanton talk and converſation, not abiding in the ſenſe of that Hand which had delivered them: Nor can any do it, as they ſhould, but thoſe that are turned to his Appearance in their hearts, who know him to be a God "nigh at hand;" Which, O! may it be your experience and portion for ever!

And the Lord be with you, and refreſh and ſuſtain you; and in all your temptations never leave you, nor forſake you; that conquerors you may be, and, in the end of days and time, ſtand in your lot among the ſpirits of the juſt made perfect. Amen, Amen.

Yours in that which is Eternal,

Harwich 24th of the 8th
month, 1677.

W. P.

Here I left dear G. Fox, and Gertruyd Diricks and her children, that came over with us, to follow me in a coach; but I, having a deſire to be that day at Colcheſter meeting, went early away on horſe-back, G. K. accompanying me. We got to the meeting, and were well refreſhed in Friends. Colcheſter. 25. 8. 5.

That evening we had a mighty meeting at J. Furley's houſe, where we lay; many being there of the town, that would not come to a publick meeting. And indeed the Lord's divine Power and Preſence were in the aſſembly.

Next day we had a great meeting at a marriage, where we had good ſervice for the Lord. That afternoon about four, we took horſe for London. G. F. &c. through miſcarriage of a letter about the coach, not being come to Colcheſter. That night we lay at I. Raven's, eight miles on our way. There we met Giles Barnardiſton, and William Bennet; with whom, and ſome other Friends thereabout, we were comforted in the Life and Power of the Lord. 26. 8. 6.

The day following we took our journey for London: We came there in good time that evening; where I found all things relating to Friends in a good condition: Bleſſed be the name of the Lord. I ſtayed about a week in town, both to viſit Friends at meetings, and to be ſerviceable to the more general affairs of Truth; where a ſecond letter from the Princeſs Elizabeth came to hand. London. 27. 8. 7.

Dear Friend, Herford, the 29th of October, 1677.

YOUR tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counſel to follow as much as lies in me; but God's Grace muſt be aſſiſtant; as you ſay yourſelf, 'He accepts nothing that does not come

1677. ‘ from him:’ If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires moſt, I mean, to do all in and by his Son, I ſhall be in no better condition than at this preſent. Let me feel him firſt governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me: But I am not able to teach others, being not “ taught of God myſelf.” Remember my love to G. F. B. F. G. K. and dear Gertruyd. If you write no worſe than your poſtſcript, I can make a ſhift to read it. Do not think I go from what I ſpoke to you the laſt evening; I only ſtay to do it in a way that is anſwerable before God and man. I can ſay no more now, but recommend to your prayers

Your true Friend,

Elizabeth.

I almoſt forgot to tell you, that my Siſter writes me word, ſhe had been glad you had taken your journey by Oſenburg to return to Amſterdam: There is alſo a Droſſard of Limburgh near this place (to whom I gave an Exemplar of R. B's Apology) very deſirous to ſpeak with ſome of the Friends.

Worminghurſt. 1. 9. 5. The fifth day of the next week I went to Worminghurſt, my houſe in Suſſex, where I found my dear wife, child and family all well: Bleſſed be the name of the Lord God of all the families of the earth. I had that evening a ſweet meeting amongſt them, in which God's bleſſed Power made us truly glad together: And I can ſay, Truly bleſſed are they who can chearfully give up to ſerve the Lord; great ſhall be the increaſe and growth of their treaſure, which ſhall never end.

To *him* that *was*, and *is*, and *is to come*, the Eternal, Holy, Bleſſed, Righteous, Powerful and Faithful ONE, be Glory, Honour, and Praiſe, Dominion, and a Kingdom, for ever and ever. Amen.

A third letter from the Princeſs, which though it be after the cloſing of this Journal, yet being an anſwer to one writ to her in Holland, relates to it.

Dear Friend, This 17th of November, 1677.

I Have received a letter from you, that ſeemeth to have been written at your paſſage into England; which I wiſh may be proſperous; without Date, but not without Virtue, to ſpur me on, to do and ſuffer the will of our God. I can ſay, in Sincerity and Truth, “ Thy will be done, O God,” becauſe *I wiſh it heartily*; but I cannot ſpeak in Righteouſneſs, until I *poſſeſs* that Righteouſneſs which is acceptable unto him. My Houſe and my Heart ſhall be always open to thoſe that love him. Gichtel has been well ſatisfied with the conferences between you. As for my buſineſs, it will go as the Lord pleaſeth; and I remain, in him,

Your affectionate Friend,

Elizabeth.

There are more of this nature from her, and divers other perſons of eminence in thoſe parts, but not immediately relating to the Journal, are therefore not publiſhed.

WILLIAM PENN.

TO

TO THE

CHILDREN of LIGHT

IN THIS

GENERATION,

Called of GOD to be Partakers of Eternal Life in JESUS CHRIST, the Lamb of God, and Light of the World.

My Endeared Friends and Brethren,

1678.

MANY days and weeks, yea, ſome months, hath my heart been heavy, and my ſoul unuſually ſad, for the ſake of this Nation, the Land of our Nativity! For I have not only long beheld, with a grieved eye, the many abominations and groſs impieties that reign therein, the luſts, pleaſures, wantonneſs, drunkenneſs, whoredoms, oaths, blaſphemies, envy, treachery and perſecution of the juſt, but for ſome time I have had a deep ſenſe that the overflowing ſcourge of God's wrath and indignation was juſt ready to break out upon the people, Confuſion, Amazement, and Miſery! The weight of which hath cauſed me to cry within myſelf, 'Who ſhall ſave us? who ſhall 'deliver us? Are there none to ſtay the ſtroke? To blunt the edge? To ſtop the 'fury, and intercede for the people, and mediate for this poor Land, that the Lord 'may not utterly depart, and take his Glory and his Name from it, and make it a 'deſolation for the wild beaſts of the field, and fowls of the air; a land of Judgment, 'and not of Promiſe; of Curſes, and not of Bleſſings."

My Friends, Whilſt the ſenſe of this diſtreſs, that is coming as a dreadful viſitation from the hand of the diſpleaſed God, upon this ungodly Land, to ſtain its glory, bring down its pride, and puniſh its forgetfulneſs of the Lord, and his many deliverances, lay ſo heavy upon my ſpirit, the Lord preſented before me all the Truly Conſcientious and Well-inclined People in theſe Nations; and more eſpecially YOU, his *deſpiſed*, but *choſen* Generation, for whoſe ſake he would yet have mercy. And, in the midſt of his judgments, THIS I received for you from the Lord, as his holy will and counſel; and it often ſprung in my heart, with a very freſh and ſtrong Life,

TO THY TENTS, *O ISRAEL!*
TO THY TENTS, *O ISRAEL!*

GOD is thy TENT: *To thy GOD, O Iſrael!*

Prepare, O Friends, to ſtand in this day before the Lord (that is in the firſt place, for *ye* ſhall alſo have your exerciſe: Yea, great is that work which we have to do for the Lord, by his *powerful* but very *peaceable* Spirit; for God will, by all theſe hurries, confuſions and vexations that are at the door, drive people from their falſe gods, and bring them home to HIMSELF. He will throw down Wickedneſs, and eſtabliſh Righteouſneſs: He will waſte Sin, but *Truth* ſhall grow. He will debaſe the mountain of empty Profeſſion, but the "Mountain of His Holineſs ſhall be exalted." He hath determined to raiſe up, and renown, the Seed of *Light*, *Life*, and *Truth*, in the hearts of people: Holy Patience, Meekneſs, Wiſdom, Love, Faith, Purity, and Perſeverance

1678. (ſo much wanting in the world) ſhall be ſeen to dwell *in* it, and only to come *from* it. And my witneſs is, That *ye* are the people, through whom this *Heavenly Seed* of *Righteouſneſs* muſt clearly and ſtedfaſtly ſo ſhine unto others, in theſe uneven and rough times that are come; and coming, as that your heavenly Father may be glorified by you.

Wherefore, in the name of the Lord, be ye all diſcumbered of the World, and diſcharged of the Cares of it: Fly, as for your lives, from the ſnares therein, and get you into your Watch Tower, the NAME of the LORD! Which is not a *dead* Name, or a mere *literal* Name! but a *living, ſpiritual,* and very *powerful Name*; a *ſtrong tower* indeed, yea, an *invincible fortreſs*; where dwell ye with God, and in him who ſpeaketh Peace to his Children, and ordains Quietneſs for them that truſt in him. He will make you to lie down ſafely, even then when Darkneſs and Confuſion ſhall be thick about you; yea, ye ſhall *live* in the Fire, that will *conſume* the Stubble of the World, and your Garments ſhall not be ſo much as ſinged; for the SON of GOD, whom the Flames, as well as Winds and Seas, obey, will be in the *midſt* of you.

Next, Friends, this know; We are the people, above all others, that muſt ſtand in the gap, and pray for the putting away of the wrath, ſo as that this Land be not made an utter deſolation; and God expects it at our hands. Prepare ye therefore to meet and ſanctify the Lord in his coming and judgments! Why ſtand any of you gazing? Let none gaze or look out, I beſeech you; that is the Enemy's work, to weaken you within; But be ye retired, be ye centered in the Eternal One; and meditate upon the Lord, and his Living Pure Law, that ye may be wiſe in heart, and travel in ſpirit for this poor land, and that for Enemies as well as Friends. The Lord is ready to hear you for this people, when you are ready to intercede: And I teſtify, *Abraham* is amongſt you, *God's Friend,* and his juſt *Lot* too; yea, *Jacob* that prevailed; and one that is greater than all, JESUS, the Lamb of God, whoſe Blood ſpeaketh better things than that of Abel, in whom is the Mediation and Atonement. Be therefore encouraged to wait upon the Lord, and to bow before him, and humbly to mediate, in the Life of JESUS, with him: I know he will put it in your hearts ſo to do, if ye wait upon him; for he will not caſt off this land, as he did Sodom; he hath a right ſeed, a noble people, in it, that he hath and yet will gather: Many ſheep there be, not yet of *our* fold, whom he will bring in; and the foul weather and the ſtorms will but help to drive them home to JESUS, the Living and True Witneſs, and Light *within*; that he, whom God hath ordained to reign, may be *great* in them.

And laſtly, my dear Friends and Brethren, by how much this day draws nigh, by ſo much the more do ye ſtand looſe in your affections to the world, but faſt in the faith; and aſſemble yourſelves together, and let God ariſe in you, and his Power and Spirit of Life among you, that ye may not only wreſtle, but in the end prevail, that it may be ſeen that "Salvation is of the Jews," the Jews *inward,* in Spirit and in Truth: And truly the time haſtens, that "Ten ſhall take hold of the ſkirt of *ſuch* a Jew; and they ſhall be ſaved." But woe to the Hypocrite in that day, the Formaliſt, the Jew Outward, the Circumciſion in the Fleſh, and Fleſhly Chriſtian, that cannot reſiſt the temptations of this world; the Temporizer; one that runs with the tide; he will be divided: For there will be more tides, more intereſts on foot at once, than One: Wherefore perplexity will take hold on him, his policy will be confounded; he will not know what to do to be ſafe, nor what to join with; this "double-minded man" will be unſtable in his counſels and in his actions, his ſandy foundation will be ſhaken. Therefore, as I ſaid, Woe to the hypocrite, and to the covetous man too, for his God will fail him; the Thief, the Moth and Ruſt, will invade his bags, and ſurprize his treaſure: His anguiſh will be great in this day: But, my dear Brethren, as the Power and Spirit of our Lord God will preſerve and eſtabliſh us, if we ſincerely and entirely confide therein, and that above our *Sollicitation,* or need of *Carnal Conſultations* or *Contrivances,* which we have therefore laid aſide; ſo ſhall it vindicate us, in due time, in the eyes of all nations, and preſent us a people owned, beloved and protected of God, in whom we have firmly believed. Nor is this Preſumption, as ſome may think; who being not ſo well acquainted with that Entire Reſignation, and Supreme Faith (of which JESUS is the Author) that removes mountains into the ſea, conclude, from mere natural and human conſiderations, againſt us; yet we know him in whom we have believed; and the ſame that hath cured us of our diſeaſes, the ſame ſaid unto us, "Ariſe, and walk in this way of "FAITH; truſt in *me,* and not in another." And truly, this is much of that wonder which men ſhall have in their minds and mouths about us in thoſe Latter Days; 'In 'Troubles not to be *dejected,* and in Jeopardies not to be concerned to make to ourſelves '*defences*:' As the Lillies, that neither toil nor ſpin, yet feed and grow, ſo we may both be preſerved, and become victorious, without worldly Force or Projections: For we muſt ſhew ourſelves to be that Little City and Hill of God, that hath only *his* ſalvation for our walls and bulwarks; by whom he will renown his Arm, and magnify his Power, above the arts and contrivances of men. Our weapons and our armour is *ſpiritual*; it hath prevailed, and it will prevail, if we keep in the "*Faith* which was "firſt delivered to us:" A bleſſed ſhield, by which the juſt *live.*

And therefore, my dear Friends, let us be careful not to mingle with the crowd, leſt *their* ſpirit enter *us*, inſtead of *our* ſpirit entering *them*, and we thereby come to fall into the ſame temptations they are liable to, of *Fear*, and flying to the *Hills* and *Mountains* to protect them, confiding in the Arm of Fleſh to deliver them: No, no; they muſt come to *us*, we muſt not go to *them*. Yet can we not be unſenſible of their infirmities, as well as we ſhall not be free from ſome of their ſufferings; we muſt make their caſe as our own, and travel alike in ſpirit for them as for ourſelves. Let us ſtand in the counſel of our God, and he will make us preachers forth to them of the works of his divine Power, and the virtue of that Faith which comes from Heaven; yea, he will make us as *Saviours* to the people, that they may come to know the holy Law and Word of the Lord, their Creator, in their hearts, and have their minds and ſouls turned to him, and ſtayed upon him, that iniquity may no more abound, nor ungodlineſs find a place; but that in truth, righteouſneſs and peace, they may be eſtabliſhed, and the Land keep its *Sabbath* to the Lord for ever! Then ſhall God lift up the "Light of his Countenance upon us," and water us from Heaven, and bleſs us with all temporal and ſpiritual bleſſings; and we ſhall be yet called, THE ISLAND SAVED BY THE LORD," Amen, Amen.

This was upon my ſoul from God to you: I could not viſit you all with a diſtinct Meſſage, upon many accounts: Beſides, the Time is ſhort, and the Confuſion appears to me to be at hand: Therefore have I ſent it by way of Epiſtle, with the brotherly ſalutation of unfeigned and unalterable love to you all, in your reſpective meetings and families. And the Lord God of our viſitation and redemption, ſtir you up to theſe things, and keep us all in his holy fear, wiſdom, love and patience, through all thoſe travels and exerciſes, to the end of our days; that having finiſhed our teſtimonies, our heads may go down to the grave in peace, and our ſouls be received into the reſt which is reſerved for the righteous with God, and with his bleſſed Lamb for ever.

I am

Your Brother and Companion through the many Tribulations of our Day and Teſtimony,

W. PENN.

Worminghurſt in Suſſex, the 4th
of the 9th month, 1678.

I deſire that this Epiſtle may be read, in the fear of the Lord, in your ſeveral meetings.

AN

7 AP 59

AN
ADDRESS
TO
PROTESTANTS of all PERSUASIONS;
MORE ESPECIALLY THE
MAGISTRACY and CLERGY;
FOR THE PROMOTION OF
VIRTUE AND CHARITY.

BRITISH MUSEUM

IN TWO PARTS.

BY WILLIAM PENN, A PROTESTANT.

> Giving all Diligence, add to your Faith, Virtue; and to Virtue, Knowledge; and to Knowledge, Temperance; and to Temperance, Patience; and to Patience, Godlineſs; and to Godlineſs, Brotherly Kindneſs; and to Brotherly Kindneſs, Charity. For if theſe things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye ſhall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the Knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But he that lacketh theſe Things, is blind, and cannot ſee far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old Sins. 2 PET. i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

THE

PREFACE.*

1679. THE Acceptance this Addreſs has found with all ſorts of people, to whoſe hands it has come, who value religion for the ſake of piety, more than out of intereſt or formality, hath brought it a ſecond time to publick view.

It was writ in the year *1679.* as a Chriſtian Expedient for Peace and Safety: But our animoſities were then too great, to conſider of the beſt means to obtain them; which ſtood, and does, and will ever ſtand, in 'a thorough Reformation of Hearts and 'Lives:' Elſe God, that cannot lye, in the ways of his providence, will undoubtedly meet with us, as he has often done, and yet will do, to our great confuſion, if we do not ſpeedily repent and forſake thoſe courſes by which he is provoked againſt us. The deſign of the Author was that of Chriſtianity, to mend the ſpirits and lives of men, by ſhowing the 'Odiouſneſs of Sin, the Vanity of Self, and the Beauty of 'Virtue,' with the lamentable conſequences that never fail to attend the one, and the advantages that always follow the other, whereſoever they are entertained, both to private Perſons and Governments, to Church and State. In which, as he went to the bottom, and dealt plainly with every party, ſo he did it without any animoſity to their perſons; and ſhows he laboured their reformation, affectionately, truly and thoroughly, both by letting them ſee the ſnares they have fallen by, and how to get out of them.

Three words may be ſaid to comprehend this whole treatiſe: VICE, PRESUMPTION and VIOLENCE; for under them is compriſed the matter he ſtrikes at, from firſt to laſt. They have their agreeable contraries, VIRTUE, HUMILITY, and CHARITY, if not UNITY. But we cannot come at them while the other ſtand in the way.

He has expoſed *Vice* in its deformities, and pointed to us the inevitable and diſmal effects of it, in thoſe countries where it has prevailed: A ſeaſonable and informing lecture for our own times; which he chiefly refers to the Civil Magiſtrate, whoſe duty therein he ſhows and preſſes, with the next and proper means to ſuppreſs it; to wit, by a due execution of our juſt laws upon the preſent vicious livers, and a better education of our Youth; that by preſerving them from the infections of Vice, the next generation at leaſt may have ſome better pretence to Virtue.

He is very cloſe, and perhaps ſharp, upon Preſumption in Religion. This he detects likewiſe, and the many miſchiefs it has done to Chriſtian Fellowſhip, and Civil Society too, by ſetting up *Men's Opinions* for *Articles of Faith* and *Tyes of Religious Communion*; miſtaking the nature of true Faith, and debaſing Morality, in its work and weight in Religion; and ſubjecting Reaſon and Truth to the reſults of Human Authority: Whereby it has happened, that people have not had the witneſs in themſelves for what they have embraced, nor their own convictions to warrant their conformity or profeſſion; but an anceſtor, a miniſter, their education, for the beſt reaſon and proof of their confeſſion. And ſuch as could not frame themſelves to an eaſy compliance, but ſuffered inquiry to take place of authority, and would not allow an *ipſe dixit*, or a Conſtable's Staff, for a ſufficient reſolution of their ſcruples, have ſuffered deeply in their Perſons or Eſtates.

Not that I would have Church-Society, or Authority, to be deſpiſed; they that do ſo, are much in the wrong: Let every thing have its due place and juſt ſhare; parents, education, church-power, &c. But let them have no more. Let God have his part, who is ſovereign of the conſcience, and to whom every knee muſt bow: And they that bow in point of Religion, without the convictions of his Spirit, are rather idolaters than believers; to be ſure they are merely formaliſts, and guilty of that implicit faith and blind obedience, which at other times we make ſo great a fault, and a ſufficient reaſon of ſeparation.

Violence, which is the laſt word, and that takes up the laſt part of this diſcourſe, to which the *Preſumption* before expreſſed naturally tends, is that *Coercive Power*, uſed by thoſe who are the ſtrongeſt party, to impoſe their opinions and formalities upon the reſt, at the hazard of their lives or eſtates that refuſe to conform; tho' they diſſent out of pure

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* *Note.* This Preface was firſt put to a ſecond edition of this book.

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pure conſcience to God: The breaches, ruin and deſtruction that have followed upon Penal Laws for Religion, as they riſe from Creed-making, and the impatience of men to bear diſſent from their own opinions, are become the Scandal of Chriſtianity all over the world. Theſe two words, *Preſumption* and *Violence*, are more immediately referred to the *Clergy of all Perſuaſions*, every-where; though their Hearers are invited to examine themſelves, how far they lie under the guilt hereof, or are touched with a diſpoſition to entertain the ſpirit that leads to Perſecution about Religion. Nor does the author charge it upon *every one* of the Clergy: But the Faulty are reprehended, and the Ignorant inſtructed, and the Guiltleſs commended and confirmed in their Moderation. And what is ſaid of this kind, of the Clergy, may be yet as reaſonably ſaid of the Laity: For though it is true that the Civil Officers that often prove the moſt violent Executioners of Penal Laws for Religion, are from among them; yet it is as true, that from among them alſo are found the moſt *temperate* and *merciful ſpirits*, that will leaſt touch with *Cruelty*, and are the moſt ſenſible of the *Miſeries* of the *Perſecuted*, and expreſs the greateſt compaſſion for them, and from whom, at laſt, the beſt part of their Relief comes. But to avoid compariſons, and do what we can to be wholly upon the healing and truly reforming hand, it is greatly to be wiſhed that the *Practice* of *Piety* were the main end and ſcope of men, the ſubject of their care and emulation; and that their hatred were to Things, not to Perſons; to Sin, and not to Sinners. If we were as captious at our own Actions, as we are at other people's Faiths, we ſhould live better Lives, and they would live better by us: For ſo Holineſs and Peace would be promoted. O that we could but once be perſuaded to think of "working out our own ſalvation!" It is not *knowing*, but *doing*, that recommends us to God, gives us Peace, and fits us for Heaven. That were the ready way "to make our great calling and election ſure." And what are we called to, but to Holineſs, to Godlineſs, to Purity? Which makes us fit to ſee God, and that fits us for Heaven, "For without Holineſs, no man," ſays the apoſtle, "ſhall ſee the Lord." He did not ſay, without *Tongues*, without *Philoſophy*, or without being an able *Diſputant*, a *Critick*, a *Formaliſt*, we ſhould not ſee the Lord; but without Holineſs: For it is the peculiar privilege of the "Pure in heart, to ſee God;" who is alſo "of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; without recompenſing it with tribulation and wrath." Let us then humble ourſelves to his Voice, bow to his Will, and ſet ourſelves to love his Law, and keep his Commandments. We may remember who it was that ſaid, "I have ſeen an end of all perfection, but thy commandments are "exceeding broad." There is a Glory, a Comfort, a Treaſure in them not to be equaled; but known only to thoſe that do obſerve them. For "Wiſdom leads her children "in the ways of Righteouſneſs, in the midſt of the paths of Judgment, and cauſes "them that love her to inherit Subſtance, and ſhe fills their Treaſure." Riches and honour, and length of days are in her hands, and are the portion ſhe often beſtows upon her Children: What, then, have we to do, but to hearken to her voice, and turn at her reproof, that we may live? The Spirit of Wiſdom will be upon us; yea, the Spirit of God and of Glory will reſt upon us. An ornament, a dignity, above that of earthly crowns and diadems. There were hopes of us, if we were but religious in earneſt; every one in his own way; not falſe, cold and unfaithful to what we pretend. I mean not *Exteriors* now, but the holy *Fear* of God, which all profeſs, and none truly have that live without an *Awful Senſe* of his Will and Omnipreſence. It is this that would teach us *Humility*, and that would bring us to divine Charity, till *Unity* comes; which certainly would be very pleaſant to God, very exemplary to the world, and honourable for Religion, as well as comfortable for ourſelves: For Religion at heart would exerciſe our eyes more within than without, at home than abroad; and to conquer our Sins and Selves, would be a ſatisfaction tranſcending that of victory over the Arguments and Perſons of our Adverſaries. Have we *Faith?* Let us add then to our Faith, *Virtue*, or it is good for nothing; and to our Virtue, *Knowledge*, that it may be the more uſeful; and to Knowledge, *Temperance*, that we may not be conceited; and to Temperance, *Patience*, leſt we faint by the way; and to Patience *Godlineſs*, that we may be devoutly religious; and to Godlineſs, *Brotherly Kindneſs*, that our Zeal do not over-run Love and Fellowſhip; and to Brotherly Kindneſs, *Charity*, the top of all virtues and graces; without which, Religion is a Cypher, a Bubble, an Apparition at moſt; no ſolid or valid thing. *Charity* is comprehenſive of all right Love. It reaches to God, to our neighbour, and ourſelves, both inwardly and outwardly: It reaches to Heaven, as well as to the ends of the Earth. It loves all, and acts towards all upon a principle of Love; yea it *is* that *Love*. "Charity," ſays the apoſtle, "ſuffers long and is kind: Charity envieth "not: Charity vaunteth not itſelf, is not puffed up, doth not behave itſelf unſeemly, "ſeeketh not her own, is not eaſily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth: Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all "things, endureth all things. Charity never fails." Men are too often the worſe for their Wit, for their Learning, aye for their Religion too, if Charity does not humble and ſanctify them. "Ye know not of what ſpirit ye are," ſaid the bleſſed Saviour of the world, to ſome of his *over-zealous* diſciples. There is a *falſe*, as well

1. Cor. xiii. 5, 6, 7, 8.

well as a *true* Zeal, and by their fruits we ſhall know them. *True* Zeal is againſt *Sin*, and ſhown beſt upon a man's ſelf, his own life and conduct: It is tempered with wiſdom, and will not outſhoot the mark, eſpecially towards others. But *falſe* Zeal is nothing but *Paſſion* in the name of Religion. It is impatient, froward, angry and revengeful. It can ſlander, quarrel, beat, plunder, and kill too, and all for God's ſake! Alas! their Zeal is the excuſe of their Choler; and, for the moſt part, thoſe that are captivated with it, are worſe livers than thoſe they ſo evilly treat; and, at beſt, ſhow moſt buſy and concerned about the *outſide* of religion. David was zealous, but not after this ſort; for though he tells us that his "Zeal for God's houſe had eaten him up," yet he never ſaid it had eaten up his *neighbours*. That furious zeal is ſtrictly forbidden by Chriſt, the great Lord of the Chriſtian Religion.

It will therefore do us no hurt, if we try our own ſpirits, and ſee with what ſpirits we profeſs Religion and act for it. They that act not *from* Religion, can never act rightly *for* Religion; their ſpirits muſt be wrong; let their zeal ſwell as big as mountains, their Faith can never remove one: They build upon the Sand, and the fall of their building will be, at laſt, as terrible to themſelves, as their ignorant zeal made it formerly burdenſome to others.

Well then, where ſhall we pitch the nature and buſineſs of Religion, under the various Notions and Shapes we find it wears among men, and that plainly and intelligibly? And with our anſwer to this, let us conclude this preface.

Religion, in the judgment of this author, is 'Living up to what a man knows of the 'Mind of God; and attending diligently upon that Light in himſelf, which gives him 'that knowledge of his duty.'

This is the Gift of God by Chriſt, that "enlightens every man that comes into "the world." This is the Talent that men are intruſted with, to improve to the ſaving of their ſouls. And the apoſtle tells us, that "whatſoever may be known of God, "is manifeſt in them, by this Light," becauſe "whatever makes manifeſt is Light." Peruſe John i. 9. cap. iii. 21. Rom. i. 19. Epheſ. v. 13. 14. He that knows and acquaints himſelf with this holy Light in himſelf, that comes by Chriſt, the great Light of the world, and brings his deeds and thoughts to it, and ſquares his deſires and will according to the manifeſtations and directions of it, will approve himſelf a diſciple of Chriſt, a lover of Religion, and therefore a religious man indeed: The nature and end of Religion being our Conformity to the Will of God, which the apoſtle expounds to be our "Sanctification;" and that cannot be, till we receive this holy *Leaven* in ourſelves, by which the whole lump of man comes to be leavened; man, in *body*, *ſoul*, and *ſpirit*; man, *throughout*; man to be a *new* man: For ſo the apoſtolical doctrine inſtructs us, "That as we have long borne the Image of the Earthly, ſo we may come to bear the "Image of the Heavenly Man, the Lord from Heaven;" and, like him, to be heavenly-minded. And truly that is the man I would chooſe to aſſociate myſelf with, and the church, ſociety, or people, whoſe communion I would prefer, that are followers and children of this Light of Jeſus; who, deſtitute of pompous worſhip, and of tedious and difficult creeds, reſolve all into an humble and daily Watch and Obedience to this Light of Chriſt in the conſcience, both as to their worſhip to God, and converſation among men, whatever the unjuſt unthinking world is pleaſed to judge of them.

I ſhall detain the reader no longer from the book itſelf. He will find *Virtue* and *Charity* the great tendency of it. And though it may be objected by ſome, that much of the ſervice of it is over, becauſe the 'Current of Perſecution is ſtopped;' they are under a great miſtake: The ſervice of it is not over; would it were: For Debauchery of all ſorts was never more impudent and epidemical; and as great Uncharitableneſs ſtill appears among people. Their Hands are in ſome meaſure ſtopped or diverted, but their Tongues are not, for they were never more on fire againſt one another; and we know, "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaks." They do not only whiſper, but rail and threaten one another; and, to be ſure, Religion muſt be much of the Enſign of their animoſity: Therefore till Vice be ſuppreſſed, and Education be better provided for, and Preſumption and Violence extinguiſhed, that ſo Virtue, Humility, and Charity may prevail among us, this Treatiſe will be ſerviceable: However, we are not to meaſure our duty by ſucceſs: But if it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to favour the honeſt purpoſe of the author with his bleſſing, that it may have thoſe deſirable effects where it comes, the author will exceedingly rejoice, and God ſhall have the glory of this, as of all other the ſervices of his people; who is worthy for ever.

THE

AUTHOR's PREMONITION.

READER,

GREAT books ſeldom find readers; and it may be the times may render this ſuch: For the motion of affairs is ſo ſwift, that action treads hard upon the heels of writing, and there is little time left to read: Beſides, people had rather converſe with the living than the dead; and ſuch all books are to men in buſineſs. This reflection at firſt daunted me, the Tract being grown thus under my hand: But believing what I have writ to be both true and uſeful to our yet ſo much needed Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Reformation, and taking encouragement by the kind reception of ſome former Eſſays and Addreſſes I made, I reſolved to let it go; but with this care, that by prefixing Contents, thou mayeſt readily turn to that part which may more immediately concern thee, or beſt ſuit and anſwer thy inquiry. 1679.

THE

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PART I.

SECT. I.

The Introduction.

My Friends and Countrymen,

1679. IF you believe that there is a God, and that he is holy, juſt and good; that he made us; that we owe ourſelves to him, and that he is not careleſs of us, but the conſtant obſerver of our thoughts and actions; and that as he is the rewarder of them that fear, love and obey him, ſo he is the ſevere puniſher of all ſuch as tranſgreſs his law, and break his righteous commandments; if, I ſay, you believe theſe things, and not only that there is a final day of reckoning, but that God, even in this world, recompenſes his judgments upon the wicked, and viſits nations with his hot diſpleaſure becauſe of their impiety; which hath been the ſenſible experience and free confeſſion of all ages; then it belongs to us of theſe kingdoms to reflect upon ourſelves, and take a true view of our actions, ſince divine vengeance, for aught we ſee, is ſtill at the door. And, Gal. vi. 5. 6, 7. for the Lord's ſake, let us have a care in the doing of it, ſince "God will not be "mocked;" and that our miſcarriage in ſuch an inquiry will be, as only our own infelicity, ſo of infinite moment to us. I muſt needs be plain and earneſt here; for if we miſcarry in the ſearch, we ſhall certainly miſcarry in the cure. Sin gives the deadlieſt of all wounds to mankind; but, with grief I ſay it, for it is true, there is no wound ſo ſlightly healed. We rather ſeek our eaſe, than our ſecurity; like thoſe fools, that love the pleaſanteſt, not the ſafeſt potions. It is ill at all times to flatter a man's ſelf; but it is moſt dangerous about repentance. Something men would keep, ſomething Jer. xvii. 10. men would hide; and yet they have to do with that "Searcher of hearts," from whom it is impoſſible they ſhould hide any thing. This folly increaſes our account, endangers our cure, and makes our condition deſperate, if not irrecoverable.

O England, my native Country! Come to judgment! Bring thy deeds to the John iii. 21. true Light; ſee whether they are "wrought in God or no." Put not off thyſelf with Rev. xxii. 12. hay, ſtraw and ſtubble; for they will burn, and the Fire is at the door, that will conſume them. He is coming, whoſe reward is with him, and will give every one ac- 2 Cor. xiii. 5. cording to his works. Let us therefore examine ourſelves, try ourſelves, prove our own ſelves, whether Chriſt be in us or not; if his ſpirit, his nature, his meekneſs, his patience, his great ſelf-denial, dwell in us: If not, we are Reprobates; yet under the *Reproofs* of the Almighty, the Charge and Guilt of Sin; and his Witneſs in our own Conſciences ſends up evidence to Heaven againſt us every day: This I juſtly fear and take to be our caſe. Let us therefore ſtrictly look into our converſations, and with an impartial eye take a juſt view of thoſe ſins, that moſt ſeverely cry to the Great Judge againſt us. And they appear to me to be of Two Sorts; the one relating more particularly to the *State*, and the other to the *Church*, if I may without offence uſe that diſtinction; for my witneſs is with God, I intend not Provocation to any, but the Edification of all.

Thoſe impieties, that relate more particularly to the State to correct, are DRUNKENNESS; WHOREDOMS and FORNICATION; LUXURY or EXCESS, in APPAREL, in FURNITURE and in LIVING; PROFUSE GAMING; and finally, OATHS, BLASPHEMY and PROPHANENESS: Theſe ſwarm in our ſtreets, theſe are a ſcandal to our profeſſion, and cry aloud to Heaven, and provoke divine wrath againſt us.

SECT. II.

Of the Sin of Drunkenneſs.

DRunkenneſs, or Exceſs in Drinking, is not only a Violation of God's Law, but of our own Natures: It doth, of all other ſins, rob us of our Reaſon, deface the impreſſions of Virtue, and extinguiſh the remembrance of God's mercies and our own duty: It fits men for that which they would abhor, if ſober. The inceſt, murder, robberies, fires, and other villanies, that have been done in drunken fits, make Drunkenneſs a common enemy to human ſociety. It renders men unfit for Truſt or Buſineſs; it tells ſecrets, betrays friendſhip, diſpoſes men to be trepanned and cheated: Finally, it ſpoils health, weakens human race, and, above all, provokes the juſt God to anger, who cried thus of old againſt thoſe that were guilty of it; "Wo to the "Drunkards of Ephraim! The Drunkards of Ephraim ſhall be trodden under feet: "They have erred through Wine, and through Strong Drink are out of the way; the "Prieſt and the Prophet have erred through Strong Drink, they err in Viſion, they "ſtumble in Judgment." Again, "Wo unto them that are mighty to drink Wine, "and men of ſtrength to mingle Strong Drink. Wo unto them that riſe up early in "the morning, that they may follow Strong Drink; that continue until night, till "Wine inflame them: And the harp, and the viol, the tabret and the pipe, and wine "are in their feaſts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither conſider the "operations of his hands. Therefore Hell hath enlarged herſelf, and opened her "mouth without meaſure, and their glory and their multitude, and their pomp, and "he that rejoices, ſhall deſcend into it."

Iſa. xxviii. 1, 2, 3. Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Yet, you will bear me witneſs, I do not wrong the preſent humour of too many in this nation, and thoſe not of the loweſt quality, in ſaying, that it is too often the Beginning and Top of their Friendſhip: It is their common diverſion and entertainment. I might ſafely ſay, the *Poor* of England could be maintained by their *Exceſs*. O! hath the God of Heaven given men plenty for ſuch ends? Or will this kind of improvement of their worldly talent give them peace in the day of judgment? But that people ſhould do this without ſhame, nay, glory in it too, is greatly to be lamented; for 'tis not only palate or appetite, but an unnatural vanity of conqueſt, excites not a few; as if it were matter of Triumph to drown a man's Reaſon, and to degrade him to the Beaſt.

Let us hear, upon the whole matter, the ſentence pronounced againſt them by the Wiſe Man. "Who hath wo? who hath ſorrow, who hath contentions? who hath "babbling? who hath wounds without cauſe? who hath redneſs of eyes? They that "tarry long at the Wine, they that go to ſeek mixt Wine. Look not thou upon the "Wine, when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itſelf "aright; at the laſt it biteth like a ſerpent, and ſtingeth like an adder. Thine eyes "ſhall behold ſtrange women, and thine heart ſhall utter perverſe things."

Prov. xxiii. ver. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.

Here is much of the miſchiefs of Drunkenneſs in a little, and of the Exceſs and wantonneſs of the Drunkard. But, alas! did ever any age come near ours, when the very Taſting of the ſeveral Sorts of Wine (that are liberally drank of at many tables) is enough to diſtemper a temperate head? But that ſuch exceſſes ſhould be endured by Chriſtian Governments, while the Backs of the Poor are almoſt naked, and their Bellies miſerably pinched with Hunger, is almoſt as great a ſhame to our pretences to Policy, as thoſe (I fear) we unwarrantably make to Religion. O! that we were fit to receive that heavenly exhortation of the Apoſtle, "Be not drunk with Wine, wherein "is exceſs; but be filled with the Spirit," (which, God knows, it mockt at! He goes on) "ſpeaking to yourſelves," (not in Lampoons nor Obſcene Songs, that excite luſt, but) "in Pſalms, and Hymns and ſpiritual Songs, ſinging and making melody in your "heart to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in "the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

SECT. III.

Of the Sin of Whoredom and Fornication.

THE next crying ſin is that of *Whoredom* and *Fornication*. From one of the cleaneſt people under Heaven, I fear, we are become one of the moſt unchaſte, at leaſt in and about London. The French have ſufficiently revenged themſelves upon us, by the looſe manners they have brought amongſt us, of which this makes a great part. But I muſt needs ſay, to their credit, but our reproach, they keep their Wits in their debaucheries; whilſt we, by over-doing them, in the imitation of them, loſe both. What is become of the ancient Education of the Kingdom? Our Integrity, Gravity and Manhood, which gave our men ſo great reputation in the world? Is it not turned into Swearing and Drinking, Fiddling and Dancing, fine Clothes, a Duel and a Wench? Their Prophaneneſs muſt paſs for Wit, and their baſe Crafts be called Policy.

But where is that retired Breeding, which made our women as famous for their *Virtue*, as they were always held for their *Beauty?* Alas! there hath been a ſort of induſtry uſed to ſubdue their native modeſty, as if it were ill breeding to have it; and arts practiſed to make them hardy againſt their own bluſhes, and maſter their ſhy and baſhful diſpoſition (ſo peculiar to chaſtity) into an unconverted confidence: As if it were their perfection to be inſenſible of ill, and to be tame at all things a virtue. Strange! That *Sobriety* ſhould be turned into *Levity!* and *Luſt* called *Love!* and Wantonneſs, *Good-Humour!* To introduce which, nothing has been ſo pernicious as the uſe of *Plays* and *Romances* amongſt us, where the warm and uneven paſſions of our youth, eaſily tranſported beyond the government of their Reaſon, have been moved and excited to try that in earneſt, which they have heard or ſeen in jeſt.

But which way ſoever this ungodly latitude came in, certain it is, that what forty years ago was not fit to be named in converſation, is now practiſed without any ſcruple. *Marriage*, which is God's Ordinance, and as lovely to chaſte minds as lawful, is now grown a dull thing, old and clowniſh, kept up only for iſſue, and that becauſe the law will have it ſo; a ſort of formality, not yet thought fit to be abrogated: So that what was once ordained of God for many other helps and comforts, and permitted by the holy apoſtle to prevent luſt, “ (better marry than burn)” is by the extravagant growth of vice turned to quite the contrary. For ſome Men, and (which is worſe) ſome Women too, have ſaid, ‘ They could love their Wives and Huſbands, if they were *not* their ‘ Wives and Huſbands;’ though that be the true reaſon why they ought to love them. It is, in ſhort, to ſay, if they were in that condition in which they ought *not* to love them, they *could* love them; but being in that condition in which they *ought* to love them, they declare they *cannot* love them: Yet, alas! they muſt be called Chriſtians, and Children of God: What a ſhame is this; and what ſcandal to ſociety? But, for God's ſake, let this impiety be laid to heart! Let not the Marriage-bed be ſo horribly defiled; let not our Virgins be ſo baſely abuſed: It deſtroys Honour, Fortitude, Health: It pollutes houſes, and makes the iſſue of the nation ſpurious: It occaſions great unkindneſſes, rents, confuſions and diviſions in families, between huſband and wife, parents and children, maſters, miſtreſſes, and ſervants: It ſpots their name: But, above all, the poor children are unhappy, that wear an ignominy they never deſerved. It fine, it teaches young men to ſlight marriage, and married men to break their contracts. If Religion were not intereſted in it, yet the very Breed of the Nation is viſibly injured by it: Good horſe-men are more nice and careful in their ſteeds: The policy of theſe kingdoms is concerned in preventing the miſchiefs, that follow ſuch Licentious Practices.

But if we will conſider the ſhare that Religion has, both in Virginity and in Mar-
Exod. xx. 14. riage, we ſhall find many ſevere ſentences paſt upon the violators of them. “ Thou
Lev. xx. 10. “ ſhalt not commit adultery,” ſaith God. “ The adulterer ſhall be put to death,” ſaith
Mal. iii. 5. the ſame God. “ I will be a ſwift witneſs againſt the adulterer,” ſaith the Lord.
1 Cor. vi. 9, “ Know ye not, that the unrighteous ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not de-
13, 15, 18, 19, 20. “ ceived, neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate perſons, nor
Ch. iii. 17. “ abuſers of themſelves with mankind.” And the holy apoſtle gives the reaſon,
“ The body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body:
“ Know ye not,” ſaith he, “ that your bodies are the members of Chriſt? Shall I
“ then take the members of Chriſt, and make them the members of an harlot? God
“ forbid! Flee fornication: He that committeth fornication, ſinneth againſt his own
“ body. What!” ſaith he, “ know ye not, your body is the temple of the Holy
“ Ghoſt, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For
“ ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body and in your ſpirit,
“ which are God's. If any man defile the temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy.”
O can men profeſs to believe theſe things, and lead that wretched life they live! But
yet again hear this man of God: “ But fornication, and all uncleanneſs, or covetouſ-

“ neſs,

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“ neſs, let it not be once named amongſt you, as becometh ſaints; neither filthineſs, “ nor fooliſh talking nor jeſting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks. “ For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean perſon, nor covetous man, who “ is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Chriſt and of God. Let no “ man deceive you with vain words; for becauſe of theſe things cometh the wrath “ of God upon the children of diſobedience: Be not ye therefore partakers with them, “ and have no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs; but rather reprove “ them: See then, that ye walk circumſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe, redeeming “ the time, becauſe the days are evil.” Eph. v. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16. I ſhall conclude with theſe two paſſages; the firſt is this, “ Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers “ and adulterers God will judge!” Heb. xiii. 4. This is the other, “ But the fearful and unbeliev- “ ing, and the abominable and murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idola- “ ters, and all lyars, ſhall have their part in the lake, which burneth with fire and brim- “ ſtone, which is the ſecond death.” Rev. xxi. 8. This alone ought to deter all people, who have any reſpect for Holy Scripture, and do believe the mind of God to be declared therein. Let then both Cities, Courts, Towns and Houſes, be ſwept of ſuch iniquity; let the law have its courſe upon thoſe immoral tranſgreſſors; let not God be provoked to deſtroy us, and let all ſuch turn to God by unfeigned repentance; that Sobriety, Chaſtity, and Virtuous Converſation, may return again among us. So ſhall we eſcape the wrath, that for this, with other enormities, is ready to break out yet farther againſt us.

SECT. IV.

Of the Sin of Luxury, or Exceſs in Living.

THE third crying ſin of this land, is great *Luxury* and *Voluptuouſneſs*, and that in ſeveral reſpects: In Apparel, in Furniture, in Feaſting: In theſe things there is great exceſs. An Exceſs is the immoderate uſe of any thing. That which is lawful in itſelf, may be abuſed in the uſe of it. What is more allowable, yet what is more abuſed, than Clothes and Victuals? The end of Apparel is to cover nakedneſs, keep people warm, diſtinguiſh ſexes; but the end is perverted. It is now uſed more for ornament, for pride, for luſt; to beget eſteem, and to draw reſpect to the perſon that wears it, than any real benefit: A mean, an effeminate, a wretched way to honour; yet ſuch is the folly of the age, that few things are more reverenced. It opens doors, gets acceſs, obtains diſpatches, carries away the cap and the knee from moſt other pretences. The truth is, this Vanity abuſes the reaſon of Juſt Reſpect; for True Quality, if plain, is not to be known among Fine Clothes. But it does not only confound all *reaſonable diſtinction*, and thoſe *civil degrees* that are among people, but it begets *Pride:* They think themſelves ſomebody, if they are fine; plain clothes muſt give them the way and the wall, and keep the diſtance too. It introduces Effeminacy, and excites to Wantonneſs; it provokes to prodigality, and leads people to idleneſs. But there is a ſort of madneſs in it too; for 'tis not ſo much the Apparel, as the *Trimming*; not the Clothes, but the *Cut*, the *Mode*, the *Figure*, that prevails: And as often as this changes, clothes grow uſeleſs, that are not half worn out. This is an iniquity againſt the good of the Government, as well as againſt God and his creatures; and there is ſo ſtrong a temptation in it, that not a few turn *Naught to be Fine*, as well as that the *Fine turn Naught*. In ſhort, there is no good, no advantage, prudence or conveniency in this exceſs: The law of God and of the land rebuke it: The third chapter of Iſaiah is almoſt intirely employed againſt it, in which God does Iſa. iii. not only rebuke the “ Haughty looks, the wanton eyes, and enticing mein and be- “ haviour of the women of thoſe times;” but declares his reſolution too, “ that he “ would take away the bravery of their ornaments, chains, bracelets, rings, jewels, “ and changeable ſuits of apparel, and that their perfume ſhould be turned into a ſtink; “ and inſtead of a girdle there ſhould be a rent, and inſtead of well-ſet hair, bald- “ neſs; and inſtead of a ſtomacher, a girding of ſackcloth; and burning inſtead of “ beauty. Thy men,” ſaid God, “ ſhall fall by the ſword, and thy mighty in the “ war; and her gates ſhall lament and mourn; ſhe being deſolate, ſhall ſit upon the “ ground.”

This was alſo the ſin of Tyrus, as we may ſee, Ezek. xxvii. For pomp and pride ſhe excelled in thoſe days: She boaſted in her ſplendor and ſumptuous living; her buildings were lofty, her furniture ſtately, her apparel coſtly, but her end was trouble, and her deſtruction very great. And God expreſly threatens by his Prophet Zephaniah; “ I will puniſh the princes and the kings children, and all that are clothed “ with ſtrange apparel.” What is this *ſtrange apparel?* Is it *new faſhions?* Then we are guilty with a witneſs. Or is it the faſhions of *ſtrange countries?* It is ſtill our own caſe. We have been more careful to receive the law from *France* for our Clothes, than from *Chriſt* for our Converſation; and ſo prevalent is the humour of that country with us, and powerful the aſcendant it hath over us, that we ſeem to be Frenchmen living in England. But in this, as alſo in all other things, the *chriſtian religion excels*, and that for the good of *civil ſociety*. It reproves this exceſs, limits the vain mind of man, and teaches that decent plainneſs, which becomes the providence and gravity of Civil Government.

Hear the language of the holy apoſtles, whoſe doctrine we all pretend to believe: 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. “I will therefore,” ſaith Paul, “that women adorn themſelves in modeſt apparel, with ſhamefacedneſs and ſobriety, not with broidered hair, or gold, or coſtly array; but (which becometh women profeſſing godlineſs) with good works.” The ſame doctrine is repeated by the Apoſtle Peter, ſpeaking to the chriſtian women, to whom 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4, 5. he wrote, “Let not your adorning be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet ſpirit, which is in the ſight of God of great price: For after this manner in the old time, the holy women alſo, who truſted in God, adorned themſelves.” Would to God I could ſay for the women of our age, that they truſted in God too, and adorned themſelves with no other ornaments, than what agreed with the modeſt and humble plainneſs of thoſe chriſtian times!

But the Laws of the Land, as well as the Chriſtian Law, reprove this Exceſs. They only want to be refreſhed and inforced by the care of our ſuperiors: Were they ſtrictly put in execution, it would not only prevent much miſchief, and increaſe the wealth of the kingdom, but make private men in a little time thank the juſt and ſeaſonable ſeverity of the government. For it would help to keep them within compaſs, to preſerve (which is one way to increaſe) their eſtate; to enlarge their trade, provide better for their children, and open their hands more liberally to the poor: And this, I am ſure, God requires at our hands.

What I have ſaid againſt Exceſs in Apparel, is alſo applicable to Exceſs in Furniture: For as Finery is more valued than Clothes, ſo is the Furniture than the Houſe. It is a moſt inexcuſable ſuperfluity, to beſtow an eſtate to line walls, dreſs cabinets, embroider beds, with an hundred other unprofitable pieces of ſtate, ſuch as maſſy plate, rich china, coſtly pictures, ſculpture, fret-work, inlayings, and painted windows, of no uſe in the earth, only for ſhow and ſight: The intereſt of which money, ſo ill employed, might probably maintain the poor of the nation.---‘O Lord God! haſt thou given us plenty, and ſhould we ſee others want? Should we clothe our dead walls, and let thy poor go naked? Can we feed our eyes with theſe objects, and not feed the hungry with bread, and ſpend our money upon lifeleſs pictures, but ſhut up our bowels to thy living image, the poor and needy of the earth? Rebuke this evil mind, and bring down the pride of all fleſh, O Lord! for thy name's ſake.’

The laſt exceſs is that of *Feaſting* and *Voluptuouſneſs*, immoderate Eating and Drinking, with that ſtrain of mirth and jollity, which is the mode and practice of the times. Dives is almoſt got into every family, eſpecially of thoſe of note and eſtate; and it is want of wealth, and not of will, that the greateſt part of the nation is not guilty: They moſtly ſin to their ability, and that is ſad. But the Sin of Voluptuouſneſs is ſwelled to that bulk, that there are more *Receipts* for *Eating* and *Drinking*, than there are *Precepts* of *Life* in the *Old* and *New Law*. The Book of Cookery has outgrown the *Bible*, and I fear is read oftener; to be ſure, it is more in uſe. In this art the luſt of the fleſh is deeply concerned; there is not ſo much care of the Stomach as of the Palate, of Health, as Pleaſure: It is the taſte, the guſt, the reliſh, that makes the victuals go down; therefore the *Sauce* is preferred before the *Meat*. Twelve pennyworth of fleſh, with five ſhillings of Cookery, may happen to make a faſhionable diſh; plain beef, mutton, or any other thing, is become dull food: But by that time its natural reliſh is loſt in the crowd of the cook's ingredients, and the meat ſufficiently diſguiſed to the eaters, it paſſes under a *French* name for a *rare diſh*. But there is one thing in this impiety more than ordinarily condemnable; it deſtroys hoſpitality, and wrongs the poor: For that expence, which is now flung away upon a vicious palate, upon a French ſoup, or ſauce, in former times afforded ſeveral diſhes of ſubſtantial victuals; which did not only feed ſtrangers or neighbours, but the poor, who have now little more than (what the dogs had then) empty diſhes to lick. This is abuſing the Providence of God, tyrannizing over the creatures made for man's uſe, and ſacrificing their poor lives, not to our lives, but to our luſt. 'Tis againſt ſuch as theſe “the creation groans,” and from whoſe intemperance it “cries to be delivered,” Rom. viii. 21, 22.

God, in all ages, had a controverſy with voluptuous men, and the teſtimonies of Sacred Records are ſtrong and numerous againſt them: I will mention a few of them. Gen. vi. Mat. xxiv. 37, 38, 39. Voluptuouſneſs was the ſin of the Old World: “They were eating and drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage, pleaſing the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, until the day of the flood.” This alſo was the condition of

Sodom; Chriſt himſelf has expreſſed it in theſe words: "In the days of Lot they did eat, they drank, they bought, they ſold, they planted, they builded; the ſame day Gen. xix. that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimſtone from Heaven and deſtroyed Luke xvii. 28, 29. them all." The prophet Ezekiel has it in theſe words, ſpeaking to Jeruſalem, "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy ſiſter Sodom, Pride, Fulneſs of Bread, and Abundance Ezek. xvi. 49, 50. of Idleneſs, was in her and her daughters: Neither did ſhe ſtrengthen the hand of the poor and needy; and they were haughty, and committed fornication before me; therefore I took them away, as I ſaw good." And it is very remarkable, that the Voluptuouſneſs of the Iſraelites was joined with their Idolatry. It is ſaid, that when Moſes was in the Mount, the people, impatient of his ſtay, "Sat down to eat and Exod. xxxii. 28. drink, and roſe up to play." They had got a calf of gold, and were dancing about it; but it was a diſmal ball, and they paid dear for their junket, for ſeveral thouſands were ſlain; and it is ſaid, that "God plagued the people." Job's children had as ill ſucceſs in their feſtivals; "They went from houſe to houſe, eating and drinking; and Job. i. 19. a tempeſt roſe, and ſmote the four corners of the houſe, and it fell and killed them." But moſt expreſs is that complaint of God, by the mouth of the prophet Amos, againſt the voluptuous Jews: "Ye that put ſo far away the evil day, and cauſe the ſeat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and ſtretch themſelves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and calves out of the midſt of the ſtall: That chant to the ſound of the viol, and invent to themſelves inſtruments of muſick, like David: That drink bowls of wine, and anoint themſelves with the Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and Ch. viii, 20. chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joſeph. Therefore now ſhall they go captive with the firſt that go captive, and the banquet of them that ſtretched themſelves ſhall be removed. And I will turn your feaſts into mourning, and all your ſongs into lamentation; and I will make the end thereof a bitter day."

I ſhall ſum up theſe exceſſes, and conclude the inſtances, with the ſtory of Dives, more commonly known, than reverently believed, at leaſt conſidered: It is delivered to us, by the great Lord of Truth, in theſe words. "There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared ſumptuouſly every day. And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of Luke xvi. 19. 26. ſores, and deſiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: Moreover the dogs came and licked his ſores. And it came to paſs, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's boſom. The rich man alſo died, and was buried: And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and ſeeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his boſom. And he cried, and ſaid, Father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and ſend Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham ſaid, Son, remember that thou in thy life-time receivedſt thy good things, and likewiſe Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And beſides all this, between us and you there is a great gulph fixed, ſo that they which would paſs from hence to you, cannot; neither can they paſs to us, that would come from thence."

This great paſſage comprehends the ſtate of men in both worlds: It ſhews to us what that life is in this world, which leads to Miſery in the next, and what to Happineſs. No ſenſual man, no voluptuous perſon, not thoſe that deck themſelves with delicate apparel, and fare ſumptuouſly every day, that love their back and their belly more than God and the poor, ſhall be received into Abraham's boſom, or dwell in bleſſedneſs for ever. Let none deceive themſelves, the jealous God will not be mocked. Gal. vi. 8. "If you ſow to the fleſh, ye ſhall reap corruption; but if you ſow to the Spirit, ye ſhall reap life everlaſting."

They that live in Pleaſures, "Kill the juſt;" they crucify the Juſt Witneſs in them- James v. 5, 6. ſelves: Such treaſure up Wrath againſt the Day of Wrath. "Wo, anguiſh and tribulation Rom. ii. 8, 9. to every ſoul that doth evil, whether Jew or Gentile, Profeſſor or Prophane, Chriſtian or Infidel:" For the Dives's under all theſe names muſt be turned into hell: But ſuch as, through Patience and Well-doing, wait for immortality, as poor Lazarus did, after all their Poverty, Neglect and Hunger, ſhall receive "Glory, Honour and Rom. ii. 7. Eternal Life." And truly it is ſome comfort to the miſerable in this world, that they ſhall not live always in it, and that they have to do with a God, who is "no Reſpecter of Perſons." This judge is impartial; the Poor are upon even terms with the rich; and it will not be Quality, but Integrity; not Riches, but Righteouſneſs, which will recommend us to Him. No wonder then, if the prophet Jeremiah, in the name of God, charged the ancient Jews not to go into "the Houſe of Feaſting;" and Eccleſ. vii. 2. that Eccleſiaſtes hath ſaid, "It is better to go to the Houſe of Mourning, than to the Houſe of Feaſting," ſince ſo many evils follow it. But there is one feaſt, that even Chriſt himſelf allows us; though I have little reaſon to believe it will be imitated, when I conſider the natural averſeneſs that is, even among profeſſed Chriſtians, to his ſelf-denying precepts and example. "Thou," ſaid Jeſus, "When thou makeſt a Dinner Luke xiv. 12, 13, 14. or a Supper, call not thy Friends or thy Brethren, neither thy Kinſmen nor thy Rich

"Neighbours,

1679. “Neighbours, leſt they alſo bid thee again, and a Recompenſe be made thee.” (This would beget Feaſting, the thing to be avoided; no ſuch matter.) “But when thou “makeſt a Feaſt, call the Poor, the Maimed, the Lame, the Blind, and thou ſhalt be “bleſſed; for they *cannot* recompenſe thee; but thou ſhalt be recompenſed at the “Reſurrection of the Juſt.” There are few that ſtrive to obey this counſel; there is ſo little of Faſhion or of Intereſt in it. What! Perſons of *Quality* feaſt the *Poor*, carve for the *Maimed*, and feed the *Blind?* It is too mean, too ignominious! If they have the Bones, the Scraps, the Crumbs, it is well. No, no; this doctrine is too like him that taught it, to be practiſed by them that are ſo unlike him. They that follow him in theſe things, muſt “take up the Croſs, deſpiſe the Shame, and *ſow in hope*:” But becauſe there is an everlaſting recompenſe for thoſe that do, I fervently deſire of God, that it would pleaſe him to put it into the minds of both magiſtrates and people to “love mercy, do juſtice, walk humbly with the Lord,” and meekly and charitably towards all men. I beſeech you, in the tender bowels of a Chriſtian man, to conſider of the preſent conjuncture: Is this a time for Feaſts and Revels, Plays and Paſtimes, when the very wrath of God ſeems to hang by a ſlender thread over our heads: O! let your Moderation be known unto all men, now the Lord is ſo near at hand, ſo very near indeed. Mic. vi. 5. 6, 7, 8. Col. iii. 14.

And I do humbly pray the ſupreme authority of this land to put a ſpeedy check to theſe exorbitances, to diſcountenance theſe exceſſes, by the revival of the good Old Laws of the Land, and in making of ſuch new ones, as may be thought convenient to prevent ſuch Pride and Prodigality. For I think I may, both with modeſty and truth, affirm, if the very Unneceſſary Expences of moſt ranks or degrees in this kingdom could be brought into one Publick Purſe, they would ariſe to Three Times more money, than either is given, or is requiſite, to the Maintenance of the Poor that are in it: And whether this be a thing practicable or no, it matters not, though I believe it is; the very preventing of that exceſs which is amongſt us, would be pleaſing to Almighty God, and one way or other beneficial to the whole.

SECT. V.

Of the Evil of Gaming.

IT may not be improper for me here to follow this head of Exceſs with the ſin of *Gaming*; an invention of much miſchief in the world, and therefore inconſiſtent both with Chriſtianity and Civil Government. The evils that attend it are neither ſmall nor few. It is, firſt, a great enemy to Buſineſs, and that juſt Care that people ought to have for the diſcharge of their reſpective capacities in their civil affairs. Next, It is one of the greateſt Thieves to mens Eſtates: Many brave families have been ruined by a Gameſter. That which hath been got by the care and prudence of a father, it may be, hath been loſt in one night by the extravagant humour of a ſon: But that the reward of Virtue ſhould be the ſtake of Folly, and the painful acqueſt of worthy anceſtors expoſed to the chance and hazard of the Die, is ſuch impiety to God's Providence, ingratitude to Parents, injury to their own Families, and diſgrace to the Government, that I conceive it may very well deſerve the care of our ſuperiors to prevent that extravangancy for the future, by the execution of the laws in being againſt it. Thirdly, It is a great Conſumer of Time. They who are addicted to Gaming, are generally the moſt idle and uſeleſs people in any government: And give me leave to ſay, that men are accountable to the government for their time: There ought to be no idleneſs in the land; for that end Bridewells are provided. Of many other ſins people are weary; but of this never, unleſs to ſleep or eat, or for want of money to play. Epheſ. v. 16. We are commanded to “redeem the time, becauſe the days are evil;” but theſe people chuſe rather to *loſe* their time, and *fall into* the evil they ſhould avoid. A Gameſter and a Chriſtian, are as oppoſite as a Saint and a Sinner; for the Chriſtian looks to God in the increaſe of his eſtate, but the Gameſter to Skill and Chance; and there is no more of God in his Mind, than there is in his Game: And it cannot be otherwiſe. Fourthly, Therefore Gaming deſerves to be ſuppreſſed, becauſe it has been the occaſion of breach of friendſhip, quarrels, bloodſhed and murder: If we ought to ſhun the occaſions of evil, to be ſure we ought not to indulge them.

The laſt miſchief that belongs to Gaming (which I ſhall mention at this time) is the horrid Oaths and paſſionate Imprecations uſed by the generality of Gameſters; but becauſe they are not confined to Gaming, but run through the whole Converſation of men, they may very well challenge a place among thoſe “Crying Sins,” that I found myſelf obliged in Conſcience to complain of, to ſuch as have power in their hands to puniſh and ſuppreſs them.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Of the horrid Sin of Oaths, Curſing and Blaſphemies.

I HAVE therefore reſerved to ſpeak of Oaths, Curſes and Blaſphemies till laſt, becauſe I take them to be the moſt provoking ſin. The other enormities of Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, Exceſs, &c. do more immediately relate to ourſelves; and are therefore ſins againſt God, becauſe they are a tranſgreſſion of that Order, which he placed in the nature of things: But Oaths and Blaſphemies muſt be referred to God himſelf; they are ſins committed more immediately againſt his *Being*, his *Name*, and the Majeſty and Dignity of his *Nature*. It is horrible to hear how he is called upon about every thing, be it never ſo trivial; yea, about nothing, and worſe than nothing. He is ſummoned at their Games, their Sports, their Obſcenities, in their Drunkenneſs, Whoredoms, Murders, Rapines, and Treachery. There is a generation that cannot *ſpeak* without him, though they can *live* without him. They would make him a Voucher of all their Falſhood, and a Witneſs for their Lies, as often as they would be believed. But I tremble to remember, with what preſumption ſome men, when tranſported into rage, invoke him to damn thoſe they are angry with, yea, themſelves too; and how impiouſly they ſend him at their pleaſure upon the errands of their vengeance. Can there be greater blaſphemy, than to dare ſo much as to think, that the holy, wiſe and juſt God ſhould be the executioner of their paſſion and fury, and the avenger of their malice and corrupt intereſts? And it is obſervable, that if in any thing they are croſſed or diſappointed, they fall a ſwearing, curſing, damning, blaſpheming; as if the name of God ſhould make them ſatisfaction; or that it were a ſort of eaſe to them, to deliver themſelves of a burden of Oaths.

But that which aggravates this evil, is the Impudence of the people that commit it: They are not contented to uſe it at home, and at ale-houſes and taverns abroad; but in the open ſtreets, markets and fairs; in the moſt notorious places of commerce and traffick; to the diſhonour of God, the grief and offence of ſober men, and the bad example of thoſe that are not ſo. But this ſhameful impiety ends not here; it has not only prevailed with the Populace, the Kennel, the Vulgar; but the men of Quality, the Gentry, and the Nobles of the realm, to whom God in his Providence hath been more propitious, placing them at the diſtance of example and imitation to the multitude; even thoſe that ought to be the heads of our tribes, the leaders of the people; whoſe virtue ſhould at leaſt keep pace with their quality, are guilty of this impious and baſe cuſtom; and too many of them more concerned in it, than the meaneſt of the people. And to carry this practice to the utmoſt height of that miſchief it ſeems capable of doing, too many, God knows, of thoſe in authority uſe it; even the men, that by law ſhould ſuppreſs it! And if men of office and power, that ought, in their ſeveral truſts, to be a terror to evil-doers, were ſo, methinks they ſhould not ſuffer the name of the God of the nation (whom they pretend to worſhip) to be ſo prophanely uſed and blaſphemed; and, leaſt of all, that *they* ſhould be the men *themſelves*, who commit the enormities that they ſhould puniſh. To ſay truth, and with grief of ſoul I ſpeak it, ſo univerſal is this contagion in the kingdom, that not only the elder ſort and youth, but the children are infected: The boys of ſeven years old, that in my time did not think upon an oath, are now full of their *God-Damn-You's* and *God-Damn-Me's* at their ſports and plays! And the women of our nation, eſpecially thoſe of any rank, who by a reſerved education, and the modeſty of the ſex, were ſcarcely ever heard to curſe, even what they did not like, (much leſs to ſwear upon ordinary occaſions) are, ſome of them, grown hardy enough to do both. At whoſe door muſt all theſe miſchiefs lie? I beſeech God to put it into the hearts of our ſuperiors, to uſe their utmoſt diligence to rebuke and ſuppreſs this and the like impieties!

We profeſs ourſelves to be Chriſtians, Followers of that Jeſus, "in whoſe mouth "no guile was ever found:" What precept did he ever give us, what example hath he left us, to countenance this practice? 'Tis true, he charged his diſciples, "Not "to ſwear *at all*;" but we cannot think ourſelves to obey him, when we ſwear at *every thing*: Pray conſider the great difference there is betwixt Chriſt and ſuch Chriſtians. Chriſt is Lord of a more perfect law than that which came by Moſes, which admits of Oaths in ſome caſes; but they were few, and muſt be kept upon great penalties: This new law of Jeſus takes away Oaths, by taking away the cauſe and need of them, namely, Falſhood and Diſtruſt; and by planting Plainneſs, Truth and Integrity in the natures of men, which make them ſuch faithful diſciples to him, and ſo entirely brethren to one another, that there ſeems no farther uſe for Oaths among men under that qualification. "Ye have heard of old time," ſaith Chriſt Jeſus, "Thou ſhalt not "*forſwear* thyſelf, but perform thy vows unto the Lord:" This was not ſwearing at *pleaſure*, nor ſwearing *vainly*; this was thus far good, it was the Perfection of the Law. So it was, "Not to kill, nor to commit adultery:" But Chriſt Jeſus carries it

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Mat. v. ‘ her: Thou muſt not ſwear *at all:* Thou muſt not do that which was allowed or diſpenſed with under the Law: For what the Law could not do, through weakneſs, I ‘ am come to do: Therefore let your Communication, your *Speech,* (for ſo the word ‘ ſhould be rendered) be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay: Speak the truth, by ſaying, Yea, ‘ Yea, or Nay, Nay; Yes, Yes, or No, No; for what is more, or imports more, ‘ than this, or riſes higher, or goes farther, than this Plainneſs and Simplicity, is both ‘ needleſs and evil in a Chriſtian; for it cometh of Evil.’ This is the doctrine of Jeſus. Certainly then there can be no agreement between him and the *ſwearing, damning* Chriſtians of this age, who are ſo far from obeying him, whoſe name they take, that they are not come to the Righteouſneſs of the Law, that condemns all Vain Swearing; but lie under the heavy judgment of the Lord for the breach of his
Exod. xx. 7. Third Commandment, “ Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in “ vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltleſs, that taketh his name in vain.” It is eſteemed a profanation of things ſet apart for divine worſhip, to employ them in our common and ordinary ſervices; and is it not profanation with a vengeance, to ſuffer the name of the great God to be proſtituted at every turn by lewd and debauched people? Can we be ſo careful of our own names, and ſo careleſs of God's? Is it poſſible, that we can be more tender of ourſelves, than concerned for him? For him, I ſay, who made us, and gives us life, breath and being; to whom we owe ourſelves, and all that we are? But that men, to right themſelves, upon every little affront, ſhould expoſe their lives to the utmoſt peril, and not find in their heart ſo much as to rebuke the indignities daily put upon Heaven, is an ill proof of Zeal and Religion.

But as inſenſible as ſuch are of their duty, God is not wanting to his own glory:
Jer. xxiii. 10, 19. He has forbidden theſe things; let men diſobey at their peril. “ Ye ſhall not ſwear “ by my name falſly,” ſaith God, “ neither ſhalt thou *prophane* the name of thy God; “ I am the Lord.” Hear, O ye Swearers, the judgment that God has denounced againſt
Zach. v. 3. you! “ Every one that *ſweareth* ſhall be cut off.” How cut off? From God.--- Again, “ The land is full of adulteries; and becauſe of Swearing the land mourneth: “ Behold! the whirlwind of the Lord ſhall heavily fall upon the head of the wicked.”

SECT. VII.

Of the Sin of Profaneneſs.

TO this I ſhall add a brief reflection upon that pernicious ſin of Profaneneſs, ſo near of kin to Oaths and Blaſphemy. Such is the degeneracy of the age we are fallen into, that Profaneneſs does not only go unpuniſhed, but boldly lays claim to Wit, and fills the converſation of too many of thoſe that think themſelves raiſed above the genius of the vulgar. He is reputed formal, that will not be rude to Sacred Things; and a man inſipid, of no ſenſe or ſalt, who cannot jeer Devotion: And, which is ſtrange, they make the *Bible* a ſort of Common-place; but 'tis for mockery, not for piety. The phraſes they uſe, are picked to abuſe that Holy Book; and the profaneneſs is placed to the account of wit. But truly, if men muſt rally Religion at the peril of paſſing elſe for Fools, and abuſe Scripture to purge themſelves from the ſuſpicion of Reverencing it, there is here an unhappineſs in being conſcientious; and, on the ſide of this world, the temptation to be profane is ſtronger than the encouragement to be virtuous. For this is my ſoul grieved, that men ſhould uſe their wit to abuſe him that gave it them; and that, though there is more to be ſaid *for* religion, than there can be ſaid *againſt* it, both with reſpect to its Reaſonableneſs and Uſefulneſs, and that the hazard of being irreligious is incomparably greater on the part of theſe Atheiſtical Scoffers, than of men profeſſing to fear God, and believe another world, they ſhall yet be ſo conſtant and obſtinate in their looſe and lewd converſation? But if the profaning of the leaſt thing that was dedicated to the worſhip of God in the times of the Law, was ſo heinous a ſin, what ſhould we ſay, when men ſtick not to profane the Name of God himſelf, and ſcoff at his *Revealed Will,* ſo much greater than either Temple or Altar, or thoſe rites belonging unto them! God Almighty give his ſtrong rebuke to this extravagant ſpirit!

And to you all, that live in the practice of theſe open and crying ſins I have at this time inſiſted upon, this I ſay unto you, in the fear of God; ‘ Repent of the evil of ‘ your doings!’ Bring not down the farther judgments of God upon this land; they may be the Affliction of many, but in the end they will be your Puniſhment: Ye ſhall pay the reckoning of their ſufferings in the other world, and God will charge you with the calamity that they ſhall endure! Remember, before it is too late. Dreadful things are denounced againſt the wicked; therefore go not on to gratify your hearts luſts, and to forget the living God; for this ſhall be the end of ſuch works, that God
Eccleſ. xi. 9. will certainly bring you to Judgment: “ And who may abide the day of his coming? “ And who ſhall ſtand when he appears?” No *Fleſh* can ſtand in his preſence. Conſider

der that awakening ſaying of the Apoſtle, “ That the *Righteous* ſcarcely are ſaved;” and if ſo, “ Where ſhall the *Ungodly*, where ſhall the wretched *Sinner* appear?” How Mal. iii. 2. ſhall *ſuch* be able to hold up their heads in the day of his Wrath, in the hour of his 1 Pet. iv. 18. Judgment, at that great time of Inquiſition, when a Final Reckoning ſhall be paſt, and all muſt render an Account of the deeds they have done, and receive the Reward due unto them? Therefore, “ while it is to-day, harden not your hearts againſt God “ and his law:” Flatter not yourſelves: To be Chriſtians, ye muſt be like Chriſt: And if ye will be ſaved from Wrath, ye muſt be redeemed from Sin; for “ the wages Rom. viii. 11, “ of ſin is death:” What we ſow, we muſt reap. Increaſe not therefore guilt upon 14. Gal. vi. 7. your conſciences, by rebelling againſt the *Light*, that ſhines in them, &c. But lay your impieties to heart, mourn with true contrition of ſoul, and yet love righteouſneſs, and hate iniquity, and ye will prevent the Civil Magiſtrate, and probably avert the indignation of God that hangs over the nation. You cannot ſay you do not *know* your duty, but you do not *do* it: The Light is come, and ſhines in you; and the Grace appears daily to you, and in you, againſt the very imaginations and motions to evil; and you are ſelf-condemned in your exceſſes of all ſorts; and if your hearts Condemn you, God will not Juſtify you: Therefore bring your deeds to the true Light John i. 9. with which Chriſt has enlightened you, and examine if they are wrought in God or c. iii. 21. no; and begin a cordial reformation, which ſtands in the “ *Spirit* of Reformation.”

SECT. VIII.

An Addreſs to the Civil Magiſtrate for Redreſs.

HAving thus ended my reflections upon the five great crying ſins of the kingdom, and my reproof of the actors and promoters of them; give me leave to make my humble and chriſtian addreſs to you that are in authority. And, in the firſt place, I beſeech you to remember, that though ye are as Gods on Earth, yet ye ſhall die like Men: That ye are encompaſſed with like paſſions, and are ſubject to ſin. Such therefore of you, as may be concerned in any of theſe enormities (to whatever degree of guilt it be) I beg you, in the name of God, to “ ſearch yourſelves,” and to be juſt to your own ſouls. O! let the mercies and providences of God conſtrain you to unfeigned repentance! Turn to the Lord, love righteouſneſs, hate oppreſſion, and he will turn to you, and love you and bleſs you.

In the next place, be pleaſed to conſider your commiſſion, and examine the extent of your authority; you will find that God and the government have impowered you to puniſh theſe impieties: And it is ſo far from being a crime, that it is your duty. This is not troubling men for Faith, nor perplexing people for Tenderneſs of Conſcience; for there can be no pretence of conſcience to be drunk, to whore, to be voluptuous, to game, ſwear, curſe, blaſpheme and profane; no ſuch matter. Theſe are ſins againſt Nature, and againſt Government, as well as againſt the Written Laws of God. They lay the axe to the root of Human Society, and are the Common Enemies of mankind. It was to prevent theſe enormities, that Government was inſtituted; and ſhall Government indulge that which it is inſtituted to correct? This were to render Magiſtracy uſeleſs, and the bearing of the Sword vain: There would be then no ſuch thing in Government as “ a terror to evil-doers;” but every one would do that which he thought right in his own eyes. God Almighty defend us from this ſort of Anarchy!

There are three great reaſons, which enforce my ſupplication. The firſt is, ‘ The ‘ Preſervation of the Government;’ which, by ſuch Improvidence and Debauchery, is like to be greatly weakened, if not deſtroyed. The Induſtry, Wealth, Health and Authority of the nation, are deeply concerned in the ſpeedy and exemplary puniſhment of theſe extravagancies. This is the Voice of Intereſt, for the common good of the whole Society; Rulers and Ruled.

But there is an higher voice, unto which Chriſtian Men ought to have regard, and that is, the “ Voice of God,” who requires us to fear him, and obey his righteous commandments, at the peril of making him our Enemy, whom we ſhould make our common Friend and Protector: For upon his goodneſs depends our very natural and civil comforts. So that it is our intereſt to be good; and it is none of the leaſt arguments for Religion, that the piety and practice of it is the Peace and Proſperity of Government; and, conſequently, that Vice, the enemy of Religion, is, at the ſame time, the enemy of Human Society. What then ſhould be more concerned for the preſervation of Virtue, than Government; that, in its abſtract and true ſenſe, is not only *founded* upon Virtue, but, without the *preſervation* of Virtue, it is impoſſible to maintain the beſt Conſtitution that can be made? And however ſome particular men may proſper that are wicked, and ſeveral private good men miſcarry in the things of this world, in which ſenſe things may be ſaid “ to happen alike to all, to the Righteous as to the “ Wicked;” yet I dare boldly affirm, and challenge any man to the truth thereof, that in the many volumes of the hiſtory of all the ages and kingdoms of the world, there is

not

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It is the reaſon given by God himſelf for the Deſtruction of the Old World. We have that example before our eyes, that a whole world has periſhed for its ſin, "its forgetfulneſs of God, and their duty to him; one family only excepted." Gen. vi. That is the reaſon which God renders for caſting out the people of thoſe countries, that he gave into the hands of the children of Iſrael; "they were full of Uncleanneſs, Adulteries, Fornication, and other impieties." And though he is Sovereign Lord of the world, and may diſpoſe of the kingdoms therein as pleaſeth him (for he that gives, can take away; and he that builds, can caſt down; and mankind is but a tenant at will, to receive or ſurrender at his Lord's good pleaſure) yet he uſeth not that Prerogative to juſtify his gift of thoſe countries to the Jews; but, at the end of his prohibition of unlawful marriages and luſts, he charges them in theſe words; Levit. xviii. 24, 25, 26, 28. "Defile not yourſelves in any of theſe things; for in all theſe the nations are defiled, which I caſt out before you: And the land is defiled; therefore do I viſit the iniquity thereof upon it; and the land itſelf vomiteth out her inhabitants. Ye ſhall therefore keep my ſtatutes and judgments, and ſhall not commit any of theſe abominations, neither any of your own nation, nor any ſtranger that ſojourneth among you; that the land ſpue not you out alſo, when ye defile it, as it ſpued out the nations that were before you."

So Saul's diſobedience was his deſtruction, and his ſin made way for David's title. "Saul died," ſaith the Sacred Story, "for his tranſgreſſion:" This made the Philiſtines conquerors; his own ſin beat him, and killed him. Saul died for his tranſgreſſion: Then if he had not ſinned he had lived; he had beaten his enemies, and kept the kingdom? Yes, the place implies it. This, then, ſhould deter men, but Kings eſpecially, who have ſo much to loſe here, and ſo much to anſwer for hereafter. But what was Saul's ſin? It was, firſt, "Not keeping, but diſobeying, the Word of the Lord," both as it came by the Mouth of Samuel, God's Prophet, and as it ſpoke the Mind of God to him in his own Conſcience: For Moſes had ſaid before "that the Word of God was nigh, in the heart," and in God's name commanded the children of Iſrael to obey and do it. In ſhort, he refuſed the Counſel of God, and God for his Counſellor: For, in the next place, he betakes himſelf "to one that had a Familiar Spirit for advice," ſaith the ſtory: "He enquired not of the Lord; therefore he ſlew him, and turned the kingdom unto David." There are too many people troubled with *Familiar Spirits*; it were well if they were *leſs* familiar with them: Had Saul truſted in God, he needed not to have been driven to that ſtrait. He that was made King by God's appointment, and endued with a *Good Spirit*, ſo baſely to degenerate, as to run to a Witch for counſel, could not but miſcarry. To this darkneſs and extremity Iniquity will bring men: And truly, a Wo follows all ſuch perſons; anſwerable to that expreſſion of God by the Prophet; "Wo unto them that take counſel, and not of me." 1 Sam. xv. 17. "When Saul," ſaith the place, "was little in his own eyes, God honoured him; he made him head and king of the tribes of Iſrael:" But when Saul grew proud, God deſerted him, and for his diſobedience deſtroyed him. And what befel the family of Saul, in ſome after-ages befel both kings and people, and worſe: For their land was invaded, firſt by the Ægyptians, then by the Chaldeans and Babylonians: Their temple was rifled, their treaſure taken, and their kings, princes, nobles, artificers, and mighty men of valour, yea all, ſave the pooreſt of the people, were killed, or carried away captive, by the king of Babylon. 2 Kings xxiv. 14. The reaſon rendered is this: "Becauſe the kings did that which was evil in the ſight of God, and ſtiffened their necks, and hardened their hearts from turning unto the Lord God of Iſrael;" 2 Chro. xxxvi. 14. and becauſe the chief of the prieſts and of the people tranſgreſſed very much after the abominations of the Heathen. And when God ſent his meſſengers to reprove and warn them, and that out of his great compaſſion, they wickedly mocked his meſſengers, deſpiſed his words, and miſuſed his Prophets, till his wrath came upon them, and overthrew them.

I will here end my inſtances out of Sacred Story: And let us now briefly conſider what the Hiſtories of *other* places will tell us, that we may obſerve ſome proportion of agreement in the providence of God throughout the world.

The Firſt Empire had Nimrod's Strength, and the Wiſdom of the Chaldeans, to eſtabliſh it; and whilſt their prudence and ſobriety laſted, they proſpered. No ſooner came Voluptuouſneſs, than the Empire decayed; and was at laſt, by the baſe effeminacies of Sardanapalus, in whom that race ended, transferred to another family. It was the policy of an Aſſyrian King, in order to ſubdue the ſtrength of Babylon, then under good Diſcipline, not to invade it with Force, but to debauch it. Wherefore he ſent in Players, Muſicians, Cooks, Harlots, &c. and by thoſe means introducing Corruption

tion of Manners, there was little more to do, than to take it. Nebuchadnezzar, by his Virtue and Induſtry, ſeen in the ſiege of Tyre, and in many enterpriſes, recovered and enlarged the empire; and it ſeems his Diſcipline (thoſe times conſidered) was ſo excellent, that it was praiſed in Scripture. But when he grew proud and fooliſh, forgetting that Providence that had ſhown itſelf ſo kind to him, he became a Beaſt, and graſed among beaſts; till God, whom he had forgotten, had reſtored him the Heart of a Man and his Throne together.

He, dying, left Evil-Merodach heir to his crown, not his Conduct, nor the heart to conſider what God had done by him: In his time Pride and Luxury increaſed, but came not to its full pitch, till the reign of Belſhazzar, who did not only, as Nebuchadnezzar, *live*, but *die* a Beaſt. In him we have the exact example of a diſſolute and miſerable prince: He thought to fence himſelf againſt heaven and earth: Diſſolved in Pleaſures, he worſhipped no other God: His ſtory may make us well conclude, that God and man deſert thoſe that deſert *themſelves*, and neglect the *means* of their own *preſervation*. The city was taken before he knew it, and the ſword almoſt in his bowels, before he believed it; his ſenſuality had wrapt him in ſuch a deſperate ſecurity. But he fell not by the hand of one like himſelf; for God, who had determined the End, prepared the Means. Cyrus and his Perſians were the men: The people were poor, inhabiting a barren country; but hardy, and of ſober manners. Cyrus God had endued with excellent natural qualities, cultivated (as ſtory tells us) by the care of four of the moſt temperate, juſt, and wiſe perſons of thoſe times. This was he, whom God honoured with the name of his "Shepherd," and who was the executioner of his vengeance upon the Aſſyrians. While he reigned, all was well; but after he and his virtuous companions deceaſed, their children fell into the vices of the Aſſyrians; and though they reigned from the Indus to the Helleſpont, they ſoon became the conqueſt of the Greeks.

Never was there a greater inſtance given of the weakneſs of pomp and luxury, than in the reſiſtance made at Thermopolæ, where Three hundred virtuous Spartans encountered the vaſt army of Xerxes, conſiſting of no leſs than Seventeen hundred thouſand men. In ſhort, the defeats of Salamine and Platea, the expeditions of Xenophon with Cyrus the younger, almoſt into Babylon, and the Wars of Ageſilaus into Aſia, made it evident, that Greece wanted only union and an head, to make herſelf miſtreſs of that vaſt empire.

At laſt comes Alexander of Macedon, with the beſt diſciplined people that was then known: The diſpute was ſhort, where Steel was againſt Gold, Sobriety againſt Luxury, and Men againſt men that were turned Women. Thus the Perſians, prepared by their own vices, God delivered into the hands of the Greeks, who as much excelled them in their Virtue, as they were ſhort of their Dominion and Wealth. But this laſted not long; for Alexander, who died young, ſurvived his virtue and reputation, by falling into thoſe vices of the nations God had given him power to trample under foot; inſomuch that he, who was before generous, became barbarous and tyrannical. Egypt, Aſia, and Macedon, held up their heads a while; but not reſiſting the torrent of Lewdneſs that came upon them, they ſuffered themſelves to be overwhelmed with miſery and confuſion.

Nor has this calamity been peculiar to Monarchies; for ſeveral Republicks have fallen by the ſame miſchief. That of Lacedæmon, or Sparta, ſo ſevere in her conſtitution, and ſo remarkable for the virtue of her people, and that for many ages, at laſt growing ſlack in the execution of her laws, and ſuffering corruption inſenſibly to creep into her manners, ſhe became no more conſiderable, but weak and contemptible.

The ſame may be ſaid of Athens, the Great School of Learning; and of all the Republicks of Greece, moſt famous for her Virtue and Philoſophy, when that word was underſtood not of *Vain Diſputing*, but of *Pious Living*: She no ſooner fell into Luxury, but confuſion and revolutions made her as inconſiderable, as ſhe had been great.

Rome, as ſhe was the greateſt Commonwealth, ſo the greateſt example of the Gentiles in virtue and vice, in happineſs and in miſery: Her virtue and greatneſs are commemorated by Auſtin the father, and the latter made the effect of the former. 'God,' ſaith he, 'gave the Romans the government of the world, as a reward for their virtue.' Their manners were ſo good, and their policy ſo plain and juſt, that nothing could ſtand before them. And truly, they ſeemed to have been employed by God to puniſh the impious, and to inſtruct the barbarous nations: And ſo very jealous was ſhe of the education of her youth, that ſhe would not ſuffer them to converſe with the luxurious Greeks. But careleſſneſs, with length of time, overcoming the remarkable ſobriety of her manners, who before ſeemed invincible, ſhe falls into equal, if not greater miſeries, than thoſe that went before her; though ſhe had not only warning enough from *their* example, but from Hannibal's army, and her great enemy: For one winter's quarter of Hannibal and his army in the luxurious city of Capua, proved a greater overthrow to them, than all the Roman conſuls and armies had given them. They that had been victors in ſo many battles, turned ſlaves at laſt to Dancers, Buffoons, Cooks and Harlots; ſo as from that time they never did any thing ſuitable to the reputation gained by their former actions; but fell without much difficulty into the Roman hands. Nay, not long before, Rome herſelf encountered one of the greateſt dangers that ever had befallen her, by the corruption of her own people, in the ſame place, by the like means: And though this defection was recovered by thoſe that remained entire in their manners, yet after the overthrow of Antiochus, Mithridates, Tigranes, ſo that the riches and vices of Aſia came with a full ſtream upon them, the very heart of the city became infected; and the lewd Aſiaticks had this revenge in their own fall, that they ruined, by their vices, thoſe they were no ways able to reſiſt by their force; like the ſtory of the dying Centaur. Thus Pride, Avarice, and Luxury having prepared Rome for deſtruction, it ſoon followed. Virtue now grew intolerable in Rome, where Vice dared not for ages to ſhow its face. The worthieſt men were cut off, by proſcriptions, battles or murders, as if ſhe reſolved *ipſam virtutem exſcindere:* She deſtroyed her own citizens, and ſent for ſtrangers to protect her, which ruined her. Which proves, that the kingdom or ſtate, that, under God, doth not ſubſiſt by its own ſtrength, prudence and virtue, cannot ſtand: For the Goths, Hunns, and others, deſpiſed to ſerve thoſe, whom they excelled in power and virtue; and inſtead of guarding, took their dominion from them. And truly it might rather be called a journey, than a military expedition, to go and pillage Rome; ſo weak had her vices made her. Thus ſhe, that was feared by all nations, became the prey of all nations about her. So ended that once potent and virtuous commonwealth.

The Vandals in Africa ſoon became effeminate and lewd, which brought upon themſelves ſpeedy ruin. The Goths ſet up a powerful kingdom in Spain and part of France, and by the ſobriety of their manners, it flouriſhed near Four hundred years, but its end was not unlike the reſt. Two corrupt princes, Vuitza and Roderic, by their diſſolute example debauched the people, inſomuch that men ran an hazard to be virtuous: This made their deſtruction eaſy to thoſe whom God ſent againſt them; which were the Moors, occaſioned by the laſt of theſe Kings diſhonouring Count Juliano's daughter. In the time of his calamity, in vain did he expect the aid of thoſe that had been the flatterers and the companions of his vices: His ſecurity (the effect of his luxury) was his ruin. For whilſt he thought he had nobody to ſubdue but his own people, by abuſing them, he cut off his own arms, and made himſelf an eaſy prey to his real enemies: And ſo he periſhed with his poſterity, that had been the cauſe of the miſchief which befel that great kingdom. However, ſo it came to paſs, that the remainder of the Goths, mixing with the ancient Spaniards (to that day diſtinct) recovered the liberty and reputation of the kingdom by an entire reformation of manners, and a virtue in converſation as admirable, as the vices by which their fathers had fallen were abominable. But the preſent impoveriſhed ſtate of Spain can tell us, they have not continued that virtuous conduct of their anceſtors; the increaſe of their vices having decayed their ſtrength, and leſſened their people and their commerce.

But why ſhould we overlook our own country? that whether we conſider the invaſion of the Romans, Saxons, or Normans, it is certain the neglect of virtue and good diſcipline, and the preſent inhabitants giving themſelves up to eaſe and pleaſure, was the cauſe (if Gildas the Briton, and Andrew Horn may be credited) of their overthrow: For as the firſt bitterly inveighed againſt the looſeneſs of the Britons, threatning them with all thoſe miſeries that afterwards followed; ſo the laſt tells us, 'that 'the Britons having forgotten God, and being overwhelmed with luxury and vice, 'it pleaſed God to give the land to a poor people of the northern parts of Germany, 'called Saxons, that were of plain and honeſt manners." God is unchangeable in the courſe of his providence, as to theſe things: The like cauſes produce the like effects, as every tree doth naturally produce its own fruits. 'Tis true, God is not careleſs of the world; 'He feeds the young ravens, clothes the lillies, takes care of 'ſparrows, and of us, ſo as not an hair of our heads falls to the ground without his 'providence;' but if men deſpiſe his law, hate to be reformed, ſpend their time and eſtate in luxury, and perſiſt to work wickedneſs, he will viſit them in his wrath, and conſume them in his ſore diſpleaſure. To conclude, wars, bloodſhed, fires, plunders, waſtings, raviſhments, ſlavery, and the like, are the miſeries that follow immoralities, the common miſchiefs of irreligion, the neglect of good diſcipline and government.

Nothing weakens kingdoms like vice; it does not only diſpleaſe heaven, but diſable them. All we have ſaid, proves it: But above all, the iniquity and voluptuouſneſs of the Jews, God's choſen, who from being the moſt prudent, pious and victorious people, made themſelves a prey to all their neighbours. Their vice had prepared them to be the conqueſt of the firſt pretender; and thus from freemen they becames ſlaves. Is God aſleep, or does he change? Shall not the ſame ſins have the like puniſhment? At leaſt, ſhall they not be puniſhed? Can we believe there is a God, and not believe that he is the rewarder, as of the deeds of private men, ſo of the works of government? Ought we to think him careful of the leſſer, and careleſs of the greater? This were to ſuppoſe he minded ſparrows more than men, and that he took more notice of private perſons than of ſtates. But let not our ſuperiors deceive themſelves, neither put the evil day afar off; they are greatly accountable to God for theſe kingdoms. If every poor ſoul muſt account for the employment of the ſmall talent he has received from God, can we think that thoſe high-ſtewards of God, the great governors of the world, that ſo often account with all others, muſt never come to a reckoning themſelves? Yes, there is a final ſeſſions, a general aſſize, and a great term once for all, where he will judge among the judges, who is righteous in all his ways. There private men will anſwer only for themſelves, but rulers for the people, as well as for themſelves. The diſparity that is here, will be obſerved there; and the greatneſs of ſuch perſons as ſhall be then found tardy, will be ſo far from extenuating their guilt, that it will fling weight in the ſcale againſt them. Therefore give me leave, I do beſeech you, to be earneſt in my humble addreſs to you: Why ſhould ye not, when none are ſo much concerned in the good intention of it? Thus much for the firſt reaſon of my ſupplication.

SECT. IX.

Of the ſecond Motive to this Addreſs.

MY ſecond reaſon urging me to this humble and earneſt addreſs, is the Benefit of Poſterity. I would think that there are few people ſo vicious, as to care to ſee their Children ſo; and yet to me it ſeems a plain caſe, that as *we leave* the Government, *they* will *find* it: If ſome effectual courſe be not taken, what with neglect, and what with example, impiety, and the miſeries that follow it, will be entailed upon our children. Certainly, it were better the world ended with us, than that we ſhould tranſmit our vices, or ſow thoſe evil ſeeds in our day, that will ripen to their ruin, and fill our country with miſeries after we are gone; thereby expoſing it to the curſe of God, and violence of our neighbours. But it is an infelicity we ought to bewail, that men are apt to prefer the baſe pleaſures of their preſent extravagancies, to all endeavours after a future benefit; which, beſides the guilt they draw upon themſelves, our poor poſterity muſt be greatly injured thereby, who will find thoſe debts and incumbrances harder to pay, than all the reſt we can leave them under. Upon this occaſion I ſhall take the freedom to ſay ſomething of 'Education.'

The truth is, we are ſo much out of order in the Education of our Youth, that I wiſh I could ſay that we had only the ſin of Neglect to anſwer for. I fear, the care has been rather to educate them in a way of ſuch vanity, as ends in great inconveniencies here, and muſt needs find "vexation of ſpirit" hereafter. Our Univerſities have made more looſe, than learned; and what extravagancy is begun there, is uſually perfected abroad, or at our Inns of Court at home; that now and then afford us a few Able Lawyers; but the generality are like the man of old, who returned home "Seven times worſe than "he went out." The genius of this nation is not inferior to any in the world; it is induſtrious, it is wiſe, it is honeſt, it is valiant, yet ſoft and merciful. And, without partiality, we have men that have excelled in every worthy qualification. But, I muſt needs ſay, it has been more owing to the goodneſs of God, in the diſpoſition of our Natures, than the prudence and care of thoſe who have had the charge of their education. It was the ſaying of a wiſe man, "Train up a child in the way he ſhould go; "and when he is old, he will not depart from it." This is proved to us every day; but it is in the wrong way, in the way of idleneſs, wantonneſs, and impurity of manners. It is worth while, and high time, to make the experiment the other way; to try what the ſuppreſſion of vice, and the encouragement of virtue, will do: In this our ſuperiors muſt begin, and give their example, as well as ſhow their power. There is ſcarcely any one thing, that ſo much needs the wiſdom of the nation in the contrivance of a new law, as the 'Education of our Youth,' whether we conſider the piety or prudence of our manners, the good life, or juſt policy of the government. There is ſuch an example of what induſtry may do, in the practice of the Jeſuits, that I hope the preſent conjuncture will make the propoſal of the thing more welcome to you.

Prov. xxi i. 6.

That the intereſt of the Jeſuits is the greateſt in the Roman Church and Empire, is ſo far from being doubted, that all Proteſtants wiſh it were; it is our trouble, rather than our ſcruple: It may be, ſome other Orders are of the ſame mind, being much eclipſed ſince the riſe of this great intereſt. They firſt appeared about the time of the Reformation, and applied themſelves, with all conceivable induſtry, to ſecure the tottering Papacy againſt the progreſs of it. In this attempt they ventured ſo much farther than any of their predeceſſors in the church, that they have been eſteemed, of merit, the great miniſters and governors of the Chair for ſome of the laſt ages. Indeed, they have almoſt engroſſed the whole power of church and ſtate to themſelves in ſeveral principalities and kingdoms. To them all other Orders ſeem but ſmall retailers:

Note, The Jeſuits intereſt is the greateſt in the Roman Church.

1679. tailers: Their great Politicians, their Philoſophers, Orators, Hiſtorians and Mathematicians, are generally found among this ſociety; ſo that we ſcarce ſee any thing of note come out from men of that religion, which is not ſubſcribed E. S. J. The fame and apprehenſion of their extraordinary Learning, and the arts they have to recommend it, have made their Order the choice of moſt Princes and men of Quality of that religion for the Education of their Children; in whom they have carefully inſtilled, with their inſtructions and principles, that peculiar reſpect to their own ſociety, which hath greatly ſerved to the advancement of it, when they have grown to age and power.

But that which above all other ſtratagems hath prevailed to extend their dominion in the Roman church, has been their erecting of Schools, where they have Colleges, for the ‘ Free Education of Youth:’ The very doing of it *gratis* makes it look like Charity with the Poor, that have little to give; and with the Rich, that ſeldom love to part with Money, to be ſure it is no objection. Thus obliging the parents, they next fall to making themſelves grateful with the children: And here they exerciſe not a little ſkill. They ſtrictly ſurvey and obſerve the divers humours and diſpoſitions of their ſcholars, and take great care not to baulk their capacity by croſs or unſuitable ſtudies: But when once they are fixed, every youth according to his genius, it is not eaſy to be believed what pains they take to allure them to their ſtudies; how they will tempt them with childiſh rewards, and excite them to their book by raiſing an emulation among them: So that to *excel*, is more than a Rod; and *Victory*, than any Chaſtiſement whatever. By theſe arts they fit all capacities with ſuitable ſtudy, and cultivate them to the pitch of learning they are capable of; and all with that obligation upon the youth to love them, that from thence-forward they become partial devotees to the advancement of the honour and intereſt of that Order. To conclude, they have got into their hands the education of the generality of the youth of the Romiſh religion in every country, from the king to the peaſant; and being Maſters of them when Boys, they grow Governors and Confeſſors to them when they are Men; ſo that all ſeem to have fallen into their hands: And being but One Entire Intereſt throughout the world, and maintaining a moſt punctual Correſpondence, they muſt needs have the knowledge and diſpoſal of the affairs of States and Kingdoms, by that ſhare they have in the Counſels of Princes, and that great reliance that is upon their judgment and ability. This, if we regard only the Romiſh Religion, ſhews great wit, deſign and induſtry: But if we conſider well how formidable theſe arts render them to Proteſtant kingdoms, it will become us to uſe our utmoſt prudence to ſecure ourſelves. And there ſeems not to me a more effectual remedy, than a ‘ Wiſe and Virtuous Education of our Youth.’ In order to it, let us uſe methods not inferior to theirs, but for better Ends: Let us employ our ſkill to improve the childrens natural Abilities, to excite them to Virtue, and endear the trueſt Intereſt of their own Country to them. I will briefly ſet down what at preſent occurs to me, as a good way of Education.

Firſt, Let care be taken ‘ *To breed up youth in Morality:*’ Virtue prepares the mind, helps the underſtanding, and gives induſtry to compaſs what is deſired. I would have no books uſed in ſchools, in which there may be the leaſt indecency. There were, and not without reaſon, ancient canons againſt the reading of ſuch Heathen Authors; and not a few learned and ſober men have rebuked that practice amongſt us. It is an affront to Chriſtianity, yea, to our Natures, to fetch our wit or our manners from them. It were well if ſome Tracts of Moral Virtues, and Invectives againſt Vice, were written in thoſe languages we would have youth to learn; for in ſuch diſcourſes they might obtain good Manners with the Languages; whereas by preferring in ſchools Heathen Authors, our youth has learned baſe obſcenities, and a corrupt converſation.

II. In the next place, I would propoſe ſome of the more obvious and eaſier parts of the Mathematicks, and the knowledge of Plants and Natural Bodies, to be compoſed on purpoſe, after a familiar manner, that they may be inſtructed in the knowledge of Nature, and learn Things, at the ſame time they learn Words: It is a moſt reproveable ignorance, that we know not our own Natures, the World we are of and in, the Parts that compoſe it, and their Nature and Service, their Sympathies and Antipathies. *Nature* is an excellent book, eaſy, uſeful, pleaſant and profitable; but how few, alas! are learned either in the *Macrocoſm*, or their *Microcoſm*? I wiſh this were better underſtood; it would be both our honour and our advantage.

III. The laſt ſort of books which I would recommend, and are, in my opinion, moſt ſuitable to their maturity of age and underſtanding, are ſuch as relate to the Hiſtories and Tranſactions of our own Kingdoms; the Intereſt of the true Proteſtant Religion and Civil Policy among us. But becauſe there are very few (if any) of theſe diſcourſes extant, it were worth the care of our ſuperiors, and an act deſerving praiſe, that ſome ſkilful, ſober and judicious men were ſet to work for the compoſure of ſome ſmall tracts of this nature; and, as an Appendix to the whole, that there might be a Summary of the moſt virtuous and infamous actions of former Times, with the Rewards and Puniſhments they have received from God and Juſt Government; that, by the power of Example, they may be deterred from Vice, and provoked to an honeſt emulation of the Virtues and Reputation of the Ancients.

IV. In the fourth place, ‘*Croſs not the Genius of your Youth,*’ but match their talents well; for if you do not ſuit their ſtudies to their underſtanding, it will be drawing up hill, going againſt the grain, or ſwimming againſt the tide: That which will be gained, will be little; and with ſo much labour and time too, as will not quit coſt. It ſhould be greatly the care of thoſe who have the charge of youth, to make the ways of learning eaſy and chearful; which leadeth me to my laſt obſervation upon this head.

V. Let all honeſt arts be uſed by maſters of ſchools to provoke their youth to learning, without much fierceneſs or beating: For that ſort of education has nothing of that free and generous diſpoſition in it, which might be raiſed and improved in youth by more gentle and reaſonable methods. They that are taught to obey only for baſe Fear, make Fear, and not Reaſon, the rule of their obedience; and this grows up in too many with their age, that they turn mere Mercenaries, and only worſhip Violence. In ſhort, make Inſtruction *eaſy*, Correction *reaſonable:* Convince them of their miſcarriage with *mildneſs*, then *pardon* them; and, finally, excite them to amendment by *ſmiles* and *favour*. This awakens the noble part, and excites youth to perform that, which may ingratiate them with their tutors; who, if they at any time commit an error, ſhould rather ſhew themſelves affectionately *ſorry* for them, than bitterly *angry*. Plato, being greatly diſpleaſed with his ſervant, and going about to correct him, gave the wand to one that ſtood by, ſaying; ‘Do *thou* beat him, for *I* am *angry*.’ Chaſtizement ſhould be uſed with reaſon and reluctancy: A diſcreet and cool hand may direct the blow right, and hit the mark, when men of Fury rather eaſe their Paſſion, than mend their Youth; eſpecially, if the Correction exceed the Fault; for that hardens. This very brutiſhneſs is more injurious to the nature of our youth, than uſually their inſtruction is beneficial.

Upon the whole matter, I take the freedom to ſay, That if we would *preſerve* our Government, we muſt *endear* it to the people. To do this, beſides the neceſſity of preſent juſt and wiſe things, we muſt ſecure the Youth: And this is not to be done, but by the amendment of the way of their Education, and that with all conceivable ſpeed and diligence. I ſay, the Government is highly obliged: It is a ſort of Truſtee for the Youth of the Kingdom, who, though now minors, yet will have the government when we are gone. Therefore depreſs Vice, and cheriſh Virtue, that, thro' good Education, they may become Good; which will truly render them Happy in this world, and a good way fitted for that which is to come. If this be done, they will owe more to your memories for their Education, than for their Eſtates.

SECT. X.

Of the Third and Laſt Motive for this Addreſs.

MY third and laſt reaſon for this ſerious ſupplication to the Civil Magiſtrate is ſo great, that I find difficulty to expreſs it: 'Tis the glory of that GOD that made us; that hath ſo often delivered us, and doth ſo plentifully provide for us; who “ſent his Son into the world to ſave us,” and waits every day to be good and gracious to us. But he hath ſo particularly, and with that tranſcendency, ſet the marks of his favour upon you, both in your Reſtoration and Protection, as ſcarce any age can parallel. O! let a ſteady Virtue be the return of theſe mercies, and a pious care to retrieve and encourage Morality, which is the very baſis of our Religion and Government, be the humble token of your gratitude: It is your Office; you do but comply with the ‘Reaſon of your own Inſtitution:’ God expects it, and good men beſeech it from you. There is much in your power at this time, to make this the ‘Iſland of Peace and laſting Tranquillity.’ Loſe not, I beſeech you, the preſent opportunity: Revive the laws againſt theſe groſs iniquities: Terrify all evil-doers, and cheriſh them that do well: Provide for the poor, that their ſtock may not be abuſed, nor their cries pierce heaven againſt you, becauſe of neglect; that God may yet vouchſafe to ſpare us.

“Your *Sins*,” ſaid God of old, “have with-held good things from you:” 'Tis “*Righteouſneſs* that exalts a nation; but *Sin* is the reproach of any people.” Would ye proſper? then pleaſe God; and if ye will pleaſe him, ye muſt put away the Wicked from amongſt you; at leaſt from Power, and Offices in the Government: They that would rule others, ſhould be juſt themſelves, and of good lives. It was both his complaint, and the cauſe of his judgment, in former ages: “There are found *wicked* men among my people; they lay wait, as he that ſetteth ſnares; they ſet a trap, they catch men: As a cage is full of birds, ſo are their houſes full of deceit: Therefore they are become great, and waxen rich; they are waxen fat, they ſhine. They overpaſs (or *overlook*) the deeds of the wicked; they judge not the cauſe of the fatherleſs; yet they proſper.” Theſe were no ſmall folk, but men of Power; ſuch as

1679. got largely by the Government, and employed their authority to enrich themſelves, and not to relieve the Oppreſſed. I muſt needs ſay, and can with great truth, That *Miſgovernment* is the Occaſion, though the *Devil* be the Cauſe, of that miſchief and ruin that attend nations.

What kingdoms hath God deſtroyed, and cities turned into rubbiſh, becauſe of national evils; too much occaſioned by the Remiſſneſs of Magiſtrates? The ſlack hand that the rulers of Iſrael held over the manners of that unhappy people, made way for their unſubjected paſſions and corrupt affections to break out into the vileſt impieties: But if men ſhall be left to their own licentiouſneſs, to commit ſin with greedineſs, and with impunity deſpiſe the laws of God and men, all I can ſay is this: God, who is jealous of his glory, the great avenger of his law upon rebellious nations, will with-hold his mercies, and haſten his judgments upon ours.

Hoſ. iv, 1,2,3. “ Hear the Word of the Lord,” ſaith the Prophet Hoſea, “ ye children of Iſrael; “ for the Lord hath a controverſy with the inhabitants of the land: By ſwearing, and “ lying, and killing, and ſtealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood “ touches blood; therefore ſhall the land mourn.” And by the Prophet Malachi God Mal. iii. 5. threatens that people thus: “ I will come near to you, and I will be a ſwift witneſs “ againſt ſorcerers, and againſt the adulterers, and againſt falſe ſwearers, and ſuch as “ fear not me, ſaith the Lord of hoſts.” Yea, to that degree was that magiſtracy degenerated, that they thought it a vain thing to ſerve God, and keep his commandments. ‘ They called the proud *happy*; yea, they that worked wickedneſs were *ſet up*, ‘ they were advanced to places of *Honour* and *Truſt*, and they that tempted God, were ‘ delivered: But the Word of the Lord was unto them a reproach; they had no delight in it: They made a mock at ſin, laid ſnares for the innocent, and (like *us*) made ‘ men offenders for a *Word*,’ for a *good* Word, a Word of *Reproof* or an harmleſs *Opinion*. Well, but what followed? “ Shall I not viſit for theſe things, ſaith the Lord, “ ſhall not my ſoul be avenged on ſuch a nation as this?” O that magiſtrates would hear this! God as truly ſpeaks to *us* by the Scripture *now*, as he did by them that writ it *then* to the *Jews*. Truly, it is our very caſe; the ſame Impieties are daily found amongſt us: Certainly God is offended, his Spirit grieved, and Heaven is ſet againſt us. For the Lord's ſake do your duty in this preſent Conjuncture, and miſtake not your meaſures: Let every thing have its due weight and place with you; that is the way to ſucceed. Ye are now warmly concerned in the diſcovery and proſecution of a *Jeſuitical Plot*; a deſign, it ſeems, to deſtroy the King, blow up your Religion, and wreſt the Government out of your hands: In this, doubtleſs, ye do well; and all juſt care to preſerve the peace of the kingdom from ſuch miſchievous conſpiracies, is moſt commendable in you, and deſerves and draws all due acknowledgments from Honeſt and *Engliſh* Minds: But, I beſeech you, let *God* have a ſhare in your concern; remember *him*, as well as *yourſelves*. You confeſs this great diſcovery is only owing to his Goodneſs; ſhall we be then more zealous for our own Safety, than for his Glory; who, when all is done, muſt ſave us, or we are loſt? Let us make him our friend, who is ſtronger than the combinations of all our enemies; and guard ourſelves againſt that which can only bring their evil devices to paſs, (alas!) our *Sin*. That is their ſtrength, and the poiſon of their arrows: Let us confeſs and forſake it; let us humble ourſelves under the mighty Hand of God, that it may not “ grind us to powder.” And truly, if our hearts were not harder than adamants, this teſtimony he has given us of his care over us, notwithſtanding all our repeated provocations given to him, ſhould break us into deep contrition. O let his long ſuffering prevail upon us to unfeigned repentance! Then ſhall we ſtand clear men before God; and if ſo, he will quickly make our enemies to flee before us.

If there be any truth in Sacred Hiſtory, any credit to be given to Chriſtian Religion, or the Experience of Ages, this that I ſay of God and Government is true: And it is our duty, yea, our intereſt, the trueſt and eaſieſt way to ſafety. God has decreed, “ That nation and kingdom that will not ſerve him, ſhall periſh, yea, thoſe nations “ ſhall be utterly waſted.” Iſaiah lx. 12. “ But great is their peace, that love thy “ law: It ſhall go well with the righteous; but it ſhall go ill with the wicked:” Upon them God hath threatened to rain ſnares, difficulties, perplexities; they ſhall not know which way to turn themſelves. I am not againſt the uſe of *Means*: Men have not Wiſdom and Power for nothing; but then let them uſe them in the *Fear* and *Name* of *God*; “ Curſed is he that putteth his ſtrength in man, and his confidence in the Iſa. xxxi. 1, 2. “ arm of fleſh.” And in another place, “ Wo to them that go down to Egypt for “ help, and ſtay on horſes, and truſt in chariots, becauſe they are many; and in horſemen, becauſe they are very ſtrong: but they look not to the Holy One of Iſrael, “ neither ſeek the Lord.” It was his reproof to the nation that profeſſed him, that they ſhould ſeek to the *Stratagems*, and rely upon the *Strength*, of Heathen Nations, rather than upon *Faith* in *him*, the living God: And the reaſon he gives in the third verſe is great, viz. “ The Egyptians are *Men*, and not *God*; and their Horſes *Fleſh*, “ and not *Spirit*; When the Lord ſhall ſtretch out his *Hand*, both he that helpeth

“ ſhall fall, and he that is holpen ſhall fall down, and they all ſhall fall together.” If, then, the Hand of God be ſo much ſtronger than Man, for the Lord's ſake let us lay hold of it; let *that* fight our battles, and decide the controverſy: “ He that truſteth in the Lord, ſhall never be confounded.” It was the ſaying of a great king, and a great conqueror, “ By thee I have leaped over a wall, by thee I have run through a “ troop,” &c. Pſal. xviii. 19. Who preſerved the Iſraelites from Pharaoh's fury, threw down the walls of Jericho, when the prieſts blew the rams-horns, and gave Gideon his mighty victories; with more of the like kind. And we muſt not think that God is *altered*, or Faith is in itſelf *weakened*, that no wonders are reſerved for the latter and Chriſtian ages. The truth is, Faith (generally ſpeaking) is loſt, and that holy Confidence now-a-days is eſteemed Preſumption; It is become a principle, that “ ſuch “ things are not to be expected;” ſo that we ſhut up, or bar from ourſelves, the true and moſt powerful way of deliverance. Let us not betake ourſelves to the common arts and ſtratagems of nations, incredulous of the ſtrength of the God of Iſrael, who is the God of true Chriſtians too. O! that our Faith may be greater than our Arms! No matter for the ſtrength of our Enemies, if *God* be our ſtrength: And truly, it is vain to acknowledge a Providence in Human things, and not to confide in him, and rely upon him, that provides for us. “ I was young” ſaid David, “ and now I am old; “ but I never ſaw the righteous forſaken, nor his ſeed begging bread:” It ſhall go well with the righteous. Therefore fear God, put away the evil that provokes him, and truſt not in man, but in the living God, and it ſhall yet go well with England.

What noble feats did the ancients do by Faith! And ſhall *Chriſtians* have leſs than *Jews* had? Is not God *the ſame?* Yes; he is *unchangeable:* But, alas! *we* are not the ſame; that is our miſchief. Chriſt did not many *mighty works* in ſome places, becauſe they *believed* him *not:* If our confidence be not in *God*, our hopes will prove vain, and our ſucceſs will fail us. We ſhall but have *Men* of our ſide, not *God*; *Fleſh*, and not *Spirit:* And if we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to make *this* our ſtrength, both the helpers and helped will fall together. But let Nineveh teach us better things, and may *her* zealous king be the example of *ours*; and let all the people ſay Amen! The ſuitableneſs of which ſtory to our preſent occaſion makes me chuſe to end this firſt part of my addreſs with it.

> “ For word came unto the king of Nineveh; Yet forty days, and Nineveh ſhall be “ overthrown. And he aroſe from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with ſack-cloth, and ſate in aſhes. And he cauſed it to be proclaimed and “ publiſhed through Nineveh, (by the decree of the king and his nobles) ſaying, Let “ neither man nor beaſt, herd nor flock, taſte any thing; let them not feed, nor drink “ water. But let man and beaſt be covered with ſack-cloth, and cry mightily unto “ God: Yea, Let them turn every one from his *Evil Way*, and from the Violence that “ is in their hands. Who can tell, if God will turn and repent, and turn away from “ his fierce anger, that we periſh not. And God ſaw their works, that they turned “ from their *Evil Way*; and God repented from the evil that he ſaid that he would do “ unto them, and he did it not.” Jon. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

O GOD! Thou that workeſt wonders in the earth, whoſe power cannot be controuled, in whoſe hands are the ſouls of men, and the ſpirits of all fleſh, who canſt turn them in a moment: Turn thou the hearts of king and people unto thee, and one unto another. Do thou proclaim a *Faſt* from *Sin* throughout theſe ſinful kingdoms: Let wickedneſs and oppreſſion find no place among us: Turn away thy fierce wrath, wipe away our reproach, and love us freely, O God! for thy dear Son's ſake.

THE SECOND PART.

SECT. I.

Five Capital Evils that relate to the Eccleſiaſtical State of theſe Kingdoms.

HAVING finiſhed the Firſt Part of my Addreſs relating to the immoralities of the times, and left it with the Civil Magiſtrate, as, in conſcience, I found myſelf obliged to do; whoſe peculiar charge it is, and I earneſtly and humbly deſire and pray that it may be his great care effectually to rebuke them; I ſhall betake myſelf to the Second Part of this Addreſs, that more immediately concerns us as Profeſſed Chriſtians and Proteſtants. But before I begin, I deſire to premiſe, and do with much ſincerity declare, that I intend not the reproach of any perſon or party: I am weary with ſeeing ſo much of it in the world: It gains nothing, that is worth keeping; but often hardens, what it is our duty to endeavour to ſoften and win. But if, without offence, I may ſpeak the truth, that which, to the beſt of my underſtanding, tends to the preſent ſettlement and future felicity of my poor country, I ſhall, by God's help, deliver myſelf with the modeſty, plainneſs and integrity, that becomes a Chriſtian, a Proteſtant, and an Engliſhman.

Thoſe capital ſins and errors that relate to the Eccleſiaſtical State, or Church-Capacity, of theſe kingdoms, and which are ſo inconſiſtent with Chriſtian Religion and pureſt Proteſtancy, and that, above all, diſpleaſe Almighty God, are,

First, Making OPINIONS *Articles* of *Faith*, at leaſt giving them the *Reputation* of *Faith*, and making them the *Bond* of *Chriſtian Society*.
Secondly, Miſtaking the *Nature* of TRUE FAITH, and taking that for *Faith* which is not *Goſpel-Faith*.
Thirdly, Debaſing the true *Value* of MORALITY, under pretence of *Higher Things*, miſtaking much of the *End* of *Chriſt's Coming*.
Fourthly, Preferring *Human Authority* above REASON and TRUTH.
Fifthly, Propagating *Faith* by FORCE, and impoſing Religion by *Worldly Compulſion*.

Theſe I take to be the Church-Evils, that have too much and too long prevailed even in theſe parts of the Reformed World: And though the Roman Church hath chiefly tranſcended other Societies in theſe Errors, and may, in a ſenſe, be ſaid to be the Mother of them, ſhe from whom they took birth, by whom they were brought forth, and have been propagated in Chriſtendom, yet there hath not been that Integrity to the Nature of Chriſtianity, and Firſt Reaſon of Reformation from the Papacy in our own country, as had been and is our duty to conſerve.

SECT. II.

Of Opinions *paſſing for* Faith.

FIRST, that Opinions paſs for Faith, and are made Articles of Faith, and are enjoined to be embraced as the Bond of Communion.

That this is ſo, let us take the moſt impartial view we can, and we ſhall find it to be true, both of the National and many other Select Societies. That I may be underſtood in the ſignification of the word *Opinions*, I explain it thus: "Opinions *are all* " *thoſe* Propoſitions, *or* Concluſions, *made by Men* Doctrines *of* Faith *and* Articles *of* " Communion, *which either are not* Expreſly *laid down in* Scripture, *or not ſo evidently* " Deducible *from* Scripture, *as to leave no Occaſion of Doubt of the Truth of them in* " *their Minds who ſincerely and reverently believe the Text: Or, laſtly, ſuch as have no* " *new or* Credible Revelation *to vouch them.*"

That this is our caſe, let the ſeveral Confeſſions of Faith, publiſhed by almoſt every party in England, be peruſed, and you will find ſuch Propoſitions tranſlated into Doctrines of Faith and Articles of Communion, as are, firſt, not only *not expreſſed* in Scripture, but, perhaps not well deducible *from* Scripture: And if one party may be but believed againſt another, we can want no evidence to prove what we ſay. And, in the next place, ſuch as are, though not expreſſed, yet, it may be, deducible as to the matter of them, are either carried ſo high, ſpun ſo fine, or ſo diſguiſed by barbarous ſchool-terms, that they are rather a bone of contention, than a bond of concord to religious ſocieties. Yet this has been the unhappineſs even of this kingdom, after all the light of reformation, which God hath graciouſly ſent amongſt us, ‘ Men are to be received or re‘ jected for denying or owning of ſuch Propoſitions.’ Wilt thou be a Preſbyterian? Embrace and keep the Covenant, ſubſcribe the Weſtminſter-Confeſſion and Directory: And ſo on to the end, of every ſociety that grounds communion upon conformity to ſuch propoſitions and articles of Faith.

What a ſtir have we had in England about the word, Ἐπίσκοπος! He that ſays it ſignifies an Higher Office than Πρεσβύτερος, ſhall have no part or fellowſhip with us: On the other hand, they that will debaſe *Epiſcopos* to *Preſbuteros*, and turn Levellers or Degraders of Epiſcopal Dignity, ſhall be excommunicated, ſilenced, puniſhed. Is not this plain fact? Can any deny it, that love truth more than a party? The fire kindled by this Contention, hath warmed the hands of Violence: It had been well if men had entertained equal zeal againſt Impiety, and been but half as much enemies to Sin, as they have been againſt one another on ſuch accounts.

If we look a little back, we ſhall find, that the debate of *Free-Will* and *Unconditional Reprobation* filled this kingdom with uncharitableneſs and diviſion. In the archepiſcopacy of Abbot (reputed in himſelf a good man) whoſoever held, ‘ that Chriſt ſo ‘ died for all men, that all men might be ſaved, (if they would accept the means) and ‘ that none were abſolutely decreed to Eternal Reprobation,’ was reputed an Heretick, and Excommunicated, as an enemy to the Free-Grace of God; which, it ſeems, at that time of day, lay in being *narrow*.

In the reign of archbiſhop Laud the tide turned: And thoſe that held an *Abſolute Election* and *Reprobation*, without regard had to the Good or Evil Actions of men, and aſſerted, that Chriſt only died for the *Elect*, and not for *all*, muſt be diſcountenanced, diſplaced, and pointed at as men out of faſhion, though at the ſame time conſcientious, ſober, and (at worſt) miſtaken; and to be pitied, rather than perſecuted; and informed, not deſtroyed.

This controverſy begat the Synod of Dort: He that reads the Epiſtles of that judicious man J. Hales of Eaton College, upon the matter and conduct of that aſſembly, will find cauſe of being ſad at heart; too many of them talking of Religion without the Spirit of it: Men, perhaps, learned in books, but few of the ſticklers gave any great teſtimony of their proficiency in that Science, which is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated. This flame, kindled between Arminius and Epiſcopius, &c. for the Remonſtrants, and Gomarus, Sibrandus, &c. for the Predeſtinarians, diſtracted Holland not a little, and had an ill influence upon the affairs of England, at leaſt ſo far as concerned the Church. But the mournfulleſt part of that hiſtory is the ill uſage Martinus Crocius, the biſhop of Landaff, and others had; who, though they were acknowledged to be ſound in the Faith of thoſe things, which generally followed the judgment of Calvin, as to the main points controverted, yet if at any time they appeared moderate in their behaviour, gentle in their words, and for accommodation in ſome particulars, with the Remonſtrants, or Free-Willers; Gomarus and his followers, not obſerving the gravity due to the aſſembly, the rules of debate, and leaſt of all the meekneſs of Chriſtian Communion, fell foul of their brethren, reproached their tenderneſs, and began to fix treachery upon their ſober endeavours of accommodation; as if they intended to execute, as well as maintain, their Reprobation, and blow up their friends, rather than not deſtroy their adverſaries.

But if we will riſe higher in our enquiry, and view the miſchiefs of earlier times, flowing from this practice, the fourth and fifth centuries after Chriſt will furniſh us with inſtances enough. We cannot poſſibly forget the heavy life ſome men made about the obſervation of *Eaſter-Day*, as if their eternal happineſs had been in jeopardy: For ſo far were they degenerated from the love and meekneſs of Chriſtianity, that about keeping of a day, which perhaps was no part, but, to be ſure, no eſſential part, of the Chriſtian religion, they fell to pieces; reproached, reviled, hated, and perſecuted one another. ‘ A DAY’ was more to them, than ‘ Chriſt,’ who was the Lord and End of Days; and ‘ Victory over Brethren,’ ſweeter than the ‘ Peace and Concord of the ‘ Church,’ the great command of Jeſus, whom they called Lord.

But the remarkable and tragical ſtory of Alexander biſhop of Alexandria, and Arius his prieſt, in their known debate about the ‘ Nature and Exiſtence of the Son of God,’ with the lamentable conſequences thereof, (as all writers upon that ſubject have related) witneſſeth to the truth of what I ſay. The biſhop’s curioſity, and the ſtrictneſs of Arius; the preſumption of the one to expound beyond the evidence and ſimplicity of the text, and the captious humour of the other, that would not abate the biſhop any thing for

1679. his age, or the rank he held in the church, but logically exacted the utmoſt farthing of the reckoning from his old paſtor; firſt began the fray: Which as it became the perplexity of Church and State for ſome ages, ſo it raged to blood; and thoſe that had been perſecuted like ſheep by the Heathen not long before, turned wolves againſt each other, and made ſport for the infidels, doing their work to their own deſtruction. Nay, ſo much more Chriſtian was Themiſtius the philoſopher, that he, in his Oration, called CONSUL, commended the Emperor Jovianus for his moderation, and adviſed him to give that Liberty of Conſcience, which profeſſed Chriſtians refuſed to allow each other; who ſeemed to think they never did God better ſervice, than in ſacrificing one another for religion, even as ſoon as ever they had eſcaped the Heathen's ſhambles.

Did we duly reflect upon the unnatural heats, diviſions, and excommunications among them, the many Councils that were called, the ſtrong and tedious debates held, the tranſlations of ſees, the anathemas, the baniſhments, wars, ſackings, fires and bloodſhed that followed this unnatural diviſion, that ſprang from ſo nice a controverſy, one would verily believe no leſs, than that religion itſelf had been in the utmoſt hazard; that Judaiſm or Paganiſm were over-running Chriſtianity; and not that all this ſtir had been made about an *Iota*. For the whole queſtion was, whether *Homouſia*, or *Homoiouſia*, ſhould be received for faith? In which the difference is but the ſingle letter I: Certainly, we muſt do violence to our underſtanding, if we can think that theſe men were followers of that Jeſus that "loved his enemies, and gave his blood for the world," who hated their brethren, and ſhed one another's blood for *Opinions*: The Heathen Philoſophers never were ſo barbarous to one another, but maintained a better underſtanding and behaviour in their differences.

But how eaſily might all theſe confuſions have been prevented, if their Faith about Chriſt had been delivered in the words of the *Scripture*; ſince all ſides pretend to believe the *Text*? And why ſhould any man preſume to be wiſer, or plainer in matters of faith, than the Holy Ghoſt? It is ſtrange, that God and Chriſt ſhould be wanting to expreſs or diſcover their own mind; or that the words uſed by the Holy Ghoſt ſhould have that ſhortneſs, ambiguity, or obliquity in them, that *our* frail capacities ſhould be needed to make them more eaſy, proper and intelligible. But that we ſhould ſcarcely deliver any one Article of Faith in *Scripture-Terms*, and yet make ſuch Acts the 'Rule and 'Bond of Chriſtian Communion,' is, in my judgment, an offence heinous againſt God and Holy Scripture, and very injurious to Chriſtian Charity and Fellowſhip. Who can expreſs any man's mind ſo fully, as himſelf? And ſhall we allow that liberty to ourſelves, and refuſe it to God? "The Scriptures came not in old time," ſaid the apoſtle Peter, "by the will of *man*; but holy men of God ſpake, as they were moved by the "*Holy Ghoſt*." Who can ſpeak better, or expreſs the mind of the Holy Ghoſt plainer, than the *Holy Ghoſt*? The ſcripture is the great Record of Truth, that which all theſe parties in controverſy agree to be 'the declared Mind and Will of God,' and they unanimouſly ſay, it ought to be *believed* and profeſſed as *ſuch*. If this be true, in what language can we ſo ſafely and properly declare our belief of thoſe truths, as in the very language of the *Scripture*?

And I cannot ſee how thoſe perſons can be excuſed in the day of God's judgment, who make men heterodox or heretical, for refuſing to ſubſcribe their Articles of Faith that are not in *Scripture-Terms*, who in the ſame time offer to declare their belief of God, Chriſt, Spirit, Man's Lapſe or Fall, Repentance, Sanctification, Juſtification, Salvation, Reſurrection, and Eternal Recompenſe, in the Language of Holy Scripture? I muſt ſay it is prepoſterous, and a contradiction, that thoſe who deſire to deliver their *Faith* of Truth, in the *Language* of Truth, ſhall not be reputed *true Believers*, nor their *Faith* admitted. This were to ſay, that therefore their Faith is not to be received, becauſe it is declared in the *Language* of that very *Truth*, which is the *Object* of that *Faith*, for which it ought to be received, and which is, on all hands, concluded to be 'our duty to believe.' It ſeems then, we muſt not expreſs our belief of God in *his* words, but our *own*; nor is the Scripture a Creed plain or proper enough to declare a true believer, or an orthodox Chriſtian, without our gloſſes.

Are not things come to a ſad paſs, that to refuſe any other terms than thoſe the Holy Ghoſt has given us, and which are confeſſed to be the 'Rule or Form of ſound 'Words,' is to expoſe a man to the cenſure of being unſound in the Faith and unfit for Chriſtian-Communion? Will nothing do but *Man's Comment* inſtead of *God's Text*? *His Conſequences* and *Concluſions*, in the room of *Sacred Revelation*? I cannot ſee how any man can be obliged to *receive*, or *believe*, revealed truths in any *other* language than that of the revelation *itſelf*; eſpecially if thoſe that vary the Expreſſion, have not the ſame Spirit to lead them in doing ſo, or that it appears not to me that they have the Guidance of that Holy Spirit. If the Holy Ghoſt had left *Doubts* in Scripture, which is yet irreverent to believe, I ſee not how *Men* can reſolve them; it is the *Work* of that *Spirit*. And ſince men are ſo apt to err, Doubts are better left in *Scripture*, than made or left by *us*. But it is to croſs that order of Prudence and Wiſdom among men, who chuſe to conform their *Expreſſions* to the thing they *believe*. If an honeſt man hath related a

Story to me, of ſomething he hath ſeen, and I am to declare my *Faith* about it, if I believe the *Fact*, I will chuſe to deliver it in the *Terms* of the *Relator*, as being neareſt to the truth.

Suppoſe a father, dying, makes his *Laſt Will* and *Teſtament*, and, as he thinks, ſo plain, that there can be no miſtake made by the *Executors*, but what is wilful: If they, inſtead of proving this Will, and acting according to the plainneſs of it, turn *Commentators*, make more difficulties than they find, and perplex the whole matter, to the children and legatees, and ſend them to the *Law* for right; will we not eſteem ſuch Executors *ill* men, and juſtify thoſe perſons concerned in their *Refuſal* of their *Paraphraſe?*

Heb. i. 1.

“God hath, at ſundry times, and in diverſe manners,” by his Prophets, his beloved Son, and his Apoſtles, delivered to the world a *Declaration* of his bleſſed *Will*; but ſome have claimed, and taken to themſelves, the *Keeping*, *Explanation*, and *Uſe* of it, ſo as thoſe that chuſe to be concluded by the *Letter* and *Text* of *Chriſt's Teſtament*, in its moſt *important* points, expoſe themſelves to great prejudice for ſo doing; for they are excommunicated from all other ſhare in it, than the Puniſhment of the Breakers of it; which is part of *their* Anathema, who, of all others, are moſt guilty of *adding*, or *diminiſhing*, by undertaking to determine, for others as well as themſelves, the *Mind* and *Intention* of the Holy Ghoſt in it.

But if it be true, as true it is, that few have writ of the divine authority of Scripture, who do not affirm that the very penmen of it were not only inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, but ſo extraordinarily acted by him, as that they were wholly aſleep to their own will, deſires or affections, like people taken out of themſelves, and purely paſſive, “as clay in the hand of the potter,” to the *Revelation*, *Will*, and *Motion* of the *Spirit*; and for this end, that nothing, delivered by them, might have the leaſt poſſibility of miſtake, error, or imperfection, but be a “Compleat Declaration of the “Will of God to Men;” I cannot ſee which way ſuch men excuſe themſelves from great preſumption, that will, notwithſtanding, have the *wording of Creeds of Communion*, and reject that Declaration of faith as inſufficient, which is delivered in the very terms of the Holy Ghoſt; and deny thoſe perſons to be members of Chriſt's Church, that in conſcience refuſe to ſubſcribe any other draught than that the Lord has given them.

Two things oppoſe themſelves to this practice: ‘The Glory of God, and the Honour of the Scripture;’ in that it naturally draws people from the regard due to God and the Scripture, and begets too much reſpect for Men and their Tradition. This was the difficulty Chriſt met with, and complained of, in his time; they had ſet up ſo many Rabbies to teach them religion, that the Lord of the True Religion could hardly find place amongſt them. And what did they do? “They taught for Doctrines the “Traditions of Men:” They gave their own and their predeceſſors apprehenſions, conſtructions, and paraphraſes upon Scripture, for the mind and will of God, the rule of the people's faith: They were near at this paſs in the church of Corinth, when they cried out, “I am for Paul, I am for Apollos, and I am for Cephas,” though they had not the ſame temptation.

And that which followed then, ever will follow in thelike caſe, and that is, Diſtraction; which is the contrary to the ſecond thing that oppoſeth itſelf to this practice, and that is, the Concord of Chriſtians. For the ſake of peace conſider it: ‘Lo here, and ‘lo there, always followed; one of this mind, and another of that: As many ſects, ‘as great men to make and head them.’ This was the caſe of the Jews; and yet I do not hear that they devoured one another about their Opinions and Commentaries upon Scripture; but the Chriſtians have done both; divided and perſecuted too. Firſt, they have divided, and that moſtly upon the ſcore of opinions about religion. They have not been contented with the Expreſſions of the *Holy Ghoſt*; they liked their *own* better. And when *they* were ſet up, in the room of Scripture, and in the name of Scripture, Submiſſion was required, upon pain of worldly puniſhments. This diſſatisfied curioſity, this unwarrantable,---what ſhall I ſay? This wanton ſearch, has coſt Chriſtendom dear, and poor England deareſt of any part of it.

I deſign not to grate upon any, or to revive old ſtories, or ſearch old wounds, or give the leaſt juſt occaſion of diſpleaſure to thoſe that are in preſent power; yet I muſt needs ſay, that Opinion, on one ſide or the other, has been the cauſe of much of that diſcord, animoſity and confuſion that have troubled this kingdom. And it ſeems to have been the great ſtratagem of Satan, to prevent the ſpreading of the ‘Glorious Goſpel ‘of Salvation’ in the world, by taking men off from the ſerious purſuit of Piety and Charity, Humility and Holy Living, Peace and Concord; and, under pretence of more raiſed apprehenſions, and ſublime knowledge of religion, to put them upon introducing curious and doubtful queſtions, that have given occaſion, firſt for contention, and that for perſecution. This was no more uncondemned, than unforeſeen of the Apoſtle Paul, who exhorted his beloved ſon Timothy, 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4, 5. “To avoid thoſe “that doted about Queſtions;” thoſe men that would be thought ſkilful, inquiſitive ſearchers after truth, ſuch as love to exerciſe their faculties, and improve their talents:

1679. But let us hear his judgment, "Of which," ſays he, "cometh ſtrife, railing, ſurmiſes, perverſe diſputings of men of corrupt minds." And the truth is, none elſe love ſuch diſputings: They, who ſeek a daily victory over the world, the fleſh and the devil, and preſs fervently after fellowſhip with God, and that conſolation that enſues ſuch an employment of their time, have very little to loſe upon contention about Words. I could wiſh I were able to ſay, that vain controverſy were not our caſe! But this is not all, the Apoſtle does expreſly tell Timothy, that "if any man conſent not to wholſome words, even the words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the doctrine that is according to godlineſs, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about queſtions," &c. They were ſuch as uſed "Philoſophy, and Vain Deceit," as he writes to the Coloſſians, Col. ii. 8. "Beware," ſays he, "leſt any man ſpoil you through philoſophy and vain deceit," (that is, draw them away from the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, and the wholſome words of Chriſt) "after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt." He uſed no human wiſdom, yet he ſpake wiſdom; but it was in a myſtery; tho' to the humble diſciples of Jeſus nothing was plainer; but it was "a myſtery to the wiſe men of this world." And truly, they that are not unacquainted with the more degenerate ages of the Greek Philoſophers, how *Philoſophy*, once taken for the 'Love of Virtue and Self-Denial,' which they eſteemed the *Trueſt Wiſdom*, and was begun by men of ordinary rank, but great example of life, became little elſe, than 'an Art of Wrangling upon a Multitude of idle Queſtions,' and ſo they entertained the Apoſtle Paul at Athens, may very well gueſs which way Apoſtacy entered among Chriſtians; eſpecially when we conſider, that in the Third and Fourth Centuries, the *Heathen-Philoſophers* had the *Education* of *Chriſtian Youth*, and that no man had any reputation among the *Chriſtian Doctors*, who was not well initiated in the *Philoſophy*, *Rhetorick*, and *Poetry* of the *Gentiles*. Which made for Impurity of Language, and laid a foundation for great feuds in the Church: CHRIST and his *Doctrine* muſt be proved by *Ariſtotle* and his Philoſophy. Yes, *Ariſtotle* muſt explain SCRIPTURE, and by degrees methodize the looſe parts of it, and reduce them to formal Propoſitions and Axioms; and by the help of ſuch Philoſophers, the poor *Fiſhermen* were taught to ſpeak *metaphyſically*, and grew polite in the *Senſe* of *Athens*, who, to ſay true, were neither guilty of *uſing* nor *underſtanding* it. But as the firſt rules of *Philoſophy* were few and plain, and conſiſted in virtuous living; ſo the *Chriſtian Religion* was delivered with much brevity, yet much plainneſs; ſuited to the capacity of the young, the ignorant, and the poor; to inform their underſtandings, ſubdue their affections, and convert their ſouls to God, as well as perſons of more age, knowledge, and ability.

And truly, when we conſider the 'Smallneſs of the Writings of the Evangeliſts, the Shortneſs of Chriſt's Sermons, the Fewneſs of the Epiſtles writ by the Apoſtles, and the many and great Volumes of Commentators and Criticks ſince,' we may juſtly ſay, 'The Text is almoſt loſt in the *Comment*, and Truth *hid*, rather than *revealed*, in thoſe heaps of Fallible Apprehenſions.' Where, by the way, let me ſay, 'That the Voluminouſneſs of the *Books* is no ſmall token of the Unclearneſs of the *Writers*; for the *more evident*, and *better digeſted* any matter is, the more *eaſy* and *ſhort* it will be in *expreſſing*.' But after the Chriſtians had declined the ſimplicity of their own religion, and grew curious and wanton, 'Loving God above All, their Neighbours as themſelves, and keeping the plain Commandments of Chriſt, that relate to good Life, became but ordinary and homely things:' Their Eaſineſs rendered them contemptible: They gave but little pleaſure to ſpeculative minds; they had nothing in them above ordinary capacities; and it ſeemed hard that men of inquiſitive and raiſed ſpirits, ſhould ſit down with the '*Leſſon* of *Ruſticks* and *Peaſants*;' Philoſophers did not do ſo; and they would be like other nations. 'Twas not enough now to know '*There was a GOD*,' and that he was 'but *One*, Juſt and Good, the Obſerver of their Actions, and the Rewarder of their Deeds, and that therefore they ſhould ſerve him;' but they muſt be diſtinctly informed of his Nature, and all his Attributes, his Purpoſes and his Decrees, and the Suitableneſs of them all to the line and plummet of their Underſtanding: 'So that God was to *be*, what their *Concluſions* would *allow* him to be; that yet knew not *themſelves*.' Nor did it ſatisfy that there was a *Chriſt*; that this Chriſt was the Son of God; that God ſo loved mankind, as, beholding them in a way of deſtruction, he ſent his Son to proclaim Pardon upon true Repentance, and offered a general Reconciliation to as many as received and embraced his teſtimony; and that to that end he laid down his life a ranſom, roſe and aſcended, and gave his Good Spirit to lead his followers, after his example, in the way of truth and holineſs: But they muſt ſearch into 'the Secret of this Relation; how, and after what manner, he is the Son of God? His nature, power and perſon muſt be diſcuſſed: They will be ſatisfied in this, before they can find in their hearts to believe in him.' Next, 'Whether he be the Cauſe, or the Effect, of God's love? What was that price he paid, and ranſom he gave? And how he died for us? If properly and ſtrictly, or tropically and elegantly, to ſatiſfy the Juſtice of God? And whether God could, or could not, have ſaved man

' another way? If this mercy were offered to all, or but ſome? And whether Acceptance and Repentance be with the conſent of the Creature, or by an irreſiſtible Grace? What Body he roſe and aſcended with? And what bodies we ſhall have in the reſurrection, in nature, ſtature, and proportion?' Laſtly, ' What this Spirit is, that comes from Chriſt? If it comes from God alſo? Whether it be God, or an inferior Miniſter? How it exiſts? If a Perſon, in what relation, degree, or dignity it ſtands to the Father and Son?' With abundance more of this unreaſonable ſtrain, flowing from the curious, ungoverned, and reſtleſs minds of men. No man would be uſed by his ſervant as they treat God. He muſt wait our leiſure, before we will believe, receive, and obey him: His meſſage is obſcure, we do not underſtand it; he muſt gratify our curioſity; we deſire to be better ſatisfied with it before we believe or deliver it; it comes not preſently up to mens underſtandings; it is too obſcurely expreſſed; we will explain it, and deliver it with more caution, clearneſs and ſucceſs, than it is delivered to us. Thus God's revelation hath been ſcanned, and his precepts examined, before licenſed by his creature: Man would be wiſer than God; more wary than the Holy Ghoſt. Our Lord, it ſhould ſeem, underſtood not what kind of creature man was; he wanted his Wiſdom to admoniſh him of the danger; or haply he thought not upon that corruption, which ſhould befall mankind in theſe latter ages of the world, which might require the abilities of Men to ſupply the wants and defects left by the Holy Ghoſt, in the wording of the Scripture.----I wrong not this practice; I render it not more odious than it is: It is an inexcuſable piece of preſumption, that which debaſes the external teſtimony of God, and draws men off from that which is eternal too. It introduces the Traditions of Men, in the room of God's Records, and ſetteth up their judgments and reſults for the rule of Chriſtian faith, and canons of Chriſt's church. This is one of thoſe things that made Rome ſo hateful, and her yoke intolerable, to our predeceſſors: Pretended deductions from ſcripture, put in the room of ſcripture, with a ſuperſedeas to all diſſent upon ever ſo juſt a ground of diſſatisfaction.

I beſeech you, Proteſtants, by the mercies of God, and love of Jeſus Chriſt, ratified to you in his moſt precious blood, ' *Flee* Rome *at home*:' Look to the enemies of your own houſe! Have a care of this preſumption; carry it not too high; lay not ſtreſs, where God has laid none, neither uſe his royal ſtamp to authorize *your* APPREHENSIONS in the name of *his* INSTITUTIONS.

I do not ſay, that men are never to expreſs their minds upon any place of ſcripture to edification: There is a Chriſtian Liberty, not to be denied; but never to lay down *Articles* of *Faith*, which ever ought to be in the *Very Language* of *Holy Writ*, to avoid temptation and ſtrife. You ſee how the contrary method hath been the great make-bate in all ages, and the impoſition of ſuch Opinions the privilege of hypocrites, but the ſnare of many honeſt minds; to be ſure the ſad occaſion of feuds and miſerable diviſions. It was plainly ſeen, that by the many diſputes that roſe from hence, mens wits were confounded with their matters; truth was loſt, and brotherhood was deſtroyed. Thus the Devil acted the part both of opponent and defendant, and managed the paſſions of both parties to his end, which was Diſcord. And but too many were ready to perſuade themſelves, from the miſcarriages on both ſides, ' That nothing certain could be concluded about Religion;' for it ſo fell out, that whilſt men were perpetually wrangling and brawling about ſome one Opinion of Religion, the moſt important points of Faith and Life were little regarded, Unity broken, Amity deſtroyed, and thoſe wounds made, that were never cloſed but with the Extinction of one party; not a ' Good Samaritan' being to be found to heal and cloſe them. Now it was that a godly man was diſtinguiſhed from an ungodly by this, ' Let his Life have been almoſt what it would, that he ſeemed to maintain the Opinions in Vogue, and to abhor the doctrine, which, in ſome one or two points, might be reputed heretical, or ſchiſmatical.'

O that we could but ſee how many and how great defeats Satan hath given to the work of God in the hearts of men! What deſolations he hath made by this one evil, Controverſy; begot of Opinion, and uſed for it; and how few have contended for " the Faith, as it was once delivered to the Saints!" He muſt be a man of braſs, that could refrain from weeping at theſe calamities. And truly I muſt deſire to take leave ſometimes to bewail this broken condition of Chriſtendom, and to beſtow my tears in ſecret upon theſe common ruins: And I beſeech God Almighty, with a ſoul ſenſibly touched with the miſchiefs that naturally flow from this practice, to awaken you to a moſt ſpeedy and ſerious conſideration of your preſent ſtanding, and amendment of your miſcarriage, in this and all other points that may concern your good, and his glory. Put away wrath! Away with clamours! Away with arrogance and impatience! Let that Holy Spirit of God, which we in common profeſs to be the " Chriſtian's Guide," have the ordering of our Underſtandings in ſpiritual things, leſt ignorance ſhould miſtake, intereſt wreſt, or prejudice pervert, the ſenſe of God's Book. For as too many are ignorant of the divine truth through their own concupiſcence, and vile affections, that carry them away to the deſire of other things, and therefore eaſily miſtake about nice

1679. or obſcure matters; ſo there are not a few, who come to ſearch the ſcriptures with prepoſſeſſed minds, that are ſorry to meet with a contradiction to their own judgment, inſtead of being glad to find the truth, and who uſe their wits to rack out another ſenſe than that which is genuine; which ſort of men uſe the ſcripture for its Authority, and not its Senſe or Truth.

All this while, the Head is ſet at work, not the Heart; and that which Chriſt moſt inſiſted upon, is leaſt concerned in this ſort of Faith and Chriſtianity; and that is, "Keeping his Commandments." For it is Opinion, not Obedience; Notion, and not Regeneration, that ſuch men purſue. This kind of religion leaveth them as bad as it findeth them, and worſe; for they have ſomething more to be proud of. Here is a *Creed*, indeed, but of what? The *Concluſions of Men!* And what to do? To prove they believe in Chriſt, who, it ſeems, never made them. It had been happy for the world, that there had been no other *Creeds*, than what he and his apoſtles gave and left: And it is not the leaſt argument againſt their being needful to Chriſtian Communion, 'that Chriſt and his Apoſtles did not think ſo, who were not wanting to declare the whole counſel of God to the church.'

To conclude: If you deſire peace, love truth, ſeek piety, and hate hypocriſy, lay by all thoſe things called *Articles* of *Faith*, and *Canons* of the *Church*, that are not to be found in *expreſs terms* in *ſcripture*, or ſo plainly authorized *by* ſcripture, as may, with eaſe, be diſcerned by every honeſt and conſcientious perſon. And in the room of thoſe numerous and diſputed Opinions, made the bond of External Communion, let ſome 'Plain, General and Neceſſary Truths be laid down in Scripture Terms, and 'let them be few;' which leads me to the next point, and that is FAITH, which is generally miſtaken in the very Nature of it.

SECT. III.

Of FAITH, *and Miſtakes about it.*

THE ſecond miſchief that is amongſt us, is the 'Miſunderſtanding of the Nature of *Faith*;' whence it comes to paſs, that men take that for Faith, which is not; and ſit down in a ſecurity pernicious to their eternal happineſs. I ſhall briefly ſay ſomething of what is *not* Faith, before I ſpeak of that which appears to me to be truly and ſcripturally ſuch.

The Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is not only not believing *Mens Opinions* and Determinations from the Sacred Text, of which I have ſo freely delivered myſelf, but it is not *merely* the belief even of the things contained in Scripture to be *true:* For this the Devils and Hypocrites do, and yet are very *bad Believers:* They refuſe not the Authority of Scripture: The Devil made uſe of it to Chriſt himſelf; but he would have the *explaining* and *applying* of it: And ſince he could not hinder the Divine Inſpiration, if he may but be allowed the Expoſition, he hopes to ſecure his kingdom. Since then the Verity and Authority of both Hiſtory and Doctrine may be believed by the Devil and Hypocrites, that are falſe to their own faith and knowledge, we cannot, without great injuſtice to the 'Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,' which is the 'Faith of all his Followers,' allow, That a mere belief of the Verity and Authority of the Hiſtory and Doctrine of Scripture, is that "true and precious Faith, which "was the ſaints victory over the world."

Faith, then, in the ſenſe of the Holy Ghoſt, is by the Holy Ghoſt thus defined:
Heb. xi. 1. viz. "The Evidence of things not ſeen, and the Subſtance of things hoped for." This is general, and runs through all ages; being received of all ſorts of Chriſtians as
Eph. ii. 8. a true definition of Faith: But, with leave, I ſhall expreſs it thus: 'True Faith in 'God, is entirely *believing* and *truſting* in God, confiding in his *goodneſs*, reſigning up 'to his *will*, obeying his *commands*, and relying upon his *conduct* and *mercies*, reſpecting this life and that which is to come.' For a man cannot be ſaid to *believe* in God, that believes not what he *ſays* and *requires:* And no man can be ſaid to do that, who does not obey it, and conform to it; for that is believing in God 'to *do* as *he ſays*.'
Gal. v. 6. This is in ſcripture called the "Gift of God;" and well it may, for it is ſupernatural: It croſſes the pride, confidence and luſt of man: It grows out of the Seed of Love, ſown by God in the heart; at leaſt "it works by love:" And this diſtinguiſhes it from the faith of ill men and devils, that though they do believe, they do not "*Love God* "*above all*," but ſomething elſe *inſtead* of God, and are full of Pride, Anger, Cruelty, and all manner of wickedneſs. But this Faith that works by Love, that Divine Love which God plants in the heart, it draws and inclines man, and gives him power, to forſake all that diſpleaſeth God: And every ſuch believer becomes an "ENOCH," *tranſlated*, that is, *changed*, from the faſhion of this world, the earthly image, the corrupt nature; and is renewed in the likeneſs of the Son of God, and *walks with God.*
Heb. ii. 4. "The juſt ſhall live by Faith:" They have in all ages *lived* by this faith; that is, been *ſuſtained*, *ſupported*, *preſerved:* The Devil within, nor the World without, could never

never conquer them. They walked not by Sight, but by Faith, and had regard to the eternal recompence: No viſible things prevailed with them to depart from the inviſible God, to quench their love, or ſlacken their obedience to him; the great teſtimony of their faith in him.

This holy faith excludes no age of the world; the juſt men, the "Cornelius's" in every generation, have had ſome degree of it: It was more eſpecially the faith of the ſimpler ages of the world, ſuch as thoſe in which the Patriarchs lived, who, having Rom. ii. 14. not an outward law, became a "law to themſelves, and did the things contained in Heb. xi. 39. "the law;" for they believed in God, and, through Faith, "obtained a good report." Heb. i. 1. But becauſe that it hath pleaſed God, in order to man's recovery from that grievous lapſe diſobedience hath caſt him into, at ſundry times, and in divers manners to appear to the ſons of men, firſt by his Prophets, and laſt of all by his Son; and that theſe ſeveral manifeſtations have had ſomething peculiar to them, and very remarkable in them, ſo that they claim a place in our creed; it will not be amiſs that we briefly conſider them.

The firſt was that of the Prophets, in which Moſes preceded, by whom the Law John i. 17. came to the Jews; but Grace and Truth to mankind by Jeſus Chriſt. The firſt brought Condemnation, the laſt Salvation; the one Judgment, the other Mercy; which was "glad tidings" indeed. The one did forerun the other, as in order of time, ſo in nature of diſpenſation: The Law was the Goſpel *begun*; the Goſpel was the Law *fulfilled*, or *finiſhed*: They cannot be parted.

The Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, were little more than what had been known and practiſed before; for it ſeemed but an Epitome and Tranſcript of the "Law writ in man's Heart by the Finger of God:" This is confeſſed on all hands and in all ages ſince, as the writings of ancient Gentiles, as well as Jews and Chriſtians, tell us. This, therefore, muſt needs be a part of our Creed; for it relates to that righteouſneſs which is indiſpenſible and immutable: The other part of their conſtitution, that was peculiar to their politic, typical and mutable ſtate, the Goſpel is either unconcerned in it, or elſe ended it, by the bringing in of a *better hope* and a more *enduring ſubſtance*. "But Grace and Truth came by Jeſus Chriſt:" *Grace* is oppoſed to the Condemnation of the Law; and *Truth*, to Shadows. This is the moſt excellent diſpenſation; it is ours; and it becomes us to weigh well our intereſt in it. Take it in other words of the Holy Ghoſt. "God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners, Heb. i. 1. "ſpake in times paſt unto the fathers by the Prophets, hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken John iii. 16, "to us by his Son. God ſo loved the world, that (after all the world's provocations, 17. "by Omiſſions and Commiſſions) he gave his only begotten Son into the world, that the "world through him might be ſaved."

And here two things preſent themſelves to our conſideration: Firſt, the *Perſon*; who he was, what his authority? Secondly, his *Meſſage*, his Doctrine, what he taught? Which, though ever ſo reaſonable in itſelf, depended very much, in its entertainment among the people, upon the Truth of his miſſion and authority, that he was no Impoſtor, but came from God, and was the promiſed Meſſiah. This was done two ways; by Revelation and by Miracles. By *Revelation*, to ſuch as were well prepared and inclined; as honeſt Peter, the woman of Samaria, and thoſe that were moved to believe him from the authority in which he ſpake, ſo unlike that of the formal Scribes. By *Miracles*, to thoſe that, being blinded by ignorance or prejudice, needed to have their *Senſes* ſtruck with ſuch ſupernatural evidences; from many of whom this witneſs came, "that he was the Meſſiah, the Chriſt and Son of God."

In fine, all was done, within the compaſs of that people among whom he daily converſed, that was needful to prove he was from God, and had *God's Meſſage* to declare to the world. Inſomuch that when ſome of his diſciples were not ſo firm in their belief of his authority, as he deſerved at their hands, he calls his own Works to prove his commiſſion, and convict them of incredulity: "If ye will not believe that "the Father is in me, that *he* doth theſe works by me, believe me for the very *Works* "ſake." Thus he argueth with the Jews: "Say ye of him the Father hath ſanctified John xiv. 10, "and ſent into the world, Thou blaſphemeſt; becauſe I ſaid, I am the Son of God?" 11. "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not:" This is reaſonable; he that ſhall *judge* the world, offers to be *tried himſelf*: He goes on: "But if I do, though John x. 36, "ye believe not *me*, believe the *works*, that ye may know and believe that the Father 37. 38. "is in me." And he laid the ſin of the Jews upon this foot, viz. That they rejected him, after he had made *proof* of his divine miſſion by ſuch *extraordinary works*, as no man among them all could do: Which, to give them their due, they do not *deny*, but ſhamefully *pervert*, and fooliſhly *abuſe*, by attributing them to the power of the *Devil*. To which malice and ſlander he returned this inconfutable anſwer; "A kingdom di"vided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand."---What! Caſt out Devils by the *Prince* of Devils? It is a contradiction, and very madneſs itſelf.

I have nothing to do now with Atheiſts, or thoſe that call themſelves Theiſts, but ſuch as own themſelves Chriſtians; and ſhall therefore keep to my taſk, namely;

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1679. ‘ What of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation is ſo peculiar and important, as to challenge of ‘ right the name of *Creed* or *Faith*.’ I ſay then, ‘ That the belief of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* to be the *Promiſed Meſſiah*, the *Son* and *Chriſt* of God, come and ſent from God ‘ to reſtore and ſave mankind,’ is the *firſt*, and was then the *only requiſite*, Article of Faith, without any large Confeſſions, or an heap of Principles or Opinions, reſolved upon after curious and tedious debates by Councils and Synods: And this may be proved both by Example and Doctrine.

It is evident from Example, as in the caſe of Peter; who for having believed in his heart, and confeſſed with his mouth, “ That Jeſus was the Chriſt and Son of God,” Mat. xvi. 16, 17. obtained that ſignal bleſſing, Mat. xvi. This made Nathaniel a Diſciple; “ Rabbi,” John i. 49. ſaid he, “ Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael.” It was the like *Confeſſion*, that made amends for Thomas's Incredulity, when he was ſenſibly aſſured of the Reſurrection of Jeſus, “ My Lord and my God!” This was alſo the ſubſtance of Martha's *Confeſſion* of *Faith* to Jeſus, when he ſaid to her, “ I am the reſurrection “ and the life; he that believeth in me ſhall never die: Believeſt thou this? She an- “ ſwered, Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Chriſt, the Son of God, which ſhould “ come into the world?” She anſwered him not as to that particular of the Reſurrection, but in general, ‘ That he was the Chriſt, the Meſſiah, that was to come into ‘ the world,’ and that ſufficed. It was a Confeſſion not unlike to this, that the Blind Joh. ix. 35,38. Man made, to whom Chriſt gave Sight, when Jeſus ſaid to him, “ Doſt thou believe “ on the Son of God? Lord, ſaid he, I do believe; and he worſhipped him.” What ſhall we ſay of the Centurion, preferred by Chriſt himſelf before any in Iſrael, though Mat. viii. 10. a Gentile? Or of the faith of the Woman and Inhabitants of Samaria, that he was John iv. “ the Meſſiah?” Or of that Importunate Woman that cried to Jeſus, to caſt a Devil Mat. xv. 23, —28. out of her poſſeſſed daughter, and would not be put off, to whom Chriſt ſaid, “ O Mark ii. 4, 5. “ woman, great is thy Faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt?” To which let me Ch. v. 22. add the Faith of the People, that brought the man ſick of the palſy to Chriſt, who Matt. ix. 20, uncovered the roof to let him down to be touched; the Faith of Jairus the Ruler; and 21, 22, 27. of that Good Woman, who preſſed through the croud to touch the hem of Chriſt's Luke xviii. 35, 42. Ch. xvii. garment, to whom Jeſus ſaid, “ Be of good comfort, daughter, thy faith has made 15, 19. “ thee whole:” Alſo the Two Blind Men, that followed him out of the Ruler's houſe, Ch. vii. 45, 50. crying, “ Thou Son of David, have mercy on us;” who, when Jeſus had ſaid, “ Believe “ ye that I am able to do this?” Anſwered, “ Yea, Lord;” upon which he touched their eyes, and ſaid, “ According to your faith be it unto you:” Alſo the blind man near Jericho; the leprous Samaritan that Chriſt cleanſed; and that notable paſſage of the woman that kiſſed his feet, and anointed his head; to whom he pronounced this happy ſentence; “ Thy faith hath ſaved thee, go in peace.”

I will conclude this with that famous inſtance of the Thief upon the Croſs, who neither knew, nor had time to make, a large confeſſion like the creeds of theſe days; Luke xxiii. 42, 43. but, it ſeems, he ſaid enough; “ Lord, remember me when thou comeſt into thy “ kingdom. And Jeſus ſaid unto him, Verily, I ſay unto thee, to-day ſhalt thou be “ with me in Paradiſe.” By which it is eaſy to learn that it was the Heart, not the Mouth; the Sincerity, not the Words, that made the Confeſſion valid.

Nor was this only, in the days of Chriſt, the effect of his gracious diſpenſation, or peculiar indulgence; for after-times afford us the like inſtances. This was the main bent of Peter's ſermon; and when the “ three thouſand believed that he, whom the Acts ii. 37, 47. “ Jews had crucified, was both Lord and Chriſt, and repented of their ſins, and gladly “ received his word,” they are ſaid to have been “ in a ſtate of ſalvation.” Thus Cor- Acts x. 24, 48. nelius, and his houſhold and kindred, ſo ſoon as Peter declared “ Jeſus to be the Acts viii. 27, 37. “ Meſſiah,” and that they had believed, “ the Holy Ghoſt fell upon them,” and they were received into the chriſtian communion. But the ſtory of the Eunuch is very pat to our purpoſe: As he rid in his chariot, he was reading theſe words out of the Prophet Iſaiah, viz. “ That he was led as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, and like a lamb dumb before “ the ſhearers, ſo opened he not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was ta- “ ken away; and who ſhall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth.” Philip joined to him, and aſked him, “ If he underſtood what he read?” He deſired Philip to interpret the mind of the Prophet, whether he ſpoke of himſelf, or another? Philip upon the place preached to him Jeſus: The Eunuch was ſo well perſuaded by the Apoſtle, that coming to a water, he ſaid, “ What doth hinder me to be baptized?” Philip anſwered him, “ If thou believeſt with all thine heart, thou mayeſt:” To this the Eunuch replied, “ I believe that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God.” Upon which he was baptized; and it is ſaid, “ He went away rejoicing;” which indeed he might well do, that felt the comfort of his faith, the remiſſion of his ſin, and the joys of the Holy Ghoſt, which always follow true Faith in Chriſt.

Acts xvii. 2, 3, 4. I will conclude theſe examples with a paſſage in the Acts, of Paul at Theſſalonica; it is this: “ Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three ſabbath-days rea- “ ſoned with them out of the ſcriptures; opening and alledging that Chriſt muſt needs “ have ſuffered and riſen again from the dead; and that this Jeſus (ſaid he) whom I

" preach unto you, is Chriſt. And ſome of them believed, and conſorted with Paul " and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not " a few." Thus we may plainly ſee, that they were baptized into the faith of Jeſus, and not into numerous opinions; and that this one confeſſion, from true faith in the heart, was the ground and principle of their church-fellowſhip. Then God's church was at peace; ſhe throve; there were then no ſnares of words made to catch men of conſcience with. Then not many Words, but much Integrity; now much Talk, and little Truth: Many *Articles*, but " O ye of little *Faith!*"

Nor was this only the judgment and practice of that time, out of condeſcenſion to weakneſs, and charity to ignorance; for both Chriſt Jeſus himſelf and his Apoſtles (thoſe bleſſed Meſſengers of Holy Truth) have doctrinally laid it down, as the great teſt to Chriſtians; that which ſhould diſtinguiſh them from Infidels, and juſtly intitle them to his diſcipleſhip, and chriſtian communion one with another. Let us read a little farther: " Then ſaid they to Jeſus, what ſhall we do, that we might work the John vi. 28, " works of God? Jeſus anſwered and ſaid to them, This is the work of God, that ye 29,—47. Ch. viii. 24. " believe on him, whom God hath ſent. Verily, Verily, I ſay unto you, he that be- Acts xvi. 30, " lieveth on me, hath everlaſting life." And upon another occaſion, to the Jews, he 31. ſaid, " For if ye believe not that I am he, ye ſhall die in your ſins." It muſt follow Rom. x. 8, 9, then, that if they did believe him to be the Meſſiah, the Anointed of God to Salvation, 10, 11, 12, 13. " they ſhould be ſaved." Moſt plain is that anſwer of the Apoſtles to the Goaler, when he came trembling to them, and ſaid, " Sirs, What muſt I do to be ſaved? Believe," ſaid they, " on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and thou ſhalt be ſaved." The Apoſtle Paul confirms this in his Epiſtle to the Romans, when he ſays, " If thou ſhalt confeſs with " thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thine heart that God hath raiſed him " from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved. For with the heart man believeth unto righ- " teouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto ſalvation: For the Scripture " ſaith, Whoſoever believeth on him, ſhall not be aſhamed. For there is no difference " between the Jew and the Greek; for the ſame Lord over all is rich unto all, that " call upon him. For whoſoever ſhall call upon the name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaved." Deut. xxx. 14. This was the Word of Faith which they preached; and he teſtified that it was " nigh " in the heart," as Moſes had done before him. And, ſaith the Apoſtle John, on this occaſion, " Who is a lyar, but he that denieth that Jeſus is the Chriſt?---Hereby 1 John ii. 22. " know ye the Spirit of God; every ſpirit that confeſſeth (or every one that in heart " or ſpirit confeſſeth) that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God." Again, ſays he, " Whoſoever ſhall confeſs, that Jeſus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, 1 Joh. iv. 2. 15; " and he in God." Yet once more he affirms, " Whoſoever believeth that Jeſus is ch. v. 1. " the Chriſt, is born of God." But this is more than an *hiſtorical* belief; a true, ſound, and hearty *Perſuaſion:* A faith that influenceth the whole man into a ſuitable conformity to the nature, example, and doctrine of the Object of that faith.

I will conclude theſe doctrinal teſtimonies out of ſcripture, with a concluſive paſſage the Apoſtle John uſeth towards the end of his Evangelical Hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt: John xx. 30, " And many other ſigns truly did Jeſus in the preſence of his diſciples, which are not 31. " written in this book; but theſe are written that ye might believe that Jeſus is the " Chriſt, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life in his name." In which place two things are remarkable: Firſt, That whatever things are written of Jeſus, are written to this end, " That we might believe that Jeſus is the Chriſt." Secondly, " That thoſe that ſincerely believe, ſhall through him obtain eternal life." Certainly, then, if this be true, their Incharity and Preſumption muſt be great, who have taken other meaſures, and ſet another Rule of Chriſtianity, than Jeſus and his Apoſtles gave. This *ſincere Confeſſion* contented Chriſt and his Apoſtles; but it will not ſatisfy thoſe that yet pretend to believe them: It was enough then for a miracle and ſalvation too, but it goes for little or nothing now. A man may ſincerely believe this, and be ſtigmatized for a Schiſmatick, an Heretick, an Excommunicate: But I may ſay, as Chriſt did to the Jews in another caſe, " From the beginning it was " not ſo."

But here I expect to be aſſaulted with this objection: ' If this be all that is ne- ' ceſſary to be believed to Salvation, of what uſe is the reſt of the Scripture?'

I anſwer, Of great uſe, as the Apoſtle himſelf teaches us; " All Scripture is given 2 Tim. iii. 16, " by inſpiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for 17. " inſtruction in righteouſneſs, that the Man of God may be perfect, throughly furniſh- " ed unto all good works." It concerns the whole life and converſation of a man; but every *Paſſage* in it is not therefore fit to be ſuch an article of faith, as upon which Chriſtian Communion ought, or ought not, to be maintained. For though it be all equally *true*, it is not all equally *important:* There is a great difference between the *truth* and *weight* of a thing. For example: It is as true that Chriſt ſuffered under *Pontius Pilate*, as that he *ſuffered*; and that he was *pierced*, as that he *died*; and that he did *eat* after his reſurrection, as that he *roſe* from the dead *at all*; but no perſon of common underſtanding will conclude an equal weight or concernment in theſe things,

1679. because they are equally true: The *Death* of Chriſt was of much greater value than the *Manner* of it; his *Reſurrection*, than any Circumſtance of his Appearance *after* he was riſen. The queſtion is not, whether *all* the truths contained in ſcripture are not to be *believed*; but whether thoſe truths are equally *important*? And whether the ‘Belief with the Heart, and Confeſſion with the Mouth, that Jeſus is the Chriſt and Son of God, be not as ſufficient now to intitle a man to communion here, and ſalvation hereafter, as in thoſe times?’ Againſt which nothing can be, of weight, objected.

If it be ſaid, ‘That this contradicts the judgment and practice of many great and good men;’

I anſwer, I cannot help that. If they have been tempted, out of their own curioſity, or the corruption of times, to depart from the ancient paths, the foot-ſteps of pureſt antiquity and beſt examples, let their pretences have been what they will, it was Preſumption: And it was juſt with God, that error and confuſion ſhould be the conſequence of thoſe adventures; nor has it ever failed to follow them.

Laſtly, if it be alledged, ‘That this will take in all parties, yea, that *Schiſmaticks* and *Hereticks* will creep in under this General Confeſſion, ſince few of them will refuſe to make it:’

I do ſay, It would be an happy day. What man, who loves God and Chriſt, ſeeks peace and concord, that would not rejoice if all our animoſities and vexations about matters of religion were buried in this One Confeſſion of Jeſus, the great Author and Lord of the Chriſtian Religion, ſo often loſt in pretending to conteſt for it? View the parties on foot in Chriſtendom among thoſe called Proteſtants, obſerve their differences well, and how they are generally maintained, and you will tell me, that they are rent and divided about their own Comments, Conſequences and Concluſions: Not the *Text*, but the *Meaning*; and that too, which perhaps is not in itſelf eſſential to ſalvation; as the diſpute betwixt the Lutherans and Calviniſts, the Arminians and Predeſtinarians, and the like. Is it not lamentable to think, that thoſe who pretend to be Chriſtians, and Reformed ones alſo, ſhould divide with the winds, and fight, as *pro Aris & Focis*, for ſuch things, as either are not expreſly to be found in ſcripture, or if there, yet never appointed or intended by Chriſt or his Apoſtles for articles of communion. Should they then erect their communion on another bottom, or break it for deviating from any other doctrines than what they in ſo many words have delivered to us for neceſſary?

Tract of Schiſm, (printed with other things) pag. 212, 213.

If we conſider the matter well, I fear it will appear that the occaſion of diſturbance in the Church of Chriſt hath in moſt ages been found to lie on the ſide of thoſe who have had the greateſt ſway in it. Very pertinent to our preſent purpoſe is that paſſage of J. Hales of Eaton, in his *Tract* concerning *Schiſm*: ‘It hath,’ ſaith he, ‘been the common diſeaſe of Chriſtians from the beginning, not to content themſelves with that meaſure of faith which God and the ſcriptures have expreſly afforded us; but, out of a vain deſire to know more than is revealed, they have attempted to diſcuſs things, of which we can have no light, neither from reaſon nor revelation. Neither have they reſted here; but, upon pretence of Church-Authority, which is NONE, or Tradition, which for the moſt part is but FIGMENT, they have peremptorily concluded, and confidently impoſed upon others a neceſſity of entertaining concluſions of that nature; and, to ſtrengthen themſelves, have broken out into diviſions and factions, oppoſing man to man, ſynod to ſynod, till the peace of the church vaniſhed, without all poſſibility of recall. Hence aroſe thoſe ancient and many ſeparations amongſt Chriſtians; Arianiſm, Eutychianiſm, Neſtorianiſm, Photinianiſm, Sabellianiſm; and many more, both ancient and in our time.

p. 215, 216, 217, 218.

And as he hath told us one great occaſion of the diſeaſe, ſo he offers what follows for the cure: ‘And were Liturgies,’ ſays he, ‘and Publick Forms of Service ſo framed, as that they admitted not of particular and private Fancies, but contained only ſuch things, as in which all Chriſtians do agree, Schiſms on Opinion were utterly vaniſhed: Whereas to load our Publick Forms with the Private Fancies upon which we differ, is the moſt ſovereign way to perpetuate Schiſm unto the world's end.---Remove from them whatſoever is ſcandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree on; and the event ſhall be, that the publick ſervice and honour of God ſhall no ways ſuffer. For to charge Churches and Liturgies with things unneceſſary, was the firſt beginning of all Superſtition.---If the ſpiritual Guides and Fathers of the Church would be a little ſparing of incumbering churches with ſuperfluities, and not over-rigid, either in reviving obſolete cuſtoms, or impoſing new, there were far leſs danger of Schiſm or Superſtition.---Mean while, whereſoever *falſe* or *ſuſpected* Opinions are made a piece of the Church Liturgy, he that *ſeparates* is not a *Schiſmatick*: For it is alike unlawful to make profeſſion of known or ſuſpected Falſhoods, as to put in practice unlawful or ſuſpected Actions.’ He farther tells us, in his

J. Hales, Golden Remains, p. 49, 50.

Sermon of Dealing with Erring Chriſtians, ‘That it is the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace, and not the Identity (or Oneneſs) of Conceit, which the Holy Ghoſt requires at the hands of Chriſtians.----‘A better way my conceit cannot reach unto, than that we ſhould be willing to think that theſe things, which with ſome ſhew of probability we deduce from Scripture, are, at the beſt, but our Opinions. For this peremptory manner of ſetting down our Concluſions under this high commanding form of Neceſſary Truths, is generally one of the greateſt cauſes which keeps the churches this day ſo far aſunder; when-as a gracious receiving of each other by mutual forbearance, in this kind, might, peradventure, in time bring them nearer together.'

Thus much of this great man concerning Schiſm, the cauſe and cure of it? And for the notion of Hereticks he will help us altogether as well: For though they are generally taken for ſuch who err in *Judgment* about Doctrines and Articles of *Faith*, yet if this man may have any credit, and perhaps none of his profeſſion has deſerved more, he tells us, that 'Hereſy is an act of the *Will*, not of *Reaſon*; and is, indeed, a *Lye*, not a *Miſtake*: Elſe,' ſays he, 'how could that known ſpeech of Auſtin go for true, *Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo:* I may err, but I am unwilling to be an Heretick?' And indeed this is no other than what Holy Scripture teacheth; "A man that is an Heretick, after the firſt and ſecond admonition reject; knowing that he that is ſuch, is ſubverted, and ſinneth, being condemned of himſelf." Tit. iii. 10, 11. Which is as much as to ſay, That nobody is an Heretick, but he that gives the lye to his own conſcience, and is ſelf-condemned: Which is not the caſe of men merely *miſtaken*, or who only err in *judgment*. And therefore the term of Hereticks is as untruly as uncharitably flung upon thoſe that conſcientiouſly diſſent, either in point of diſcipline or doctrine, from any ſociety of Chriſtians; and it is not hard to obſerve that thoſe who have moſt merited that character, have moſt liberally beſtowed it.

But to ſhow you that neither true Schiſmatick, who is 'One that unneceſſarily and unwarrantably ſeparates from that part of the viſible church of which he was once a member,' nor true Heretick, who is a 'Wilful ſubverter of true, or an introducer of falſe doctrines, a ſelf-condemned perſon,' can ever ſhelter himſelf under this common Confeſſion of Chriſtianity, ſincerely made; let us conſider, that whoever ſo declares Jeſus to be the Meſſiah and Anointed Saviour of God to men, muſt be ſuppoſed to believe *all that of him*, with reſpect to which he is *ſo called*. Now that for which he is ſo denominated, is that which God ſent him to do: The reaſon and end of his coming he could beſt tell, who hath told us thus; "I am come, that ye may have life, and that ye may have it more abundantly." The world was *dead* in treſpaſſes and ſins; the guilt and defilement of tranſgreſſion had *killed* the ſoul, as to *ſpiritual* life and motion; and from under this powerful *death* he came to redeem the ſoul unto *life:* In ſhort, to reſtore man from that fearful degeneracy which his diſobedience to God had reduced him unto.

The way he took to accompliſh this bleſſed work was, firſt, 'To preach Repentance, and the approach of the Kingdom of God,' which is his *rule* and *authority* in the *hearts* of men: And that brings to the ſecond thing to be believed; namely, Mark i. 14. Joh. iii. 20, 21.

What he Taught.

Firſt, His doctrine led men to *Repentance:* "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand." No man could receive the kingdom of God, whilſt he lived under the kingdom and power of Satan: So that to *repent*, is not only to bring their deeds to the *Light*, which Chriſt exhorted men to; but to *forſake* that, upon Examination, which appears to be evil. Wherefore I conclude, that ſuch as have not been acquainted with this holy Repentance, do not ſincerely believe, neither can rightly confeſs, Jeſus to be the Chriſt, the Son of God, the Saviour of the World. Therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, "Let him that nameth the name of the Lord, depart from iniquity;" plainly implying, that thoſe do rather *profane* than *confeſs* the name of the Lord, who do not depart from their iniquities. And, ſaith the Apoſtle in another place, "No man can call Jeſus Lord, but by the Holy Ghoſt:" Which opens to us the nature of the True Confeſſion we ought to make, and which, being truly made in a ſcripture ſenſe, makes us Chriſtians in a right chriſtian acceptation; to wit, 'That the True Confeſſion of Jeſus to be both Lord and Chriſt, is from ſuch a Belief in the heart as is accompanied with the embracing and practiſing of his holy doctrine.' Such a Faith is the work of the Holy Ghoſt; and thoſe that do not ſo confeſs him, or call upon him, that is, by virtue of the overſhadowing of this Divine Spirit and Power, are not truly Chriſtians, true worſhippers, or believers and diſciples of our Lord Jeſus.

Furthermore, they that receive Chriſt, receive his kingdom, his power and authority in their ſouls; whereby the ſtrong man that kept the houſe becomes bound, and his goods ſpoiled by this ſtronger man, the "Lord's Chriſt;" who is come from Heaven to dwell in us, and be the 'Hope of our Glory;' for ſo he was preached to the Gentiles. This kingdom, the Apoſtle tells us, ſtands in righteouſneſs, peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt; and Chriſt tells us where it is to be ſet up: "The kingdom of God is within you," ſaith the King himſelf; and where ſhould the King be, but in his own Kingdom? Luke xvii. 20, 21. They are bleſſed that feel him to rule, and that live under the ſwaying of his righteous ſcepter: For when this "Righteous One rules the Earth, the ſons of men rejoice."

1679. So that no man can truly confeſs, and rightly believe, Jeſus to be the Chriſt and Son of God, who does not receive him to be his King to rule his heart and affections. For can a man be ſaid to believe in one that he will not receive? But “to as many as John i. 12, 13. “received Chriſt of old, gave he power to become the ſons of God; which were “born, not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of 1 Cor. i. 30. “God.” What is this Will of God? Paul anſwers the queſtion: “The Will of God “is your Sanctification;” for this Chriſt came into the world. So that thoſe that believe and receive Chriſt, he is made to them “Righteouſneſs, Sanctification and Redemption;” that is, he has ſaved them from their ſins, both guilt and defilement, and ſanctified them from their corruptions: They live now by the Grace of God, that teaches them to be of a ſober, righteous, godlike life. “Ye ſhall know them by their “fruits,” ſaith Chriſt of the Phariſees; ſo ſhall men know them, that ſincerely believe and confeſs Chriſt, by their ſanctified manners and blameleſs converſations. And woe from the true and juſt God to them that make other dictinctions! for God has made no other: There will be but goats and ſheep at the laſt day; holy and unholy; juſt and unjuſt: Therefore let that be our diſtinction, which ever was, and will be, God's diſtinction; for all other meaſures are the effects of the paſſions and preſumptions of men. But becauſe it may be expected that I ſhould fix upon ſome few General Heads of Chriſtian Doctrine, from the mouth of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, as requiſite to Chriſtian Communion, I ſhall proceed to mention what Chriſt eminently taught.

He that reads his ſermon upon the mount, will find in the entrance how many ſtates Mat. v. and conditions Chriſt bleſſed; “The *poor in ſpirit*, the *mourners*, the *meek*, they that “*hunger after righteouſneſs*; the *merciful*, the *pure in heart*, and the *peace-makers*;” which, indeed, comprehend the whole of Chriſtianity.

By *Mourners*, we underſtand true penitents, men of unfeigned repentance; which leads them not only to confeſs, but forſake their ſins. This “godly ſorrow” ſtrips men of all falſe reſts and comforts, makes them “poor in ſpirit,” empty of themſelves, wanting the comfort of the Light, Life and Power of Jeſus to ſupport and ſuſtain them; yet, as they ſtedfaſtly walk in that meaſure they have, the *Atonement* of the Blood is felt, and it cleanſeth them from all unrighteouſneſs, which makes them pure in heart. And in this condition no food will ſerve their turn but Righteouſneſs; 1 John i. 7. after this they hunger and thirſt, more than for the bread that periſheth. They are full of Meekneſs and Mercy, making Peace, and promoting Concord, where-ever they come: For being themſelves reconciled to God, they endeavour to reconcile all men unto God, and one unto another: Submitting all worldly conſiderations to this incomparable Peace, that paſſeth all human underſtanding.

In ſhort, let us bring it home to our conſciences, and deal faithfully with ourſelves. 1 Cor. ii. 3. Do we know this holy *mourning?* This godly *ſorrow?* Are we poor in ſpirit *indeed?* Not ſelf-conceited, but *humble*, *meek* and *lowly* in heart, like him that bid us do ſo? Do we *hunger* after the kingdom of God, and the righteouſneſs of it? And are our hearts *purified* by the precious faith of the Son of God, that is a working, cleanſing and conquering faith? In fine, Are we *merciful? Tender-hearted?* Lovers of *peace*, more than lovers of *ourſelves? Perſecuted*, rather than *perſecutors?* Such as *receive* ſtripes for Chriſt's ſake, and not thoſe that *beat* our fellow-ſervants? No man has true faith in Chriſt Jeſus, that is not acquainted with theſe bleſſed qualifications. This is Chriſt's doctrine; and to *believe* in *him*, is to *obey* it, and be *like* him.

The great intention of this ſermon, is to preſs people to a more excellent righteouſneſs than that of the Scribes and Phariſees. “For,” ſaid Jeſus to the multitude, Mat. v. 20. “Except your righteouſneſs ſhall exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, “ye ſhall in no caſe enter into the kingdom of heaven.”

verſe 22. 1. He taught, not only that *Killing*, but *Anger*, without a very juſt cauſe, is unlawful to his diſciples, his followers.

2. He prefers *Concord* above *Devotion*; *Mercy* before *Sacrifice:* He that will not uſe his utmoſt endeavour to be reconciled to his brother, ſhall find no place for his prayers verſe 23, 24, 25. with Him that can only make them effectual. And *every man* is this *brother*.

3. He not only forbids *Adultery*, which the Law forbids, but *Luſt*. The *Axe* of verſe 28, 29, 30. his *Doctrine* is laid to the *Root* of the Tree; it reaches to the firſt *ſeeds* of things, to the innermoſt and moſt hidden Conceptions of the mind, becauſe he has brought his Light *near*, and ſearches the innermoſt parts of the belly with his Divine Candle.

4. From keeping and performing *Legal Vows*, to *Not Swearing at all*. And indeed, verſe 33, 34. what uſe can there be of any Swearing, where mens *Yea* is *Yea*, and their *Nay, Nay?* There their ſpeech, their anſwers, on all occaſions, ſhould be, at the moſt, but Yea, Yea; or Nay, Nay.

5. He taught, not to *reſiſt evil*, but to *ſuffer loſs*, rather than enter into *contention:* His divine wiſdom did foreſee how much eaſier it would be to overcome the violent verſe 39, 40. paſſions of men by Patience, than Controverſy. And he that juſtly conſiders the unrulineſs of ſome mens diſpoſitions, their heats and prejudices, will find, that it is not always a real *Injury* or *Loſs*, but ſome *Paſſion*, *Revenge*, or baſe *Intereſt*, that puts them upon Clamours, and Suits of Law.

6. He taught us the higheſt Complacency and Charity: “ If any man compel thee to
“ go a mile, go with him twain.” Be of an eaſy and ready mind to do *good*; to all
“ *friendly offices* be eaſily perſuaded; and therein rather exceed, than fall ſhort of, any verſe 14.
one's intreaty or neceſſity.

7. He taught as great *Liberality* and *Bounty*, “ To give to him that aſks, and from
“ him that would borrow, not to turn away.” In ſhort, to be ſtewards of our *external* verſe 42.
ſubſtance for the *good of mankind*, according to our reſpective abilities; not grudging,
knowing whoſe it is; nor diſbelieving, as knowing him who is both able and bountiful.

8. He advances the doctrine of loving *Friends*, to the degree of loving *Enemies*. “ Ye
“ have heard,” ſaid Jeſus, “ that it hath been ſaid, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour, and
“ hate thine enemy; but I ſay unto you, Love your enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, verſe 43, 44,
“ do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe you, and perſecute you.” 45.
Surely, then, where no Anger dwells, no Revenge can grow; and if we
muſt love *enemies*, there is *no* man left to be *hated*. This is the doctrine of that Jeſus that
laid down his life for all; and this is the end for which he preached it, “ That,” ſays
he, “ ye may be children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his ſun to
“ riſe on the evil and the good, and ſendeth rain on the juſt and on the unjuſt.” It is as
much as if Chriſt had ſaid, ‘ No man can be like God, who does not love his *enemies*,
‘ and cannot do good to *All*.’ Conſequently, ‘ he that does love enemies, and is
‘ ready to do good unto *All*, he is like God the Father that is in heaven, who is Love.’ 1 John iv. 8.

9. Chriſt teaches us to avoid *Oſtentation* in our *Charity*: “ Take heed that ye do not
“ your alms before men, to be ſeen of them.” Matt. vi. 1.

10. He teaches us the Duty of *Prayer*, and what: “ Not in the corners of the ſtreet, verſe 5, 6.
“ nor in the ſynagogues to be ſeen of men; but in the cloſet, in the ſecret of the
“ heart, betwixt God and the ſoul.” O heavenly precepts! he knew our natures, our
weakneſs, and how to meet with it, and mend it. ‘ A bleſſed Phyſician indeed!’ Let
us receive him, for he is ſure, and he is free.

11. He forbids *Hoarding*, and Laying up of Money in Bank; but preſſes our verſe 19, 20.
“ treaſuring up wealth in heaven; and the reaſon is this, “ That the one is corruptible,
“ and the other is incorruptible.”

12. He teaches *Dependence* upon the *Providence* of *God*; calling the diſtruſtful,
“ O ye of little faith! Which of you,” ſays he, “ by taking thought, can add one cubit verſe 25, to
“ to his ſtature? Therefore take no thought, ſaying, What ſhall we eat, or what the end.
“ ſhall we drink, or wherewith ſhall we be clothed? For after all theſe things do the
“ Gentiles ſeek; for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all theſe
“ things. But ſeek ye firſt the kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe
“ things ſhall be added to you.”

13. He ſets up a Diſcrimination or Diſtinction between *Falſe* and *True Prophets*;
thoſe that are his Diſciples, from Counterfeits. “ Ye ſhall know them,” ſaid Chriſt, Matt. vii. 15,
“ by their fruits: Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thiſtles? Even ſo every 16, 17, 18,
“ good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A 19, 20.
“ good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good
“ fruit: Wherefore by their fruits ye ſhall know them.” This was the diſtinction given
by Chriſt to his followers; the tree was not accounted a good tree by the Leaves, but
the Fruits; not by a meer Opinion, but holy Living. The Faith in that day, was an Intire
Reſignation and Dependence upon God, and not a ſubſcription to Verbal Propoſitions and
Articles, though ever ſo true: That was the work of after-times, more corrupt and
ſuperſtitious ages, that laid more ſtreſs upon Conſent, aye, the very Show of it, than
Holineſs, without which no man ſhall ever ſee the Lord. But -----

14. Laſtly, Chriſt preaches the *General Judgment*. “ Many will ſay to me in that
“ day,” [What day? The Laſt Day, or Day of Account, and Final Reckoning with
mankind:] “ Lord, Lord, have we not propheſied in thy name, and in thy name caſt Verſ. 21, to
“ out devils, and done many wonderful works? And then will I profeſs unto them, I the end.
“ never knew you: Depart from me, ye that work iniquity. Not every one that ſaith,
“ Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doth the will of
“ my father which is in heaven. Therefore whoſoever heareth theſe ſayings of mine,
“ and doth them, I will liken him unto a wiſe man, which built his houſe upon a rock,
“ and the rain deſcended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that
“ houſe, and it fell not, for it was builded upon a rock. And every one that heareth
“ theſe ſayings of mine, and doth them not, ſhall be likened unto a fooliſh man, which
“ built his houſe upon the ſand: And the rain deſcended, and the floods came, and the
“ winds blew, and beat upon that houſe, and it fell, and great was the fall of it. And
“ it came to paſs, when Jeſus had ended theſe ſayings, the people were aſtoniſhed at his
“ doctrine; for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the ſcribes.”

By all which it is moſt plain, that as Chriſt is the Rock, on which true Chriſtians
build, ſo none can be ſaid truly to build upon this Rock, but thoſe that keep his Sayings,
that do his Commandments, that obey his Doctrine. Wherefore that faith of Jeſus to

1679. be the Son and Chriſt of God, muſt be ſuch a faith as does the Will of the heavenly Father, and keepeth theſe Sayings of Chriſt.

There are two places, in which Chriſt ſeems to ſum up his bleſſed doctrine: One is Mat. vii. 12. this, "Therefore all things, whatſoever, ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets;" which, by the way, Chriſt came not to deſtroy, but to fulfil. But the other paſſage ſeems to be more full; the firſt relating only to our dealings with men, this ſecond paſſage comprehending our duty both to Mat. xxii. 37, 38, 39. God and men, viz. "Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoul, and with all thy mind; this is the firſt and great commandment: And the ſecond is like unto it, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf. On theſe two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets."

This is the ſum and perfection of the Chriſtian Religion, the Great Commandment John xiii. 34, 35. of Chriſt, and the certain token of diſcipleſhip. "A new commandment," ſaid Chriſt, "I give unto you, that ye *love one another*; as I have loved you, that ye alſo love one another: By this ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye have love one to John xv. 10, 12, 14, 17. another." Again Chriſt ſpeaks to his diſciples; "If ye keep my commandments, ye ſhall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love: And this is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you." Yea, once more: "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatſoever I command you, that you love one another. He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that John xiv. 21. loveth me; and he that loveth me, ſhall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifeſt myſelf to him: But he that loveth me not, keepeth not my ſayings." So that only thoſe are Friends and Diſciples of Chriſt Jeſus that do his ſayings and keep his commandments; and the great commandment of all is *Love*; for upon this one commandment do all the reſt depend.

And indeed the reaſon is very obvious, ſince he that loves God above all, will leave all for God: Not one of his commandments ſhall be ſlighted: And he that loves his Neighbour, will much more love the "Houſhold of faith." Well may ſuch be True Chriſtians, when their faith in Chriſt works by *Love*, by the power of this *Divine* 1 John iv. 16. *Power:* He that dwells in this Love, dwells in God, (if John ſay true) for he is LOVE. "And in this he recommended his love unto us, that he ſent his Only-begotten Son,--- that whoſoever believeth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life." Alſo, herein did Chriſt manifeſt his love, in laying down his life for us. "This is my com- John xv. 12, 13, 14. mandment," ſaid Chriſt, "that ye love one another, as I have loved you: And greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends; ye are my friends, if ye do whatſoever I command you." Indeed he gave his life for the world, and offered up One Common Sacrifice for mankind: "And by this one offering Heb. x. up of himſelf, once for all, he hath for ever perfected," that is, *quitted* and *diſcharged*, and taken into *Favour*, "them that are ſanctified;" who have received the Spirit of Grace and Sanctification in their hearts; for ſuch as reſiſt it, receive not the benefit of that ſacrifice, but damnation to themſelves.

This holy offering-up of himſelf by the Eternal Spirit, is a great part of his *Meſſiahſhip*; for therein he hath both confirmed his bleſſed meſſage of Remiſſion of Sins, and Life Everlaſting, to as many as truly believe in his name, and hath given himſelf "a propitiation for all that have ſinned, and thereby come ſhort of the glory of God:" Inſo- Rom. iii. 25, 26, 27. much that God is ſaid, by the apoſtle Paul, to be "juſt, and the juſtifier of him which believeth in Jeſus, whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteouſneſs for the remiſſion of ſins that are paſt, through the forbearance of God."

Unto which I ſhall join his *Mediatorſhip* or *Advocacy*, linked together both by the apoſtle of the Gentiles, and the beloved diſciple John: The firſt in theſe words; "For 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6. there is One God, and One Mediator between God and men, the Man Chriſt Jeſus, who gave himſelf a ranſom for all, to be teſtified in due time." The apoſtle John ex- 1 John ii. 1, 2. preſſeth it thus: "My little children, theſe things write I unto you, that you ſin not; and if any man ſinneth, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous; he is the propitiation for our ſins, and not for ours only, but alſo for the ſins of the whole world." So that, to be brief, the *Chriſtian Creed*, ſo far as it is declaratory, lies eminently in a confeſſion of theſe particulars: Of the Divine Authority of the New, as well as of the Old Teſtament Writings, and particularly of theſe great, general, and obvious truths therein expreſſed; to wit, 'Of God and Chriſt, his Miracles, Doctrine, Death, Reſurrection, Advocateſhip or Mediation, the Gift of his Light, Spirit or Grace: Of Faith, and Repentance from Dead Works unto Remiſſion of Sins, keeping his Commandments, and laſtly, Of Eternal Recompence.' ---Leſs, once, than all this, would have done; and it does not ſhew the age more Chriſtian, but more curious, indeed more infidel, to be ſure more captious and froward, that there is this ſtir made about External Creeds of Communion: For diſtruſt of brethren, and incredulity among Chriſtians, are no ſmall ſigns of their decay of faith towards God: "From the beginning it was not ſo."

But it may be here objected, ‘ How ſhall we know that ſuch a declaration of faith
‘ is ſincere ?’

I anſwer, ‘ By recurring to that Evidence which God ſhall give us.’ They that can 1 John iv.
try ſpirits, under the moſt *ſheep-like cloathing*, have the moſt immediate and certain
proof; and ſuch an one there is, by the ſavour and reliſh the Spirit of God gives, to
them that have it, of the ſpirits of men: But let it ſuffice, that Chriſt hath told us,
“ By their fruits we ſhall know them. If any man,” ſays Chriſt, “ will come after Mat. xvi. 24.
“ me, let him take up his croſs, and follow me:” And in another place he tells us
thus: “ My ſheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me;” that is, John x. 27.
they are led by my Spirit, they live my Life, they obey my Doctrine, they are of my
own Nature. And the Apoſtle Peter aſſures us, ‘ That true Faith purifies the heart; Acts xv. 9.
‘ and no impurity can flow from a pure heart.’ You may know this Faith by that
way by which Abraham’s faith was known to be true, to wit, *Obedience*. “ He believed
“ God;” that is, he *obeyed* God; he ſubmitted to the will of God, and relied upon
his goodneſs: As if he had ſaid, and he ſaid it doubtleſs to himſelf, ‘ He that gave me Rom. iv.
‘ my ſon by a miracle, can work another to ſave him: To God all things are poſſible.’ 2 Cor. iv. 13.
It is called by the Apoſtle Paul, “ The *Spirit* of Faith;” ſomething more near and inward,
than any external Articles and Declarations of Faith: That from whence all
True Confeſſions and Good Works came; which made the Apoſtle Paul thus to ſay,
“ We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers, 1 Theſ. i. 2, 3.
“ remembring, without ceaſing, your work of faith.”

It was this *true* Faith, that brings forth works of *Righteouſneſs*, by which “ Abel
“ offered to God, Enoch was tranſlated, Noah was ſaved.” It is ſaid of him, “ that
“ he became the Heir of the Righteouſneſs which is by Faith.” By this Faith
Abraham left his own country, and obeyed the voice of God. “ By Faith Moſes was
“ preſerved from his Childhood; and when he came to years, refuſed to be called the
“ Son of Pharoah’s Daughter; by Faith he forſook Ægypt, and paſſed the Red Sea.
“ By Faith the walls of Jericho fell down, and Rahab was ſaved. By Faith Gideon,
“ Barak, Sampſon, Jephtha, David, Samuel, and the Prophets, ſubdued kingdoms,
“ wrought righteouſneſs, obtained promiſes, ſtopped the mouths of lions, quenched
“ the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge of the ſword;” with much more too large to Heb. xi.
be uttered here.

This is that Faith, which the Apoſtle James magnifies againſt all falſe Faiths:
“ Faith,” ſays he, “ if it has not *Works*, is dead. A man may ſay, Thou haſt *Faith*, Jam. ii. 17, 18,
“ and I have *Works*; ſhew me thy Faith *without* thy Works, and I will ſhew thee 19, 20, 21, 22,
“ my Faith *by* my Works.” And as if he had foreſeen the pother made by the men 23, 24.
of Creeds and Articles, he ſpeaks on this wiſe; “ Thou believeſt that there is One
“ God; thou doſt well; the *Devils* alſo *believe* and *tremble*. But wilt thou know, O
“ vain man, that *Faith* without *Works* is dead? Was not Abraham, our father, juſtified
“ by *Works*, when he had offered Iſaac his ſon upon the altar? Seeſt thou how Faith
“ wrought with his Works? And by *Works* was *Faith* made *perfect*.----And he was
“ called the *Friend* of God.” Very notable and informing is that expreſſion of his,
“ The Devils alſo believe and tremble;” and as if he had ſaid, ‘ The Devil believes,
‘ as well as you; and trembles too, which is more.’ This ſhows there is a faith that
is not the true faith, and that not with relation to the Matters believed, but the Spirit
of the Mind in believing: For the *Devils* believe the Truth *literally*; but their Faith
works not by *Love*, no more than their Knowledge by *Obedience*, and therefore it does
them no good, and is not the true faith. O that Chriſtendom would lay this very one
thing to heart! But I muſt proceed.

The exhortation of the Apoſtle Peter is a farther and plain diſcrimination of true
Faith: “ And beſides this, giving all diligence, add to your Faith Virtue, and to Virtue 2 Pet. i. 5, 6,
“ Knowledge, and to Knowledge Temperance, and to Temperance Patience, and to 7, 8, 9.
“ Patience Godlineſs, and to Godlineſs Brotherly-Kindneſs, and to Brotherly-Kindneſs
“ Charity. For if theſe things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye ſhall
“ neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But he
“ that lacketh theſe things is *blind*, and cannot ſee far off, and hath forgotten that he
“ was purged from his old ſins:” As if he had ſaid, they have forgot where they begun,
that think they can be Chriſtians without a Life of Holineſs.

I will ſeal up theſe ſcripture-teſtimonies of Faith, with that account which is given
us by the Apoſtle John, “ For whatſoever is born of God, overcometh the World: 1 John v. 4, 5.
“ And this is the Victory that overcometh the world, even our Faith. Who is he
“ that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jeſus is the Son of God?”
So that the belief in the Son of God, muſt have this evidence to prove it a *true* belief
in God’s account, that by it men are *born of God* and *overcome the world*: Wherefore John xiv. 17.
their Faith is falſe whom the World *overcomes*: “ I am not of this world,” ſaith
Chriſt Jeſus; neither can that *Faith* be, that is rightly called the Faith of the Son
of God.

There

1679. There are three paſſages left us upon record by this beloved diſciple of Jeſus, of great weight and importance to us: When he had diſcourſed of the Propitiation and 1 John ii. 3, 4, 5, 6. Advocateſhip of Chriſt, he does immediately add; "And hereby do we know that "we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that ſaith, I know him, and "keepeth not his commandments, is a Lyar, and the Truth is not in him. But whoſo "keepeth his word, in him verily is the Love of God perfected: Hereby know we "that we are in him. He that ſaith, he abideth in him, ought himſelf alſo ſo to walk, "even as he walked."

chap. iii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. The ſecond paſſage, very pertinent to this matter, is in the next chapter; "My little children, let us not love in *word*, neither in *tongue*, but in *deed* and in *truth*. "And hereby we know that we are of the Truth, and ſhall aſſure our hearts before "him: For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all "things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards "God: And whatſoever we aſk, we receive of him, becauſe we keep his commandments, and do thoſe things that are pleaſing in his ſight. And this is his commandment, that we ſhould believe on the name of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and love one another, as he gave us commandment."

The third and laſt paſſage, which I ſhall mention on this account, is in his fourth chap. iv. 14, 15, 16, 17. chapter of the ſame Epiſtle, viz. "And we have ſeen, and do teſtify, that the Father "ſent the Son, to be the Saviour of the World. Whoſoever ſhall confeſs that Jeſus "is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God. And we have known and "believed the Love God hath to us. God is Love; and he that dwelleth in Love, "dwelleth in God, and God in him. Herein our love is made perfect, that we may "have boldneſs in the day of judgment; becauſe, as *he* is, ſo are *we* in this world." So that keeping God's Word and Commandments, and our Conſciences from accuſing us, and our being like to CHRIST in this world, is our *loving* of God as we ought to love him.

Theſe are the holy fruits of all thoſe that love God, and believe in Chriſt, that are the 'Family of the faithful,' regenerated and redeemed from the earth: Wherever two or three of them are met together, Chriſt is in the midſt of them; they neither aſk nor hope in vain. With this character let us take a view of all perſons and ſocieties of Chriſtians throughout the world, not forgetting ourſelves; let us hereby try Jam. i. 27. their Faith and Religion, and our own: 'If it be of God the Father, it is pure and 'undefiled; it leads them that have it, to viſit the fatherleſs and widows in their af'fliction, and to keep themſelves unſpotted from the world.' Is this our caſe? O that it were ſo!

If it be objected, 'Which way ſhall we obtain this like precious Faith?'

I anſwer, We muſt take diligent heed to the *Light* and *Grace* that come by Jeſus; John iii. 20, 21. that *Candle* of the *Lord*, which he has ſet up in our ſouls: We muſt bring our deeds to this Light, and ſee if they be wrought in God or no? For this gives us to diſcern betwixt the precious and the vile; the one gives Joy, the other brings a load of Guilt upon the ſoul. Do we not know, that we do the things we ought not; and that we leave undone the things we ought to do. This, alas! will be our judgment one day, the Laſt, the Terrible day: For therefore men are *condemnable*, becauſe they *know*.

Thoſe, therefore, that would obtain this *Precious Faith*, that overcomes the world, muſt embrace the "GRACE of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt," by which this faith is begotten; and they who believe not in this *Grace*, nor receive it in the Love of it, nor give themſelves up to be taught and led by it, can never be ſaid truly to *believe* in him from whom it comes, any more than the Jews may be ſaid to believe in *God*, when they rejected him that *came* from God, his *Beloved Son*. He that denies the *Meaſure*, John i. 14, 16, 17. can never own or receive the *Fulneſs*. John bears record, that he was "full of Grace "and Truth, and that of his *Fulneſs* they received, and Grace for Grace: For the "Law was given by Moſes, but Grace and Truth came by Jeſus Chriſt:" So that it is utterly impoſſible for a man to *believe* in Chriſt, and not to be taught and led by the *Grace* that comes from him, and by him.

It is a common ſaying of people in theſe days, "We are not under the Law, but "under Grace;" who are in truth under *Sin* and the Law of *Death*, and ſubjects to the Prince of the power of the air, who reigns in the hearts of "the children of diſ"obedience;" and their lives ſhow it: No, thoſe are under Grace, that live the Holy 2 Tit. xi. 12. Life of Grace. "For the Grace of God, that bringeth ſalvation," ſaith the Apoſtle Paul, "hath appeared unto all men; teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs and the "world's luſts, we ſhould live *ſoberly*, *righteouſly*, and *godly* in this preſent world:" Theſe are the people that believe in Chriſt, unto the ſaving of the ſoul. This is that bleſſed Light which ſhines in the hearts of thoſe that believe, and gives "the know"ledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jeſus Chriſt." The ancients walked in John viii. 12. it, and found eternal life by it. "I am the Light of the world," ſaid Chriſt; "he "that follows me, ſhall not walk in darkneſs, but have the Light of Life." The Rom. xiii. 12, 13, 14. ſaints armed themſelves with it againſt the fiery darts of Satan; and, by the Virtue and

Power that is in it, were enabled to overcome temptation. And this will be the condemnation of diſobedient men, 'That they *ſee*, but ſhut their *eyes*; they *know* the Light, but *rebel* againſt it.' Chriſt, by his holy Light in the Conſcience, ſhews men their danger, warns them of it, before it comes upon them: No man on earth can plead either Ignorance or Surpriſe.

It is true, the "Candle of the wicked is often put out:" But that implies it is Job xxi. 17. often lighted, and that men ſin againſt conviction, againſt ſight and knowledge: It is wilful, and that is dangerous. No faith, in Diſobedience, will do; no faith, without holy fruits, holy works, will ſave. Men muſt be born again, if ever they will enter into the kingdom of God: There is no fellowſhip between Chriſt and Belial: People John iii. 3. muſt part with their vile affections and inordinate deſires, or they are no company for 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. Chriſt; they have no ſhare in him. What part can Pride have in Humility, Wrath in Meekneſs, Luſt in Self-denial, Revenge in Forgiveneſs? To pretend to believe in Chriſt, and not to be like him, is a contradiction. "This is the meſſage," ſaid the 1 John i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. beloved diſciple, "which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is *Light*; and in him is no darkneſs at all: If we ſay, that we have fellowſhip with him, and walk in darkneſs, we lye, and do not the truth." The truth is, all ſuch Faith and Profeſſion are a *Lye*, and that "in the Right-hand;" a cheat upon a man's Self. "But," ſays he, "if we *walk* in the Light, as God is in the Light, we have Iſaiah xliv. 20. fellowſhip one with another, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſeth us from all ſin. If we ſay, that we have no ſin, (*to be cleanſed from*) we deceive ourſelves, and the Truth is not in us: But if we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs."

To conclude, Chriſt Jeſus, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, is holy, harmleſs, and undefiled, and ſo muſt his Followers be: He is no head of a corrupt body, nor maſter of rebellious ſervants: He that has not the 'Wedding Garment,' muſt be caſt out: The branch that brings not forth fruit, will be cut off. But thoſe that truly believe in his Name, walk in his Light, and are taught by his Grace to renounce the "Luſts of the eye, the luſts of the fleſh, and pride of life," the unjuſt profits, plea- Mark iii. 32, 33, 34, 35. ſures and pomps of the world, and chuſe to follow him in his own holy way of reſignation and regeneration, the ſame is his brother, his ſiſter and his mother. And whatever loſſes they may here ſuſtain for his name's ſake, they have the promiſe of an "Hundred-fold in this life, and the inheritance of that which is eternal." Mat. xix. 28, 29.

And I do fervently beſeech Almighty God, the giver of all ſaving faith, mercifully to vouchſafe, more and more, to beget a ſerious inquiry in us, What that Faith is which we have? Who is the Author of it? And what Fruits it hath brought forth? That ſo we may not profane the name of God by a 'Vain Profeſſion of it,' nor abuſe ourſelves unto eternal perdition: But that we may endeavour, by God's aſſiſtance, to approve ourſelves ſuch believers, as ſincerely fear God, love righteouſneſs, and hate every evil way, as becomes the redeemed of God by the precious blood of his Son. Since, therefore, we are not our own, but the Lord's, who hath bought us with that great price, let us glorify him in our bodies, in our ſouls, and in our ſpirits, which are his: Then ſhall we be children of Abraham indeed, heirs of the promiſes, partakers of that reſurrection and life, that immortality and glory, which God the righteous judge will, one day, plentifully diſtribute to them that abide in this precious Faith unto the end. This naturally brings me to my third head, and an unhappineſs we have long laboured under.

SECT. IV.

Of debaſing the true Value of Morality, under pretence of Higher Things; and miſtaking, in great meaſure, the very End of Chriſt's Coming.

BY *Morality*, I underſtand virtuous living, purity of manners; that juſtice, temperance, truth, charity, and blameleſneſs in converſation, out of conſcience and duty to God and man, which may well denominate the man that lives that life, a man juſt, virtuous, and pious: In ſhort, "one that does unto all men, as he would have Mat. vii. 12. all men do unto him:" This is my *Moral Man*.

It is notorious how ſmall an eſtimate two ſorts of people have put upon him; the Profane and the Profeſſors, the Publicans and the Phariſees: The firſt deſpiſe him, as too ſqueamiſh, nice and formal; they deride his regularity, and make a jeſt of his preciſeneſs. And thinking no man can be good, becauſe *they* are naught, and that all muſt needs fall by thoſe temptations they will not reſiſt, they conſtrue ſobriety to be a trick to decoy mankind, and put a cheat upon the world. If they hear any one ſay, 'Such a man is a ſober and juſt perſon,' they have learned, by themſelves, to call him knave; that he has a deſign upon ſomebody, by being juſt in little things, to cheat in things of more moment. This man is very unfaſhionable among men of immoral principles; for his very looks and life carry a reproof with them upon vicious men;

who, as if virtue were their common enemy, are in combination againſt the lovers and entertainers of her: The reaſon is, becauſe ſuch true Virtuoſi will neither do the ill things they would have them, nor flatter them in the ill they do; and therefore where ill men have the power, good men are ſure to be made the common enemy.

But the reproaches that men of morality receive at the hands of lewd men, are more their honour than their ſuffering: That which is moſt of all anxious, is, that ‘ Morality is denied to be Chriſtianity; that Virtue has any claim to Grace; and that thoſe ‘ who glory to be called Chriſtians, can be ſo partial and cruel as to renounce a mere ‘ *Juſt Man* their ſociety, and ſend him packing among the Heathen for damnation.’ And pray what is the matter? ‘ Why! though this perſon be a *ſober Liver*, yet he is ‘ but a *general* Believer; his faith is at large. It is true, he believes in *God*, but I ‘ hear little of his faith in *Chriſt*.’ Very well: Does he not therefore believe in Chriſt? or muſt he therefore be without the pale of ſalvation? Is it poſſible that a man can truly believe in *God* and be damned? But as he that believes in *Chriſt*, believes in *God*, ſo he that believes in *God*, believes in *Chriſt*: “ For he that believes on *him* that raiſed “ up Jeſus from the dead, his faith ſhall be imputed to him for righteouſneſs;” and Rom. iv. 22, 23, 24. ſays Chriſt himſelf; “ He that believeth *my word*, and believeth on *him* that *ſent me*, “ hath everlaſting life:” Has he that believes in *God* no intereſt in this expreſſion? But John v. 24. Heb. xi. 6. more particular is that place of the Apoſtle to the Hebrews, viz. “ For he that cometh to God, muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently “ ſeek him.” Now if thoſe who *ſo believe* can come to God, the *Moral Man*'s condition is not dangerous, even in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word; not only ſuch as have a *General Faith* of *Chriſtianity*, and never adhered to any particular Party, (a ſenſe we ſhall anon conſider) but even thoſe who never heard the Hiſtory of Chriſt, nor had a diſtinct knowledge of him, as we profeſs him.

For it ſeems a moſt unreaſonable thing, that *Faith in God* and keeping his *Commandments* ſhould be no part of the *Chriſtian Religion*: But if a part it be, (as upon ſerious reflection who dare deny it?) then thoſe, before and ſince Chriſt's time, who never had the External Law nor Hiſtory, and have “ done the things contained in the law, their “ conſciences not accuſing, nor hearts condemning, but excuſing them before God,” are in ſome degree concerned in the character of a true Chriſtian. For Chriſt himſelf preached and kept his Father's commandments, and came to fulfil, and not to deſtroy, Rom. viii. 4. the law; and that not only in his own Perſon, but “ that the righteouſneſs of the “ law might be alſo fulfilled in *us*.”

Let us but ſoberly conſider *What Chriſt is*, and we ſhall the better know whether *Moral Men* are to be reckoned Chriſtians. What is Chriſt, but *Meekneſs*, *Juſtice*, *Mercy*, *Patience*, *Charity* and *Virtue* in *Perfection*? Can we then deny a *meek* man to be a Chriſtian; a *juſt*, a *merciful*, a *patient*, a *charitable*, and a *virtuous* man to be like *Chriſt*? “ By me kings reign, and princes decree juſtice,” ſaith Wiſdom; yea, the Prov. viii. 15. “ Wiſdom that is from above;” ſo may I ſay here, ‘ By Chriſt men are *meek*, *juſt*, ‘ *merciful*, *patient*, *charitable*, and *virtuous*;’ and Chriſtians ought to be diſtinguiſhed by their Likeneſs to Chriſt, and not their Notions of Chriſt; by his holy Qualifications, rather than their own lofty Profeſſions and invented Formalities. What ſhall we ſay then of that extravagancy which thoſe men are guilty of, who, upon hearing a ſober man commended, that is not of any great viſible profeſſion, will take upon them to caſt him off with this ſentence; ‘ Tuſh! he is but a *Moral Man*; he knows ‘ nothing of Saving Grace; he may be damned for all his Morality.’ Nay, ſome have gone ſo far, as to ſay and preach, if not print, ‘ That there are thouſands of *Moral* ‘ *Men* in Hell.’

But it is worth our while to conſider that he that *ſins* is not *ſaved* by *Grace* in *that* ſtate, and that the *virtuous* man is the *gracious* man; for it is the nature and end of true Grace to *make* men ſo. Unanſwerable is that paſſage of the Apoſtle, to the Romans, Ro. ii. 26, 27, 28, 29. “ Therefore if the uncircumciſion keep the righteouſneſs of the law, ſhall not “ his uncircumciſion be counted for circumciſion? And ſhall not uncircumciſion, “ which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumciſion doſt trangreſs the law? For he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly, neither is “ that circumciſion, which is outward in the fleſh; but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly, and circumciſion is that of the heart, in the ſpirit, and not in the letter, “ whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God.” So that he who keeps the law of God, and abſtains from the impurity of the world, is the *good man*, the *juſt liver*; he is the Apoſtle's true Jew and Circumciſion.

Wherefore it is not ill expreſſed by that extraordinary man J. Hales of Eaton: ‘ The Moral Man,’ ſays he, ‘ is a Chriſtian by the ſurer ſide:’ As if he had ſaid, *Speculations* may fail, *Notions* be miſtaken, *Forms* wither, but *Truth* and *Righteouſneſs* will ſtand the teſt; and the man that loves them will not be moved. He tells us, ‘ That the Fathers had that opinion of the ſincerity of the life of ſome Heathens, ‘ that they believed God had in ſtore for ſuch even his Saving Grace, and that he ‘ would make them poſſeſſors of his everlaſting kingdom.’ And meaſuring your ſatiſfaction by the pleaſure I took in reading what the author both quotes and comments upon this ſubject, I will venture to tranſcribe him at large, whoſe Authority ought to go as far as his Reaſon, and he claims no more; nor indeed does any reaſonable man, ſince God himſelf ſeems to ſubmit to that method of overcoming us, to wit, Conviction, viz. 1679.

[*] ‘Let it not trouble you,’ ſaith he, ‘that I intitle them to ſome part of our *Chriſtian Faith*, and therefore without ſcruple to be received as weak, and not to be caſt forth as dead. Salvianus, diſputing what Faith is; *quid eſt igitur credulitas vel fides?* ſaith, *opinor fideliter hominem Chriſto credere*, id eſt, *Fidelem Deo eſſe*, hoc eſt, *Fideliter Dei mandata ſervare*. What might this faith be?’ ſaith he, ‘I ſuppoſe it is nothing elſe, but *Faithfully to believe Chriſt*; and this is to be Faithful unto God; which is nothing elſe but Faithfully to *keep the commandments of God*. Not therefore only a bare Belief, but the Fidelity and Truſtineſs of God's Servants, faithfully accompliſhing the will of our Maſter, is required as a part of our Chriſtian Faith.

‘Now, all thoſe good things which *Moral Men* by the *Light* of *Nature* [†] do, are a part of God's will written in their hearts: Wherefore ſo far as they were conſcientious in performing them (if Salvianus's reaſon be good) ſo far have they title and intereſt in our Faith. And therefore Regulus, that famous Roman, when he endured infinite torments, rather than he would break his oath, may thus far be counted a Martyr and Witneſs for the Truth. For the crown of martyrdom ſits not only on the heads of thoſe who have loſt their lives, rather than they would ceaſe to profeſs the *Name* of *Chriſt*; but on the head of every one that ſuffers for the teſtimony of a *Good Conſcience* and for Righteouſneſs ſake. And here I cannot paſs by one very general and groſs miſtake of our age. For in our diſcourſes concerning the notes of a *Chriſtian Man*, by what ſigns we may know a man to be one of the *Viſible Company* of *Chriſt*, we have ſo tied ourſelves to this outward Profeſſion, that if we know no other virtue in a man, but that he hath conned his Creed by heart, let his Life be never ſo profane, we think it argument enough for us to account him within the pale and circuit of the church. On the contrary ſide, let his Life be never ſo upright, if either he be little ſeen in, or peradventure quite ignorant of, the Myſtery of Chriſt, we eſteem of him but as dead. And thoſe who conceive well of thoſe moral good things, as of ſome tokens giving hope of life, we account but as a kind of Manichees, who thought the very Earth had Life in it. I muſt confeſs that I have not yet made that proficiency in the ſchools of our age, as that I could ſee why the Second Table, and the Acts of it, are not as properly the parts of Religion and Chriſtianity, as the Acts and Obſervations of the firſt? If I miſtake, then it is St. James that hath abuſed me; for he, deſcribing Religion by its proper Acts, tells us, that “Pure Religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is, to viſit the fatherleſs and the widows in their affliction, and to keep himſelf unſpotted of the world.” So that the thing which is an eſpecial refined Dialect of the new Chriſtian Language, ſignifies nothing but *Morality* and *Civility*, that, in the language of the Holy Ghoſt, imports *True Religion*.’ Thus far J. Hales.

He hath ſaid ſo well on this account, that there is little need I ſhould ſay any more; yet let me add thus much: Did men mind the *Language* of the *Holy Ghoſt* more than their own *Conceits*, they would not ſtile thoſe mere *Moral Men*, in a way of diſgrace, who are not of their *Perſuaſion*: It would ſuffice, that thoſe that “fear God and work righteouſneſs in all nations are accepted of him;” that Chriſt himſelf hath ſaid, “He that doth the Will of my Father which is in heaven, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven;” and of them that work iniquity, “Depart from me, I know you not.” Acts x. 34, 35. Mat. vii.

My Friends, let us not deceive ourſelves; “God will not be mocked; ſuch as we ſow, we ſhall certainly reap.” The tree is known by its Fruits, and will be judged according to its Fruits. The wages of ſin is death:” Men will find it ſo; and every man ſhall receive his reward ſuitable to his work. For people to talk of *Special Grace*, and yet be carried away by *Common Temptations*; to let Pride, Vanity, Covetouſneſs, Revenge, &c. predominate, is provoking to God: But to conceit that the righteous God will indulge his people in that latitude which he condemns in other men, is abominable. It is Sanctification that makes the Saint, and Self-denial that conſtitues the Chriſtian; and not filling our Heads, and elevating our Fancies, by applying thoſe Promiſes to ourſelves, which, as yet, we have no intereſt in, though we may think they be- Gal. vi. Mat. vii. Rom. vi. 23.

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[*] J. Hales of Eaton, ‘Golden Remains, of dealing with erring Chriſtians,’ page 36, 37.

[†] Or the Light which comes with us into the world, and grows up with us, as we are of a capacity to diſcern the teachings of it. See John i. 9. chap. viii. 12. Rom. i. 19. Epheſ. v. 13. 1 John i. 7. All agree in it, as to its Univerſality; but the beloved diſciple inſtructs us of its Original, Nature and Uſe, in the firſt chapter of his Evangelical Hiſtory, deeply and clearly: They had it before Chriſt's coming, as may be ſeen in Job xviii. 5. 6. chap. xxi. 17. chap. xxiv. 13, 16. Pſalm xxvii. 1, 36, 9.

belong to nobody elſe: This *Spiritual Flattery* of ourſelves is moſt pernicious. I
Rom. ii. 29. cannot but ſay, with the apoſtle, "It is neither Circumciſion nor Uncircumciſion, Jew
Gal. vi. 15. "nor Gentile (this nor the other thing) but the New Creature, created after Chriſt Jeſus
Heb. xii. 14. "in holineſs: For without holineſs no man ſhall ever ſee the Lord." And what is *Holineſs*,
but abſtaining from Wickedneſs? And what is that, but keeping the Law of
Pſalm cxix. God? "Great peace have they that love thy Law," ſaid David, that had known the
Pſalm clxv. trouble of breaking it: Therefore it is that "Grace and Truth are come by Jeſus Chriſt,"
John i. 16,17. to help us to *fulfil* the Law, not to excuſe our *Diſobedience* to the Law: And what before
we were unable, this gives us force to do. So that Chriſtianity is not an *Indulgence* of
people under weakneſs and diſobedience, but the Compleating and Perfection of that
Righteouſneſs, which, without him, was but ſhort and imperfect, through the all-ſufficient
Grace and Power that came by Jeſus Chriſt.

Give me leave, I beſeech you, for I have a godly jealouſy upon me; I fear leſt the very
End of Chriſt's Coming is *miſtaken*; and of how dreadful a conſequence ſuch a miſtake
would be, you cannot poſſibly be ignorant, that believe "there is no ſalvation in
"any other name." Let us hear the teſtimony of Scripture: They are the words of
Luke iv. 43. Chriſt himſelf, "I muſt preach the Kingdom of God, for therefore am I ſent." Now,
what is this *Kingdom* of God, but God's *Government*? And where is this Kingdom and
chap. xvii. 21. Government to be ſet ſet up, but in *Man*? So Chriſt tells us, "Behold the kingdom of
"God is *within* you." So that the Reaſon of his being ſent, is, that the kingdom and
government of the *Devil* may be deſtroyed, the Strong Man that kept the houſe, the
Heart, be diſpoſſeſſed, and the kingdom and government of *God* in the ſoul erected and
Luke xi. 2. eſtabliſhed. We are taught to pray for it, as little as we make of it. "Thy kingdom
"come, thy will be done." Would to God people would but conſider what they pray
for! For they are ſcandalized at the thing they aſk, and both neglect and revile the ſubſtance
of their own prayers; "Thy kingdom come, and thy will be done;" but believe
neither. It was the office God deſigned his Son to. "The thief," ſays Chriſt,
"does not come but to kill, to ſteal, and to deſtroy;" that is, to ſteal away the *heart*
from God, and to kill and deſtroy all good deſires and inclinations in the ſoul: For the
John x. 11. *Devil* is the thief and deſtroyer: "But I am come," ſays, Chriſt, "that ye might have
John x. 10. "Life; and that ye might have it more abundantly." Again, "O Death, I will be
Hoſ. xiii. 4. "thy death!" As if he had ſaid, 'I will kill *that* which kills the *ſoul*: I will breathe
'the Breath of Life into it again; and, by my Spirit and Grace, I will beget holy Motions,
and kindle heavenly Deſires, in it after God, after the kingdom of God, and the
Rom. vi. 4. 'Righteouſneſs thereof:' This is the *Newneſs* of *Life*: 'And I will not only reſtore that
'Life the ſoul has loſt, but I will increaſe it; I will add to it, that it may have *Life
more abundantly*; more power and ſtrength to reſiſt Evil, and embrace and delight in
'that which is Good.'

Indeed he was Anointed of God for this purpoſe; and is therefore called the "Reſtorer
of Paths, the Repairer of Breaches, and the Builder-up of waſte places;" that
is, he is ordained of God for the recovery of man from his *fallen* and *diſobedient ſtate*; this
Mat. i. 21. is the reaſon of his Name: "Thou ſhalt call his name JESUS," ſaid the angel, "for he
"ſhall ſave his people from their Sins: Not from Wrath only, but from Sin, which
is the Cauſe of Wrath. That is, of *bad* men he will make them really *good* men,
and of *ſinful* and *unholy*, he will make them *holy* and *righteous* men, i. e. ſuch as
truly believe in him. This is the burden of John's teſtimony: "There is one," ſays
Mat. iii. 11. he, "that cometh after me, who is mightier than I; he ſhall baptize you with the Holy
12. "Ghoſt and with Fire; whoſe fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his
John i. 69. "floor." And ſeeing Jeſus coming to him, he ſaid, "Behold the Lamb of God, which
"taketh away the the ſins of the world!"

I know the uſe that too many make of theſe ſcriptures, as if they were an *Hebraiſm*,
borrowed from the *Old Sacrifices*, which may be ſaid to take away *Sin* by taking away
the *Guilt*, and not that the *Natures* of men are *reſtored* and *perfected*. And, indeed,
this is that ſenſe which I dread above all others, becauſe it perverts the *End* of *Chriſt's
Coming*, and lodges men in a ſecurity pernicious to their own ſouls. For though it is
Acts x. 43. moſt true, that 'Remiſſion of ſin was, and is, preached in his Name and Blood, and
Epheſ. i. 7. 'that Sin, in a ſenſe, may be ſaid to be *taken away*, when the *Guilt* of the ſin is *removed*
by *Remiſſion*; yet this is only of ſin *paſt*, that upon Repentance is forgiven:
But this is not the whole, full and evangelical ſenſe, as Chriſt's own words do plainly
Mat xviii. 11. import. "For," ſays he, "the Son of man is come to *ſave* that which was loſt."
Luke xix. 10. And upon another occaſion he expreſſeth himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, and almoſt in the
ſame words, "For the Son of man is come to ſeek and to ſave that which was
"loſt." Now, who is this that is loſt, but *Man*? And in what ſenſe can man be ſaid
to be *loſt*, but by *Sin* and *Diſobedience*? That it was which caſt him out of the Preſence
Rom. vi. 23. and Garden of God, and put him in a Condition of eternal Miſery. If Chriſt
then came to *ſave* loſt man, he muſt be underſtood to ſave him from *that* which puts
him into a *Loſt Condition*, and that is *Sin*; for "The Wages of Sin is Death, and the
"Servant of Sin is a Son of Perdition."

chap. xvii. 17.

Chriſt has determined this point beyond all exception, in his diſcourſe with the Jews, (John viii. 31, 32, 33, 34.) “ Then ſaid Jeſus to thoſe Jews which believed on him, If “ ye continue in my word, then are ye my diſciples indeed; and ye ſhall know the “ Truth, and the Truth ſhall make you free.” What *Freedom* was this? Certainly from *Sin*; ſuitable to that paſſage in his prayer: “ Sanctify them through thy Truth, thy “ *Word* is Truth.” But ſome Jews preſent, proud of their privileges, apprehended not the Liberty Chriſt ſpoke of, and therefore anſwered him thus: “ We are Abraham's “ ſeed, and were never in bondage to any man; how ſayeſt thou, ye ſhall be made “ *free?* Jeſus anſwered them, Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, whoſoever *committeth* ſin, “ is the *Servant* of ſin.” In which place it is very remarkable, that men are only to be diſtinguiſhed by their *Works*; that no claims, privileges, ſucceſſions, or deſcents are available, but he that *commits* ſin, is the *Servant* of ſin. So that Chriſt's *Free Man* is he that is freed from *Sin:* This is his follower and diſciple. And as Chriſt oppoſed the Works of the Jews, who unjuſtly ſought to kill him, to the pretenſions they made to be Abraham's ſeed; ſo we muſt oppoſe the Actions of ill men to their better Profeſſions: We muſt faithfully tell them, “ He that commits ſin, is the ſervant of ſin;” from which ſervitude Chriſt came to *ſave* his people, and is therefore rightly called, “ the Saviour and Redeemer.”

Rom. vi. 4, 6, 11.

This doctrine is cloſely followed by the apoſtle Paul, in his ſixth chapter to the Romans. “ Therefore we are buried with him by baptiſm into death, that like as Chriſt “ was raiſed up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even ſo we alſo ſhould walk “ in newneſs of life.---Knowing this, that our Old Man is crucified with him, that the “ Body of Sin might be deſtroyed, that henceforth we ſhould not ſerve ſin.----Likewiſe reckon ye alſo yourſelves to be dead indeed unto Sin, but alive unto God, through “ Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.” As if he had ſaid, ‘ The End of Chriſt's coming, is to turn ‘ people from their Sins; and that thoſe who perſiſt in their Diſobedience, reſiſt the benefits that come by him.’

Rom. vi. 12, 13, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23.

“ Let not ſin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye ſhould obey it in the luſts “ thereof. Neither yield ye your members as inſtruments of unrighteouſneſs unto ſin; “ but yield yourſelves unto God, as thoſe that are alive from the dead, and your members as inſtruments of righteouſneſs unto God.---Know ye not, that to whom ye “ yield yourſelves ſervants to obey, his ſervants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of ſin “ unto death, or of obedience unto righteouſneſs?---For when ye were the ſervants of “ Sin, ye were free from Righteouſneſs. What Fruit had ye then in thoſe things, “ whereof ye are now aſhamed? For the end of thoſe things is death. But now being “ made free from Sin, and become ſervants to God, ye have your fruit unto holineſs, “ and the end everlaſting life. For the wages of Sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.”

To conclude, nothing can be more apparent, than that ‘ *Freedom* from *actual ſinning*, ‘ and giving *Newneſs* of *Life* to the *Souls* of *Men*,’ was the great Reaſon of *Chriſt's Coming*, and the End for which he hath given us, out of his Fulneſs of Grace and Truth, “ Grace for grace;” and that to be under *Grace*, and not under the *Law*, is not to have liberty to do that *now*, which ought not to have been done *before*, or to be excuſed from former *moral* obligations, as the *Ranters* interpret it; but to be freed from the Condemnation of the Law, firſt, through *Remiſſion* of the Sins that are *paſt*, upon Faith and Repentance; and next, by freeing us from that *Weakneſs*, by which we were diſabled from keeping God's juſt Law, and fulfilling the Righteouſneſs of it, in receiving and obeying the Light and Grace that comes by Jeſus Chriſt.

Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Very pertinent is that paſſage of the apoſtle Paul to Titus, to our preſent purpoſe, for it ſeems to comprehend the *End* of *Chriſt's Coming*, and the Faith and Duty of his People; which our great Selden, after all his painful readings, and curious diſquiſitions, ſaid, but a little before his death, was the *Moſt Weighty Paſſage of the whole Bible to him,* as the *Bible was the Beſt of Books in the World,* viz. “ For the Grace of God, that “ bringeth ſalvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs, “ and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent “ world; looking for that bleſſed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, “ and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who gave himſelf for us, that he might redeem us from “ all iniquity, and purify unto himſelf a peculiar people, zealous of good works.”

In which comprehenſive paſſage, we find the *End* of *Chriſt's Coming* to be *Our Redemption from all Iniquity*, both to blot out our ſins that are *paſt*, and to purify our hearts from the ſin that *remains*. We have the *Means* that works and brings this ſalvation into our ſouls, which is the *Grace*; and the *Way* by which this Grace doth accompliſh it, is by “ Teaching us to deny ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, “ righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world.” Which has this great encouragement joined to it, that thoſe who *ſo* live, have only right to look for that bleſſed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

1 John iii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

I will add the teſtimony of his beloved diſciple John, who has defined to us the End of Chriſt's Coming thus: “ Whoſoever committeth Sin, tranſgreſſeth alſo the Law; and

“ ye know, that he was manifeſted to *take away* our ſins.” And to ſhew that this is
underſtood not only of the *Guilt* of ſins *paſt*, but of the *Nature* and preſent *Power* of
ſin in man, obſerve what follows; “ Whoſoever abideth in him (*Chriſt*) ſinneth not.”
And as if this apoſtle had foreſeen the preſent miſchief Chriſtianity labours under, both
on the ſide of evil men, and of but too many miſtaken profeſſors, he adds, “ Little
“ children, let no man deceive you; he that *doth* righteouſneſs *is* righteous, even as
“ *he* is righteous; he that committeth *ſin* is of the *devil*, for the devil ſinneth from
“ the beginning.” Now comes his moſt expreſs paſſage to the matter in hand: “ For
“ *this* purpoſe the Son of God was *manifeſted*, that he might *deſtroy* the *Works* of the
“ devil:” Which is more than the Remiſſion of ſins that are *paſt*; here is the deſtruction
of the Power and Kingdom of Satan. They that know not this, know not
Chriſt as he ſhould be known; not ſavingly. For as we, ſo our Lord, is known by his
Fruits, by the Works which he works in us: Therefore it is ſaid, “ That his own
John xv. 24. “ Works praiſe him.” And ſaid Chriſt, “ If I had not done among them the Works
“ which no other man did,” &c. So that he referred to his Works to prove his Nature and Miſſion.

He therefore that lives in Sin, denies Chriſt, by denying the End of his coming.
The Fool did not ſay with his *mouth*, but in his *heart*, “ There is no God;” yet
but too many, now a-days, plead with their Tongues and Pens for Sin ‘ Term of
‘ Life,’ by endeavouring to ſhew the Impoſſibility of overcoming ſin. But what ſaith
1 John iii. 9, 10. this apoſtle farther of the buſineſs? “ Whoſoever is born of God, doth not commit ſin:
“ In this the children of God are manifeſt, and the Children of the Devil; whoſoever
1 John i. 7. “ doth not righteouſneſs, is not of God; neither he that loveth not his brother. But
“ if we walk in the Light, as God is in the Light, we have fellowſhip one with another,
chap. ii. 6, 14. “ and the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son, cleanſeth us from all ſin. He that ſaith
“ he abideth in Chriſt, ought himſelf alſo ſo to walk, even as Chriſt walked.” A little
lower, in the ſame chapter, he ſays, “ I have written unto you, young men, becauſe
“ ye are ſtrong, and the Word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the
“ Wicked One.”

chap. iv. 17. I will add one ſcripture-teſtimony more in the preſent caſe, and it is this: “ Herein,”
ſaith John, “ is our love made perfect, that we may have boldneſs in the day of judgment,
“ becauſe as he is, ſo are we in this world.”

Eph. v. 27. Behold now the true *End* of Chriſt's Coming! viz. ‘ To ſave from *Sin*, and to purge
‘ us from *all iniquity*; that he might preſent us to God without ſpot or blemiſh.’ Let
us not then flatter ourſelves, for *we* ſhall be the loſers: Neither let us make that impoſſible
through our Infidelity, which a grain of ſincere Faith can make not only poſſible
but eaſy. What has been, may be again; nay, in this caſe muſt be. Did the Firſt
Chriſtians “ overcome the wicked one?” ſo muſt the Laſt Chriſtians too. Were thoſe
ages led by the Holy Spirit, and taught by the Grace of God to live *god-like*, or like *God*,
in the World? ſo muſt we of theſe latter ages too, if we will be bleſſed for ever; that,
Rom. xiii. 14. having “ put off the old man,” the devil and his works, we may “ put on Chriſt,” the
Epheſ. iv. 12. Gal. v. 22, 23, 24. new and heavenly man, the ſecond Adam, with his holy life and works; ſo ſhall “ the
“ Fruits of his Spirit” ſhine through us, which are “ love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering,
“ patience, gentleneſs, faith, meekneſs, temperance; for they that are Chriſt's have
“ crucified the fleſh, with the affections and luſts:” They hear his Voice, that leads
John x. 4, 5, 27. them out of the concupiſcences of this vile world, “ and they follow him, and he gives
“ unto them eternal life, and a ſtranger they will not follow.” The World, the Fleſh,
and the Devil, make up this Stranger; and thoſe that are carried away by this Stranger
are in an unreconciled ſtate to God, and, ſo dying, muſt inevitably periſh. Well, then!
will we be true Chriſtians? Have we Faith? Then let us take the advice of that good
1 Pet. i. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. man Peter; “ Let us add to our faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge
“ temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godlineſs, and to godlineſs
“ brotherly-kindneſs, and to brotherly-kindneſs charity: For,” ſays he, “ if theſe
“ things be in you and abound, they make you that ye ſhall neither be barren nor unfruitful
“ in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But he that lacketh theſe things
“ is blind, and cannot ſee afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old
“ ſins. Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence, to make your calling and
“ election ſure; for if ye do theſe things, ye ſhall never fail. For ſo an entrance ſhall
“ be miniſtered unto you abundantly into the everlaſting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour
“ Jeſus Chriſt.”

Thus much, O ye Proteſtants! that profeſs a reformation, and value yourſelves upon it, of the true reformed doctrine of godlineſs, a Virtuous and Good Life; without which your Profeſſion will be the aggravation of your guilt. For know this once for all, ‘ That a true Reformation lies in the Spirit of Reformation, reforming the ‘ Minds and Manners of ſuch as profeſs it.’ God Almighty open your eyes, and affect your hearts with this great truth.

SECT.

1679.

SECT. V.

The fourth great Eccleſiaſtical Evil, is preferring Human Authority *above* Reaſon *and* Truth.

THIS, and the next evil, which is the laſt now to be conſidered, to wit, *Propagation* of *Faith* by *Force*, and *Religion* by *Arms*, are the two legs upon which the falſe church hath in all ages ſtood. Under this degeneracy we find the Jewiſh Church at Chriſt's Coming, and he complains of it, "Ye teach for Doctrines the Traditions "of Men; ye ſeek to kill me, a man that has told you the truth:" But I challenge the whole account of time, and records of the world, which are come to the hands of this age, to tell me, *When*, *Where*, and by *Whom*, theſe principles have been received, improved and uſed, in any ſort of proportion or compariſon with the practice of that Church, which has long prided herſelf in the name of *Catholick* and *Chriſtian*. And yet I could wiſh nothing of theſe two ill principles had found any place amongſt us, that call ourſelves Proteſtants; though to the great men of her Communion, in divers countries of Europe, is chiefly owing moſt of that Ignorance, Superſtition, Idolatry, Perſecution and Blood-ſhed that have been among Chriſtians, ſince the Chriſtian profeſſion hath grown to any power in the world. I ſhall conſider them ſeverally, reſpecting us, and in their due order, with as much brevity as well I can.

Mat. xv. 9.
John viii. 40.

That *Human Authority* hath been preferred above *Reaſon* and *Truth*, that is, that the *Apprehenſions*, *Interpretations*, *Concluſions*, and *Injunctions* of men have been reputed the great neceſſaries or eſſentials to ſalvation and chriſtian communion, inſomuch as a ſober and reaſonable Diſſent hath been too often over-ruled, not by weight of argument or evidence of truth, but by the power and numbers of men in eccleſiaſtical office and dignity, is, and ſpeak modeſtly, in a large degree true among us. The firſt Church-Evil reprehended in this diſcourſe may begin the proof, and give the firſt witneſs upon this part of the charge, viz. 'That *Opinions* have been made Articles of '*Faith*; that is, The Conſtructions and Concluſions of men from Sacred Writ, and 'not the *Text itſelf*, have been enjoined and impoſed as eſſential to eternal ſalvation, 'and external chriſtian communion.' Inſomuch that no *Reaſon*, *Scripture*, or pureſt *Antiquity*, hath been ſuffered to prevail againſt ſuch determinations, and too often not enough to excuſe thoſe that have pleaded for a conſcientious diſſent from them; the authors of them either reſting upon the authority of their own judgments, or conforming themſelves to the example of ages leſs pure and clear.

I conſcientiouſly refuſe to name parties, becauſe I am tender of giving the leaſt offence; but upon a juſt obſervance of thoſe revolutions of Proteſtancy that have been amongſt us, we may ſee with what ſtiffneſs, not to ſay obſtinacy, ſeveral *Models* of *Religion* and *Draughts* of *Creeds* have been contended for. I would beſeech every party, in Chriſt's name, to look into itſelf, for *I* do not; becauſe ſuch are beſt able (if they will be impartial, and put no cheat upon themſelves) to make the application of what I ſay. However, I will name thoſe points, about which the Authority of Man, as it ſeems to me, has been ſo poſitive. 'Of *God*, as to his *Preſcience* and *Predetermination*: Of *Chriſt*, as to his *Natures* and *Perſonality*, and the *Extent* of his Death 'and Interceſſion: Of *Free-Will* and *Grace*: Of *Faith* and *Works*: Of *Perſeverance* 'and *Falling-away*: Of the Nature and Power of the *Church*: And, laſtly, of the 'Dignity and Power of the *Clergy*.'

And if men pleaſe but to lay their hands upon their hearts, and caſt their eyes upon the Scriptures; if they will but uſe the Light that God has afforded them, and bring ſuch debates and reſults to the teſt of that Light, and the Sound Form of Words the Holy Ghoſt hath uſed and preſerved amongſt us, I need not take the employment upon me of pointing to Human Authority among the ſeveral parties of Proteſtants, as to theſe points, ſince nothing will be clearer. For it is about the Meaning of *this*, and the Intention of *that* place of Scripture, the conteſt hath been and ſtill is; and how to maintain and propagate thoſe conceits: So that the falling-out is in the Wood of our own *Opinions*, and there the contention is kindled, that conſumes all about our ears. A moſt unwarrantable Curioſity and Nicety, for the moſt part, that hath more influence upon our Paſſions than our Practice; which is uſually the worſe in point of Charity, and not the better for them in any thing. O that we would but be impartial, and ſee our own *Over-plus* to the *Scriptures*, and retrench that redundancy, or keep it modeſtly! For it is an horrid thing that we Proteſtants ſhould aſſume a power of ranging our *Human Apprehenſions* with the *Sacred Text*, and enjoining our *Imaginations* for indiſpenſible *Articles* of *Faith* and *Chriſtian Communion*.

But the next proof of the prevalency of Human Authority amongſt us Proteſtants, is 'The great Power and Sway of the *Clergy*, and the People's *Reliance* upon them for 'the Knowledge of *Religion*, and the *Way* of *Life* and *Salvation*.' This is ſuch plain fact, that every pariſh more or leſs proves it. Is not *Prophecy*, once the *Church's*, now

1 Cor. xiv.

1679. engroſſed by them, and wholly in their hands? Who dare publickly *preach* or *pray*, that is not of that Claſs or Order? Have not they *only* the Keys in keeping? May any body elſe pretend to the Power of *Abſolution* or *Excommunication*? Much leſs to conſtitute miniſters? Are not all Church Rites and Privileges in their cuſtody? Do not they make it their proper Inheritance? Nay, ſo much larger is their Empire than *Cæſar*'s, that only *they* begin with *Births* and end with *Burials*: Men muſt pay them for *Coming-in* and *Going-out* of the World. *To pay* for *dying* is hard! Thus their profits run from the Womb to the Grave; and that which is the loſs of others, is their Gain, and a part of their Revenue. Both Lives and Deaths do bring griſt to their mill, and Toll to their Exchequer; for they have an Eſtate in us for our Lives, and an Heriot at our Deaths.

It is of this great Order and Sett of men *only*, that all *Synods* and *Convocations* are, of modern ages, compounded; and what they determine, is called the *Canons* or *Decrees* of the *Church*; though, alas! ſhe is only to obey, what they of the Gown ordain; giving us thereby to underſtand, that they want the authority of her Name, where they deny her to have a Part, or to be preſent.

But they have not only been the uſual ſtarters of new Opinions, and the great *Creed-makers* among Chriſtians, but the ſway they have long had with the people, makes them ſo conſiderable an intereſt in the eyes of the Civil Magiſtrate, that he often finds it not for his ſafety to diſoblige them. Upon this it is, that we ſee them ſo ſucceſsful in their ſolicitations of publick authority to give its ſanction to their Opinions and Forms; and not only recommend them (which goes certainly a great way with the people) but impoſe their reception, and that on ſevere penalties: Inſomuch, that either men muſt offer up their Underſtandings to their *Fears*, and diſſemble Conviction, to be ſafe, or elſe periſh: There is no medium. Something of this lies near us: God Almighty open our eyes to ſee both the truth and miſchief of this thing.

But what ſhall I ſay of that implicit Reverence the people have for the Clergy, and dependence upon them about Religion and Salvation; as if they were the only Truſtees of truth, and High-treaſurers of divine knowledge to the laity: And we daily ſee, that the blind opinion they have of their office (as that which is peculiar to that order, and not common to Chriſtians, be their gifts as they will) diſpoſes them to rely entirely upon their performances. The Miniſter is chooſer, and taſter, and every thing for them: They ſeem to have delivered up their ſpiritual ſelves, and made over the buſineſs of religion, the rights of their Souls, to their Paſtor; and that ſcarcely with any limitation of truth too: And, as if he were, or could be, their Guarantee in the other world, they become very unſolicitous of any farther ſearch here. So that if we would examine the reſpective pariſhes of Proteſtant as well as Popiſh countries, we ſhall find, and it is come to that ſad paſs, that very few have any other Religion than the Tradition of their Prieſt. They have given up their judgment to him, and ſeem greatly at their eaſe, that they have diſcharged themſelves of the trouble of "working out their own ſalvation, and proving all things, that they might hold faſt that which is good;" and, in the room of that care, bequeathed the charge of thoſe affairs to a ſtanding Penſioner for that purpoſe.

Thus the Clergy are become a ſort of Mediators betwixt Chriſt and us; that as we muſt go to God by *Chriſt*, ſo muſt we come to Chriſt by *them*: They muſt be, it ſeems, like the High-Prieſt under the Law, who only entered into the "Holy of holies; whoſe lips preſerved knowledge;" and by *them* we muſt underſtand the Divine Oracle. As if the myſteries of ſalvation were not to be intruſted with the vulgar, or that it were a kind of profanation to expoſe them to their view; and the only way to make them cheap and contemptible to ſuffer *every Chriſtian* to have the keeping of them; though they *belong to* every Chriſtian. But this language, thanks be to God! is that of Human Authority, that would magnify the myſteries of ſalvation by the Ignorance of thoſe that ſhould know them; as if the Goſpel-Diſpenſation were not that of full age, but infancy or minority.

It is true, the State of people under the Law and the *Levitical Prieſthood* is called Gal. iii. "a State of Bondage, Childhood and Minority," and the Law therefore is termed a "*School-maſter* to bring us to *Chriſt*;" but it is as true, that the State of Chriſtianity is reputed the Age of "*Grace*, *Freedom*, *Manhood*, and *Inheritance*," by the ſame Apoſtle: And that we ſhould have external Guardians of our Faith and Religion upon us, after we are come to years of Diſcretion, that might be very allowable under the feeble ſtate of our Minority, is not to obtain greater freedom, but to make our caſe worſe. For it is more tolerable to be uſed as children when we *are* children, and know nothing above that condition, than when riper years have brought us to the underſtanding and reſentment of Men. But it is almoſt as unpardonable as it is unſufferable, to make that Infancy the 'Perfection of the Chriſtian Religion;' as if there were nothing beyond wearing a *bib*, and being *fed*, *carried* and *governed* as *Nurſes* pleaſe; that is, as the *Prieſt* will. It is a knowing and reaſonable, and not a blind obedience, that commends a man: *Children* ſhould be ruled, becauſe they have not ſo ripe an Underſtanding,

ing, or Choice; but becauſe it is not ſo with *Men,* Reaſon ought to conduct them in their duty, that the ſervice they perform to God may be ſuch as the Apoſtle calls a *reaſonable* one: The *Will* is no longer *Will,* if not *free*; nor *Conſcience* to be reputed *Conſcience,* where it is *compelled.* The Goſpel is not the time of Ceremonial Works, but of Faith; therefore not *coercive,* becauſe out of our own *power*; it is the gift of God.

But though this be very unhappy, that ſo excellent a Reformation, founded upon the freeſt principles of inquiry, common to all that had ſouls to ſave, ſhould ſo miſerably degenerate into Formality and Ignorance, Implicit Faith and Blind Obedience; yet that part of our hiſtory is moſt lamentable to me, where we find the "Noble Bereans," the diligent *Inquirers,* people that deſire to "prove all things," that they may "hold faſt "that which is good;" ſuch as would ſee with their own eyes, and that dare not transfer the right of examination of points that ſo nearly concern their immortal ſouls to any mortal man; but who deſire to make their Faith and Religion, the Faith and Religion of their *Conſcience* and *Judgment,* that on which they dare depend, and reſt their eternal happineſs in the day of judgment; that theſe, I ſay, ſhould, inſtead of being cheriſhed, be therefore expoſed to the diſpleaſure of the Clergy, the ſcorn of the rude Multitude, and the proſecution of the Civil Magiſtrate, has ſomething in it, I confeſs, that is harſh and anxious to remember; and I only do it for this purpoſe, that it may put us in mind of our great declenſion from primitive Proteſtancy, and how much human authority has crept into the affairs of religion, ſince that time of the day when we made it a prime article of our Proteſtant Creed to reject and renounce it.

And that you may yet ſee yourſelves ſhort of your own pretences, if not contrary to your expreſs principles, and how much you have narrowed yourſelves from the uſe of your firſt principle; let us ſuppoſe a Turk is convinced, That Chriſt is *that,* which he believed Mahomet to be, the "Greateſt of all Prophets;" that Mahomet was an impoſtor; that Jeſus is the only Saviour and Mediator; but, being catechiſtically taught the *Two Natures* in *One Perſon,* the *Hypoſtatical Union,* in fine, the *Athanaſian Creed,* and other articles of faith, or rites of your church, not ſo clearly expreſſed in ſcripture, nor eaſily apprehended or aſſented to; will not this poor creature be looked upon either as Infidel or Heretick, and deprived of all ſhare in Chriſt and Chriſtian fellowſhip, becauſe his weakneſs, or underſtanding, will not allow him to come up to the full inventory of articles believed and impoſed by you? Certainly you muſt either be partial, and give him that liberty you deny to perſons of equal tenderneſs; or elſe you muſt, after your preſent ſtraitneſs, conclude him Infidel or Heretick, though he believe 'One God, 'Chriſt to be the only Mediator, the Gift of the Spirit, the Neceſſity of Holineſs, 'Communion and Charity.' But I would beſeech you that we may conſider if this bears any proportion with the wiſdom and love of God, in ſending Chriſt into the world to ſave you and me?

The Apoſtle "became all unto all, to *win* ſome;" but this is "becoming all unto "*none,* to *force* all:" He thereby recommends the utmoſt condeſcenſion that can be lawful; but this uſe of human authority ſeems to make it unlawful to condeſcend: As if faith *per Force* were better than Love; and *Conformity,* however it be come at, than Chriſtian Condeſcenſion.

The bleſſed Apoſtle had his eye to the *good intention* and *ſober life* of the weak, and uſed an holy ſort of guile to catch them: He ſeems as if he diſſembled the knowledge of thoſe *averſe opinions* which they held, or the neceſſity of their embracing thoſe doctrines, which, as yet, they might not believe. He fell not to debate and canvaſs points in difference between them; which, inſtead of union, would have inflamed the difference, and raiſed contention: No, no, "he became all unto all;" that is, he ſtooped to all *capacities,* and humbled himſelf to thoſe degrees of knowledge that men had, and valued that which was good in all; and with this ſweetneſs he practiſed upon them to their farther proficiency in the ſchool of Chriſt. Theſe allurements were all his injunctions. Nay, in this caſe he makes it an injunction to uſe no other: "Let us there- Phil. iii. 15.
"fore," ſays he, "as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye "be *otherwiſe* minded, God ſhall reveal even *this* unto you." Which is to ſay, 'You 'ſhall not be impoſed upon, ſtigmatized, or excommunicated, for want of full ſatiſ- 'faction, or becauſe you do not conſent before Conviction; for "God ſhall reveal it "to you;" you ſhall *ſee* and *know* what you do, and to *God* you ſhall owe your know- 'ledge and conformity, and not to Human Authority and Impoſition: Your Faith 'ſhall not be implicit, nor your Obedience blind; the Reaſon of your hope ſhall be '*in* you.'

Pray let us compare this with the language of our own times; where, becauſe people cannot come up to the preſcriptions of men, but plead the liberty of diſſent, though with ever ſo much ſobriety and true tenderneſs of conſcience, they are upbraided after this manner: 'Are you wiſer than your ſuperiors? Were our fore-fathers out of the 'way? Did nobody know the truth 'till *you* came? Are you abler than all our Mini-

‘ ſters and Biſhops, and your Mother the *Church?* Cannot it content you to believe as ‘ *ſhe* believes? Is not this Pride and Preſumption in you, a deſign to make and head ‘ Sects and Parties?’ With the like entertainment.

Now this is that which you yourſelves, at leaſt in the perſons of your anceſtors, have ſtiled *Popery*; yea, Popery in the Abſtract; to wit, *Implicit Faith* and *Blind Obedience:* If ſo, then, ſay I, let us alſo have a care of Popery in *Proteſtant Guiſe*; for that Popery is likely to do us moſt injury that is leaſt ſuſpected. I beg you, by the love of God and Truth, and as you would lay a ſure foundation of peace here, and eternal comfort to your own ſouls, that you would conſider the tendency of upbraiding and violently over-ruling the diſſent of conſcientious and peaceable people: For if you will rob me once of the Liberty of my *Choice*, the Uſe of my *Underſtanding*, the Diſtinction of my *Judgment*, no Religion comes amiſs; indeed it leads to no Religion. It was the ſaying of the old king to the then prince of Wales and our preſent king; ‘ Make the ‘ Religion of your Education the Religion of your Judgment:’ Which to me is of the nature of an appeal from his education to his judgment, about the truth of his religion that he was educated in: And that religion which is too tender to be examined is unſound: “ Prove all things, and hold faſt that which is good,” lies as an impeachment againſt impoſition, delivered upon record by the Apoſtle Paul, in the name of the Holy Ghoſt. It was the ſame Apoſtle that commended the Bereans of Old, for that they “ diligently ſearched the ſcriptures,” whether thoſe things, delivered by the Apoſtles concerning the Meſſiah, were true.

Nay, Chriſt himſelf, to whom all power was given in heaven and in earth, ſubmitted himſelf to the Teſt: He did not require them to believe him, becauſe he *would*
John v. 31, 32, 37, 39. be believed; he refers them to the Witneſs that God bore to him: “ If I bear witneſs “ of my ſelf, my witneſs is not true.” He alſo ſends them to the Scriptures; and
chap. xv. 24. pleads the truth of his authority from that of his Doctrine and Miracles: “ If I had “ not done among them the works which none other man did.” And, finally, chal-
chap. viii. 46. lenges them to convince him but of *one* ſin: “ Which of you convinceth me of Sin? “ And if I ſay the Truth, why do ye not believe me?” He offers to *reaſon* the matter, and ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of Truth; and well he might, who was Truth itſelf.

But an *Impoſing Church* bears witneſs of herſelf, and will be both party and judge: She requires Aſſent without *Evidence*, and Faith without *Proof*; therefore falſe. Chriſtian Religion ought to be carried on only by that way by which it was introduced, which was *Perſuaſion:* “ If any man will be my diſciple, let him take up his croſs, “ and follow me:” And this is the glory of it, that it does not *deſtroy*, but fairly *conquer*, the *Underſtanding*.

I am not unacquainted with the pretences of Romaniſts to *Abnegation*, to a mortified and ſelf-denying life; and I do freely acknowledge, that the author of the “ German “ Theology,” Taulerus, Thomas à Kempis, and other Myſticks in that communion, have written excellent practical things; but there is ſcarcely any thing of this violent Popery in thoſe tracts: On the contrary, the very nature and tendency of them is diametrically oppoſite to the compulſory ſpirit and conſtitution of that church, and all others that practiſe impoſition in religion, whatever name they walk under.

And as it is one great mark of the falſe church to pervert the right end of true doctrine, ſo hath ſhe excelled in the abuſe of that excellent word *Self-denial:* For ſhe hath tranſlated it from *Life* to *Underſtanding*, from *Morals* to *Faith: Subjugare intellectum in obſequium fidei*, ‘ to ſubject the Underſtanding to the obedience of Faith,’ is the perpetual burden of their ſong, and concluſion of their conferences. But what is this *Faith?* That which conquers the World, and purifies the Heart? By no means: But it is to believe that the Church of *Rome* is the *True Church*, and the *Pope* Chriſt's *Vicar*, and the *Viſible Head* of that Church.

Thus that *Self-denial*, which relates to our *Wills* and *Affections* in a corrupt ſtate, they apply to the *Uſe* of our *Underſtanding* about *Religion:* As if it were the *ſame thing* to deny that which we underſtand and know to be the will of God that we *ſhould* deny, (which is the Chriſtian Self-denial) and to deny that very *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding* which is God's Gift, and our Honour. Whereas *Religion* and *Reaſon* are ſo conſiſtent, that *Religion* can neither be underſtood, nor maintained, without *Reaſon*. For if *this* muſt be laid aſide, I am ſo far from being infallibly aſſured of my ſalvation, that I am not capable of any meaſure or diſtinction of good from evil, truth from falſhood. Why? I have no *Underſtanding*; or, at leaſt, not the *Uſe* of any. All the diſadvantage the Proteſtant is under in this, is that of his greater modeſty, and that he ſubmits his belief to be tried; which the other refuſes, under the pretence of unaccountable Infallibility: To *that* authority *Reaſon* demurs; *Right* Reaſon I mean; the REASON of the firſt nine verſes of the firſt of John; for ſo Tertullian, (and ſome other ancient, as well as modern criticks) gives us the work *Logos:* And the *Divine* Reaſon is *One* in All; that *Lamp* of *God*, which lights our Candle, and enlightens our Darkneſs;' and is the Meaſure and Teſt of our Knowledge.

So that whereas ſome people excuſe their embracing of that religion, by urging the Certainty that is in it, I do ſay, It is but a *Preſumption*. For a man can never be certain of that, about which he has not the liberty of examining, underſtanding, or judging: *Confident*, I confeſs, he may be; but that's quite another thing than being *certain*.

Yet I muſt never deny, but that every Chriſtian ought to believe as the *Church* believes, provided the church be *true*: But the queſtion is, Which is that true church? And when that is anſwered, as a man may *unlawfully* execute a *lawful* ſentence, ſo he may *falſly* believe as the *True Church* believes: For if I believe what *ſhe* believes, *only* becauſe *ſhe* believes it, and not becauſe I am convinced in my underſtanding and conſcience of the *truth* of what ſhe believes, *my* faith is *falſe*, though *hers* be *true*: I ſay, it is not true to *me*; I have no *evidence* of it.

What is this Church, or *Congregation* rather (as worthy Tindal every-where tranſlates it) but 'a company of people agreed together in the ſincere profeſſion and obedience 'of the Goſpel of Chriſt.' Now look, what inducement *they ſeverally had* to believe and embrace the goſpel, and unite into fellowſhip, that *we* muſt have to join with them: For as they made not *one another* an infallible authority to one another, upon which they firſt embraced the Goſpel, neither are we to ground our belief thereof upon *their authority jointly*: But as they had a *Rule* to believe and commune, ſo muſt we have the *ſame* rule to embrace their communion. So that the *Church* cannot properly be the rule of *my* faith, who have the *ſame* faith, and *Object* for my faith, that *ſhe* has. I argue thus,

I muſt believe as the Church believes; that is, I muſt have the ſame *Faith* the Church has: Then I muſt have the ſame *Rule*; becauſe the Church can be no more the *Rule* of that Faith, than ſhe can be *that Faith* of which ſome would make her the Rule. If then the Church has *Faith*, and that Faith have a *Rule*, and that ſhe can no more be the *Rule* of her *own Faith*, than ſhe can be that *Faith itſelf*; it follows ſhe cannot be the Rule of the Faith of her *Members*, becauſe thoſe Members have the *ſame* Faith, and *make up* this Church. For that which is the Rule of the *Congregation*'s Faith in general, muſt reaſonably be the Rule of every *Member*'s Faith that makes up that Congregation; and, conſequently, of every Member that may *hereafter* adhere to it. So that to talk of believing as the Church believes, to flouriſh upon that Self-denial and Humility which takes all upon *truſt*, and revile thoſe with the bittereſt invectives that are modeſtly ſcrupulous, and act the Bereans for their ſouls (who think that eaſineſs of nature and condeſcenſion may be better uſed, and in this occaſion is ill placed and dangerous) is to put the knife to the throat of Proteſtancy, and, what in them lies, to ſacrifice it to implicit faith and blind obedience. For it cannot be denied, but that the great foundation of our Proteſtant Religion is, 'the Divine Authority of 'the Scriptures from *without* us, and the Teſtimony and Illumination of the Holy 'Spirit *within* us.'

Upon this foot the firſt reformers ſtood, and made and maintained their Separation from Rome, and freely offered up their innocent lives in confirmation. With good cauſe, therefore, it is the general conſent of all *ſound* proteſtant writers, 'That neither 'traditions, councils, nor canons of any viſible church, much leſs the edicts of any 'civil ſeſſions or juriſdiction, but the *Scriptures only*, interpreted by the Holy Spirit '*in us*, give the final determination in matters of religion; and that only in the conſcience of every Chriſtian to himſelf.' Which Proteſtation, made by the firſt publick Reformers againſt the imperial edicts of Charles the Fifth, impoſing Church Traditions without Scripture Authority, gave firſt beginning to the name of *Proteſtant*, and with that name hath ever been received this doctrine, which prefers the divine authority of the Scripture and Spirit, to that of the Church and her Traditions. And if the Church is not ſufficient to be implicitly believed, (as we hold it is not) what can there elſe be named, of more force with us, but the Divine Illumination in the 1 John iii. 20. Conſcience, or *Conſcience* in the *beſt* ſenſe of the word; than which, *God only* is *greater*? But if any man ſhall pretend that the Scripture judges, according to his Conceptions or Conſcience, for other men, and that they muſt take their religious meaſures by the line of *his* direction; ſuch a perſon makes himſelf *greater* than either Church, Scripture or Conſcience. And, pray, let us conſider if in any thing the Pope is by our proteſtant divinity ſo juſtly reſembled to Antichriſt, as in aſſuming infallibility over conſcience and ſcripture, to determine as he thinks fit; and ſo, in effect, to give the law to God, ſcripture, magiſtrates and conſcience. To this Proteſtants have, without ſcruple, applied that to the Theſſalonians, "Sitting in the temple of God, exalting himſelf above all that 2 Theſſ. ii. 4. "is called God."

To check this exorbitancy the apoſtle Paul demands, "Who art thou that judgeſt Rom. xiv. 4. "another's ſervant? To his own lord he ſtands or falls?" Which ſhoweth with great evidence, that Chriſtians of all ſizes, great and ſmall, are but Brethren; and, conſequently, all ſuperiority, lordſhip and impoſition are excluded: But if there be a difference, it is in this, that, as Chriſt taught, "he that is greateſt is to be ſervant to the reſt:"

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But what is more oppoſite to a *ſervant* than a *lord*; and to *ſervice*, than *injunction* and *impoſition*, and that on penalties too? Here it is that Chriſt is Lord and Law-giver, who is only king of this inward kingdom of the ſoul. And it is to be noted, that the apoſtle did not write this to a private brother, or in ſome ſpecial caſe, but to the *Church*, as a general and ſtanding truth; and therefore now as authentick and proper as then. And if this be true, I cannot ſee how any, or even the moſt part of the Church, that are ſtill but Brethren to the reſt, of one voluntary Communion and Profeſſion, can with any ſhew of reaſon impoſe upon them, and eſcape the reproof of this ſcripture: For all ſocieties are to govern themſelves according to their inſtitution, and firſt principles of union. Where there is violence upon this part, *Tyranny*, and not *Order*, is introduced. Now ſince *Perſuaſion* and *Conviction* began all true Chriſtian Societies, they muſt uphold themſelves upon the ſame free bottom, or they turn *Antichriſtians*. I beſeech you, here, let us examine ourſelves faithfully, and I am perſuaded that ſomething of this will yet appear among ſome of us, who ſhew great reverence to that free name.

Iſa. ix. 6.
Rom. viii. 9, 14.

But to make good their unreaſonable conceit of Church-authority, they object Chriſt's words; "Go tell the Church;" that is, ſay they, 'The Church is the Rule and ' Guide of Faith; whatever the Church agrees upon, and requireth your aſſent to ' and Faith in, that you muſt neceſſarily believe and ſubmit to.' But though, as before, it is confeſſed, in a ſenſe, we muſt believe as the true Church believes; yet not becauſe *ſhe* ſo believes, but for the ſame *reaſons* that ſhe herſelf *did* and *does* ſo believe; in that none can truly believe *as ſhe* believes, but muſt do ſo upon the ſame principles and motives, for which *they* believed that firſt *made up* that Chriſtian Church. To talk of being the Rule and Guide in point of Faith, is to contradict Scripture, and juſtle Chriſt out of his office, which is peculiar to him. He is given to his Church an *Head*, that is, a *Counſellor*, a *Ruler*, a *Judge*, and is called a *Lawgiver*; and, ſays the apoſtle, "If any man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his;" and "the children " of God are led by the Spirit of God." And he was "Wiſdom and Righteouſneſs" to the Church Apoſtolick, and is ſo to his own church all the world over. Beſides, it is abſurd that the Church can be the rule and guide of faith; for, as ſuch, ſhe muſt be *her own* rule and guide; the faith of the *Members* being that of the *Church*; which cannot be.

Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18.
1 Cor. vi. 1, 2.

But what then can be the meaning of Chriſt's words, "Go tell the Church?" Very well. I anſwer, it is not about *Faith*, but *Injury*, that Chriſt ſpeaks; and the place explains itſelf, which is this: "Moreover, if thy brother ſhall *treſpaſs* againſt thee, go " and tell him his fault, between thee and him alone." Here is *Wrong*, not Religion; *Injuſtice*, not Faith or Conſcience concerned; as ſome would have it, to maintain their church-power. "If he ſhall hear thee, thou haſt gained thy brother; but if he will " not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or " three witneſſes, every word may be eſtabliſhed; and if he ſhall neglect to hear them, " tell it unto the *Church*; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as " an Heathen man and a Publican. Verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever ye ſhall bind on " earth, ſhall be bound in heaven, and whatſoever ye ſhall looſe on earth, ſhall be " looſed in heaven," &c. The matter and manner of which paſſage, delivered by Chriſt, ſhews that he intended not to ſet up 'Church Power about faith and worſhip,' unto which all muſt bow, even without, if not againſt, conviction. The words *Treſpaſs* and *Fault*, prove abundantly that he meant private and perſonal injuries; and that not only from the common and undeniable ſignification and uſe of the words Treſpaſs and Fault, but from the Way Chriſt directs and commands for accommodation, viz. 'That the perſon wronged, ſpeak to him that commits an injury *alone*: If ' that will not do, that he take one or two with him:' But no man can think that if it related to *Faith* and *Worſhip*, I ought to receive the judgment of one, or two, or three, for a ſufficient rule. This has not been the practice, at leaſt not the principle, of the moſt degenerated church ſince the primitive times; for moſt, if not all, agree, 'That ' nothing *lower* than the *Church* can determine about matters of Faith;' and even many, with reaſon, cannot go ſo far; I mean as to injunction and impoſition. Yet Chriſt ſeems to fix a blame upon him that complies not with the perſon he has offended; and more, if he refuſe to give ſatisfaction, after one or two have alſo intreated him: But therefore it cannot relate to matters of faith and ſcruples of conſcience, but perſonal and private injuries. Which is yet clearer from this part of Chriſt's ſaying, viz. "That in the mouth of two or three witneſſes every word may be eſtabliſhed:" Which implies a *Trial* and judicial proceeding, as is cuſtomary in civil caſes, about perſonal and private treſpaſſes; for it were not ſo proper to ſpeak of Witneſſes on any other account. This is interpreted, beyond exception, by the apoſtle to the Corinthians, where he reproves and forbids them "to go to law one with another before " unbelievers;" arguing thus, "Do you not know that the ſaints ſhall judge the " world? And if the world ſhall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the " ſmalleſt matters?" This ſhews the meaning of Church Authority in thoſe days, and is a natural expoſition upon Chriſt's words, in caſe of treſpaſs and refractorineſs, “Tell the Church.” And it is yet the practice of all ſober, juſt and quiet people, rather to refer their controverſies to approved men, than to tear one another to pieces at law.

But it is worth our notice, That as any deciſion upon an *Arbitration* obliges only the parties to ſit down content with that award, be it loſs or gain, which the Arbitrators think equal, as the next beſt way to accommodate differences, and not that ſuch award ſhould alter their firſt thoughts and opinions they had of their right, or force them to declare they are of the Arbitrators Mind; ſo is it moſt unreaſonable, where the Church is only an *Arbitrator* about perſonal *treſpaſſes*, or Umpire at moſt, from thence to imagine a power to determine and impoſe *Faith*, and that upon ſevere penalties, as well of *this* world, unto which Chriſt's Church has no relation, as of the *other* world. I ſay, this very thing, well weighed, breaks all their fallacies to pieces, and decides the buſineſs beyond all contradiction, between thoſe that ſtand upon the ‘*Spirit* within, and the Scripture without, on the one hand, and ſuch as merely reſt upon the Traditions of Men, and Authority of the church, on the other hand.’ For if, in an Arbitration, I am not bound to be of the Arbitrators Mind, though for peace ſake I ſubmit to their Award, and that the *Church Power*, in this place controverted, relates only to external and perſonal treſpaſſes, injuries or injuſtices, as the place itſelf plainly proves, there can be no ſenſe, reaſon or modeſty in the earth, on the part of thoſe high-church men, from hence to wring and extort the power of defining, reſolving and impoſing upon all people, under temporal and eternal puniſhment, ‘Articles of Faith and Bonds of Chriſtian Communion.’

I conclude this of the Church, with ſaying, That it is not *Identity* of *Opinion*, but *Juſtice*, not *Religious Uniformity*, but *Perſonal Satisfaction*, that concerns the text; and therefore Reaſon, ſober Conſcience, and good Senſe, may at any time lawfully inſiſt upon their claim to be heard in all their ſcruples or exceptions, without diſreſpect to that excellent doctrine, when rightly underſtood, “Go tell the Church.”

To this let me add ſomething about this great word *Church*. Some men think they are ſure enough, if they can but get within the *Pale* of the *Church*, that have not yet conſidered what it is. The word *Church* ſignifies any *Aſſembly*; ſo the Greeks uſed it: And it is by worthy Tindal every-where tranſlated *Congregation*. It has a twofold ſenſe in ſcripture. The firſt and moſt excellent ſenſe, is that in which ſhe is called the *Body* and *Bride* of Chriſt. In this reſpect ſhe takes in *all generations*, and is made up of the *regenerated*, be they in heaven or on earth, thus Epheſ. i. 22. chap. v. 23. to 33. Col. i. 16, 17, 18. Heb. xii. 22, 23. Rev. xxi. 2. chap. xxii. 17. Here Chriſt *only* can be head: This Church is waſhed from all Sin; not a *ſpot* nor a *wrinkle* left: Ill men have nothing to do with this Church, within whoſe pale only is ſalvation; nor is this *Univerſal* and truly *Catholick* church capable of being *convened*, to be told of wrongs or treſpaſſes. The other uſe of that word in Scripture is always referred to *particular* aſſemblies and places; *that* is the Church, which, by Chriſt's doctrine, is to be told of perſonal injuries, and whoſe determination, for peace ſake, is to be adhered and ſubmitted to: They muſt, of neceſſity, be the adjacent or moſt contiguous Company of Chriſtian Believers, thoſe to whom the perſons in difference are by external ſociety and communion related: And that ſuch *private* and *diſtinct* aſſemblies are called the Church, is apparent from the acts and writings of the apoſtles: The Church of Jeruſalem, Antioch, Corinth, Epheſus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Rome, Galatia, Theſſalonica, Crete, &c. peruſe theſe places, Acts v. 11. and ix. 31. and xi. 22, 26. and xiv. 23, 27. Rom. xv. 5. 1 Cor. i. 2. and iv. 17. and xiv. 4. Rev. ii. and iii. chap. By which it plainly appears that the *Univerſal* and *Viſible Church*, ſo much bragged of, for the *Rule* and *Judge* of *Faith*, &c. is an upſtart thing; and, like mean families, or ill-got goods, it uſes falſe heraldry to give it a title.

For the apoſtolick times, to which all others muſt veil, and by whom they muſt be tried, knew no ſuch conceit: And the truth is, it was firſt ſtarted, when the pride of One Man made him ambitious, and his power able to bid, for Headſhip, Empire and Sovereignty: It was then needful to his being *Univerſal Head*, that he ſhould firſt have an *Univerſal Body*. But ſuppoſe ſuch a church there were, it is utterly impoſſible that ſuch a church could be called together in any *one place*, or at any *one time*, to be told, or to determine of, any thing: So that yielding the thing by them deſired, it is uſeleſs and impracticable to the ends for which they deſire it. But alas! who knows not, that loves not to be blind, that the Church among them is the *Prieſthood*? That a few cunning men govern the majority, and intitle their Conceits ‘the *Canons* of *Chriſt's Church*,’ to give them entrance and acceptance: And then human power and force, the policy and weapons of this world, muſt be employed to back their decrees. And all this comes from the *Ignorance* and *Idleneſs* of the *People*, that give the *Pride* and *Induſtry* of the *Clergy* an opportunity to effect their deſigns upon them. For ſo mean-ſpirited are the people, as to take all upon truſt for their ſouls, that would not truſt or take from an Archbiſhop a braſs ſhillings or a ſlit groat.

It is prodigious to think what *Veneration* the *Prieſthood* have raiſed to themſelves, by their uſurped commiſſion of *Apoſtleſhip*, their pretended Succeſſiohs, and their clink-clank of extraordinary Ordination. ‘ A *Prieſt!* a God on earth, a man that has the keys of heaven and hell: Do as he ſays, or be damned!’ What power like to this? The ignorance of the people of their title and pretences, hath prepared them to deliver up themſelves into their hands, like a crafty uſurer, that hedges in the eſtate on which he has a mortgage; and thus they make themſelves *over in fee* to the Clergy, and become their proper *patrimony*, inſtead of being their care, and they the true miniſters or ſervants of the people: So that believing as the *Church* believes, is neither more nor leſs than rooking men of their *Underſtandings*, or doing as ill gameſters are wont to do, get by uſing falſe dice. Come, come; it is believing as the *Prieſthood* believes, which has made way for the offence wiſe and good men have taken againſt the Clergy in every age. And did the people examine their *bottom*, the *ground* of their religion and faith, it would not be in the power of their leaders to cauſe them to err. An implicit veneration of the Clergy begun the miſery. ‘ What! doubt my *Miniſter*, arraign his *Doctrine*, put him to the *Proof!* By no means:’ But the conſequence of not doing it, has been the introduction of much falſe doctrine, ſuperſtition and formality, which gave juſt occaſion for *Schiſm*; for the word has no hurt in itſelf, and implies only a *Separation*; which may as well be *right* as *wrong*.

But that I may not be taxed with partiality, or upbraided with ſingularity, there are two men, whoſe worth, good ſenſe, and true learning, I will at any time engage againſt an intire convocation of another judgment; viz. Jacobus Acontius, and John Hales of Eaton, that are of the ſame mind; who, though they have not writ much, have writ well and much to the purpoſe. I will begin with Jacobus Acontius at large, and do heartily beſeech my readers to be more than ordinarily intent in reading what I cite of him; their care and patience will be requited by his chriſtian and very acute ſenſe.

‘ It remains that we ſpeak of ſuch cauſes of the not perceiving that a change of doctrine is introduced, as conſiſt in the perſons that are taught. Now they are chiefly two, *Careleſsneſs* and *Ignorance*. Careleſsneſs for the moſt part ariſeth hence, in that the people truſt *too much* to their Paſtors; and perſuade themſelves that they will not ſlip into any error, and that therefore they have ſmall need to have an eye over them; but that they are bound rather to embrace whatſoever they ſhall hold forth, without any curious examination. Hereunto may be added many other buſineſſes, whereunto men addict themſelves: For that ſaying is of large extent, “ Where mens treaſure is, there is their heart;” and that other, “ No man can ſerve two maſters.” Now how it may come to paſs, that after a people hath once had a great knowledge of divine truths, the ſaid knowledge may as it were vaniſh away, beſides that cauſe which hath been even now alledged, we ſhall in another place make diſcovery of ſome other reaſons. We ſhall for the preſent add only this one, that the people themſelves are in a perpetual kind of mutation, ſome daily dying and departing, others ſucceeding and growing up in their ſtead. Whence it comes to paſs, that ſince the change which is made in every age is *ſmall*, either the people cannot perceive it, or if they do obſerve it, yet they eſteem it not of ſuch moment, as to think fit to move any difference thereabout. This thing alſo is of very great force to keep the people from taking notice of a change in doctrine, when men ſhall perſuade themſelves that they are not able to judge of matters of religion; as though *It is*, *It is not*, and other words uſed in ſcripture, do not ſignify the ſame which they do in common diſcourſe; or as if nothing could be underſtood without ſome great knowledge in the tongues, and arts or ſciences, and as if the power of the Spirit were of no efficacy without theſe helps. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that whilſt they think they underſtand not even thoſe things which in ſome ſort they do underſtand, being expreſſed in moſt clear and evident words, they do at length arrive to that blockiſhneſs, that they cannot underſtand them indeed; ſo that, though they have before their eyes a ſentence of ſcripture ſo clear, that nothing can be more evident, yet if they to whoſe authority they in all things ſubject themſelves, ſhall ſay any thing point-blank oppoſite thereunto, they will give credit unto them, and imagine themſelves not to ſee that which they ſee as clear as the light. And by theſe means verily it comes to paſs, that when the doctrine of religion is corrupted, the mutation is not diſcovered. Furthermore, when the doctrine is once begun to be changed, it muſt needs be that out of one error another ſhould ſpring and propagate infinitely; and God, for juſt reaſons of his own, blinding them, men bring upon themſelves ſo great darkneſs, and ſlip into ſuch foul errors, that if God of his mercy open a man's eyes, and let him ſee thoſe errors he lives in, he can ſcarcely believe himſelf, or be perſuaded that he was ever enveloped with ſuch blind errors. Which thing is as true, and as well to be ſeen, in men of greateſt learning and experience. If thou ſhalt thoroughly peruſe the writings of ſome of the ſchool-men (as they call them) thou ſhalt in ſome places meet with ſo much acuteneſs, as will make thee admire: Thou ſhalt ſee them oftentimes

‘ cleave a fine thread into many parts, and accurately anatomiſe a flea, and a little after fall ſo foully, and avouch ſuch abſurdities, that thou canſt not ſufficiently ſtand amazed: Wherefore we muſt obey that advice of the poet;

‘ *Principiis obſta, ſero medicina paratur,*
‘ *Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.*

‘ Reſiſt betimes; that Med'cine ſtays too long,
‘ Which comes when Age has made the Grief too ſtrong.

‘ Now there is need of a double caution, viz. That there be no change made in the doctrine, when it is pure: And if any change be made, that there be notice taken of it. Now look what change is made in this kind, all the blame is laid upon thoſe whoſe office it is to inſtruct the people: For though themſelves are the authors of the change, yet will the people impute it to the miniſters ſleepineſs, and want of care at leaſt. It concerns therefore the paſtors and teachers to be eagle-eyed, and to be very well acquainted with thoſe cauſes whereby the change of doctrine becomes undiſcovered, and to have them at their fingers ends, and to be wary, that on no hand they may miſcarry. Now it will be an excellent caution for the keeping of doctrine pure, if they ſhall avoid all curious and vain controverſies: If they ſhall ſet before their eyes the ſcope and end of all religious doctrines, and likewiſe a ſeries or catalogue of all ſuch things as make to the attainment of that end (of which we formerly ſpake); if they ſhall affect not only the matter itſelf, but alſo the words and phraſes, which the Holy Ghoſt in ſcripture makes uſe of, and exceedingly ſuſpect all different forms of ſpeaking. Not that I would have them ſpeak nothing but *Hebraiſms*; for ſo their language would not be plain nor intelligible; but I wiſh that they would ſhun all ſuch expreſſions as have been invented by over-nice diſputants, beyond what was neceſſary to expreſs the ſenſe of the Hebrew and Greek; and all thoſe tenets which men by their own wits do collect and infer from the ſcriptures. Now of what concernment this will be, we may gather by this inſtance: The Papiſts think it one and the ſame thing to ſay, *The Church cannot err*; and to ſay, in the words of our Lord, “ Whereſoever two or three ſhall be gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midſt of them.” Yet is the difference very great; which may thus appear, foraſmuch as in caſe any one ſhall conceive the Church to be the Pope, Cardinals, and Biſhops anointed by the Pope; he, hearing the aforeſaid ſentence, will judge that whatſoever *they* ſhall decree, ought to be of force. But if he ſhall rather mind the words of our Lord, and ſhall conſider that thoſe kind of men do regard nothing but their own commodity, wealth and dominion, he will be ſo far from ſo underſtanding them, that, peradventure, not being able to allow the deeds and practices of theſe men, he will come to hope from thoſe words, That if *himſelf*, with ſome other *good men*, loving God with their whole heart, ſhall come together, and unanimouſly implore the aſſiſtance of God, they ſhall be better able to determine what it is that ought to be believed and practiſed for the attainment of ſalvation, than if they ſhould perſiſt to put their confidence in ſuch paſtors. Now this rule, that the words of the ſcripture ought to be uſed rather than any other, is then eſpecially to be obſerved, when any thing is delivered as a certain and tried truth, or as a rule of faith or life, or out of which any other thing is to be inferred. For in expoſitions and explanations, as there is need haply of greater liberty, ſo is there leſs danger if it be taken. For when-as the Word of God, and the Expoſition thereof, are at one and the ſame time both together in view as it were, there no man can be ignorant, that the expoſition is the *Word of Man*, ſo that he may *reject it*, in caſe it ſeem impertinent. And look, by what means a man may hinder the doctrine of religion from being changed, by the ſelf-ſame he may find whether it be changed or no. Now every man ought to compare the doctrine of that age wherein he lives, with no other doctrine than that which was out of queſtion ſpotleſs, which is the doctrine of the Apoſtles. Wherefore, notwithſtanding that in our age the goſpel is as it were revived, yet ought not any man thus to think, that he ought not to examine whether the goſpel hath not loſt any of that purity whereunto it had at this time arrived; he ought rather to look again and again, whether ſome corruption do not yet remain, whether it be not in ſome parts as yet not ſufficiently reſtored to its ancient purity and luſtre; and confidently perſuade himſelf, that he cannot be (that I may ſo ſpeak) ſufficiently ſuperſtitious in rejecting every word which is not in the ſcriptures. Foraſmuch as man will ever be more wiſe and wary than the Holy Spirit, and can very hardly forbear to mingle ſomewhat from his own head: So that whatever comes from man, can never be ſufficiently ſuſpected. And becauſe a thing will be ſo much the better preſerved, by how much the greater is the number of thoſe that keep it; the people ought often to be put in mind, that both the Reading of the Scriptures, and the Care of Religion, belongs not to the Paſtors of the Church *only*; but that every one that

‘ would

‘would be ſaved ought to make diligent ſearch, whether any corruption be already, or is for the future like to be introduced; and this to do no leſs carefully, than if he were perſuaded that all beſide himſelf were aſleep: And whatſoever is wont to take the common people off from ſuch ſtudies, care muſt be taken that that thing be wholly taken away. Concerning which matter we ſhall more conveniently diſcourſe anon.

1 Cor. xiv.

‘Now, foraſmuch as the profit will be ſmall, if ſome private man ſhall obſerve that an error is introduced, unleſs he diſcover the ſaid error, and lay it open; there muſt of neceſſity be ſome way how this may conveniently be done. Now there cannot be a more fitting way, than that which the Apoſtle propounds to the Corinthians. “Let two or three prophets ſpeak, and let the reſt judge; and if any thing be revealed to him that ſits by, let the former be ſilent. For ye may all propheſy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be exhorted.” If ſome one perſon ſhall always ſpeak in the church, and no man at any time may contradict him, it will be a very ſtrange thing if that one man be not puffed up, if he do not fall into ſuch a conceit of himſelf, as to think that he is the only man, that he only hath underſtanding, he alone is wiſe; that all the reſt are a company of brute animals as it were, who ought to depend only upon him, and to do nothing but learn of him. And if any man ſhall think that himſelf likewiſe hath ſome ability to teach, he will account that man an heinous offender. But what ſays the Apoſtle to this? “Did the word of God come *from* you? Or came it *unto* you only? If any ſeem to be a prophet, or ſpiritual, let him acknowledge what I write unto you to be the commands of the Lord. But if any one be ignorant, let him be ignorant. Wherefore, brethren, labour that ye may propheſy, and forbid not to ſpeak with tongues; let all things be done decently and in order.” It is exceedingly to be lamented, that this cuſtom, and the practice of this command of the Lord, is not again reſtored unto the churches, and brought into uſe. But ſome men may ſay, Such is the raſhneſs of this age of ours, ſuch the boldneſs, ſuch the impudence, that if it were allowed to every one to ſpeak in the congregation, there will be no end of brawls and contention. Why ſo? Is man another kind of creature now, than what he was of old? Thou wilt ſay, He is; for mankind hath continually degenerated, grown worſe and worſe, and ſeems now to have attained the top of corruption. Is it ſo indeed? But ſuppoſe it to be ſo; thou that art the teacher of the people, art not thou alſo thyſelf made of the ſame mold? Art not thou born in the ſame age? Inaſmuch as this ordinance principally was intended to keep paſtors within the bounds of modeſty, that they may underſtand that they are not the authors of the Word of God, that they have not alone received the Spirit; by how much the more mankind hath degenerated, by ſo much the greater need is there thereof, for that there is now more raſhneſs, arrogance, and pride, than of old: This is true, as well of the paſtors and teachers, as of the reſt of the people. Art thou a prophet? Haſt thou any portion of the Spirit? If thou haſt not, ſo unfitting it is that thou alone ſhouldeſt ſpeak in the congregation, that there will hardly be found any that deſerves rather to be ſilenced, than thyſelf. But if thou art a Prophet, if thou haſt the Spirit, mark what the Apoſtle ſays, “Acknowledge (quoth he) that thoſe things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord.” Go to, then: On the one ſide we have the judgment of our *Lord*, willing that Prophecy (for this is a word that we are obliged to uſe) ſhould be common to all, and that not for the deſtruction, but the ſalvation of the church: On the other ſide we have *thy* judgment, who feareſt leſt that may breed contention and confuſion: Whoſe judgment now ought we rather to ſtand to? If thou ſhalt conceive we muſt ſtand to thine, conſider what thou aſſumeſt unto thyſelf, and what will become of thy modeſty. Our Lord, it ſhould ſeem, underſtood not what a kind of creature man was; he wanted thy wiſdom, belike, to admoniſh him of the danger; or haply he thought not upon that corruption which ſhould befal mankind, whereby ſuch a liberty might prove unprofitable. But Paul anſwers thee, “That God is not the author of contention, but of peace:” Who, well knowing what might move contentions, what begat peace, and not loving nor willing to have contention, but peace, willed that this liberty of prophecy ſhould be in the church. What canſt thou ſay to the contrary? What haſt thou to object againſt God himſelf, wilt thou accuſe him of indiſcretion? No man hath ſo wicked a tongue, as to dare to do it. Yet if thou ſhalt diligently ſearch thine heart, thou ſhalt find there a certain diſpoſition ready to contend even with God himſelf: Which motion of thy heart muſt by no means be hearkened unto, but ſharply repreſſed, and wholly ſubjected to the Spirit of God. It may ſeem, peradventure, an abſurd thing, that after ſome very learned perſon hath ſpoken, ſome contemptible perſon ſhall be allowed to contradict him. Can ſuch a perſon ſo do without great raſhneſs and temerity? Were I to ſpeak according to the judgment of man, verily I could not deny it. But if we be really perſuaded, that the knowledge of matters divine ought not to be attributed to our *Watchings*, *Studies*, *Wits*, but to *God* and to his *Spirit*, wherewith he can in a moment endue the ſimpleſt perſon in the

‘ world, and that with no more labour or difficulty than if he were to give it to one that had ſpent Neſtor's age in ſtudy; what reaſon is there for me to judge that this man does raſhly and unadviſedly, if he ſhall ariſe and contradict? Is not the Spirit able to reveal ſomewhat to *him*, which he hath hidden from *thee*? Now, if the Spirit have revealed ſomewhat to him, and to that end revealed it that he might contradict, that by his means the thing may be revealed to the Church; ſhall I ſay that he hath done raſhly in obeying the Holy Ghoſt? And if thou think otherwiſe, verily thou art not perſuaded that the Spirit is the author and teacher of this knowledge, but that all the praiſe thereof is due to Studies, Watchings, and the Wits of Men. And if this be thy judgment, I tell thee again, that thou art not only unworthy to be *ſole* ſpeaker, but worthy rather to be the only perſon not *permitted* to ſpeak, in the congregation.

‘ And that thou mayeſt the better underſtand that the moſt unlearned ought to be allowed to ſpeak, conſider, God will have himſelf to be acknowledged the author of his own gifts: He will not have his praiſe attributed unto our ſtudies or wits, but unto himſelf. But if the man that hath ſpent all his life in ſtudy, ſpeak wiſely, it is not attributed to *God*, but to *Study*: In word, perhaps, it may be attributed to God, yet not without a vehement reluctancy of our judgment; and this is that, which I ſay God will not abide. But if ſo be thou ſhalt hear a wiſe word come out of the mouth of ſome unlearned perſon, thou muſt needs, whether thou wilt or no, acknowledge God to be the author thereof. So when God was minded to give unto Iſrael a victory againſt the Midianites, under the conduct of Gideon, and Gideon had gathered together Thirty thouſand men; leſt the Iſraelites ſhould boaſt that they had gotten the victory by their own ſtrength, and not by the aſſiſtance of God, (which might have been conceived, if Gideon had fought with ſo numerous an army) he would not ſuffer him to have above Three hundred, that it might appear that *he* was the cauſe of the victory, and not the number or valour of thoſe that fought. Now, beſides the glory of God, hereby great profit does accrue to the church. For if the people ſhall ſee now one man, now another, endued with the Spirit, beyond all expectation, many will thereby be encouraged to hope for the ſame gift, if they ſhall aſk it; many will learn and profit; and it will thereby come to paſs, that when occaſion ſhall be to chooſe a miniſter, the church ſhall not need to call ſtrange and unknown perſons to that office, but ſhe may have of her own ſuch as are fit to be choſen; men whoſe converſation and manners are ſufficiently known. And when the number of ſuch as are able to propheſy ſhall be great, the church will not be forced to uſe ſuch paſtors, as from their very childhood have propoſed to themſelves ſuch office as the reward of their ſtudies; and addicted themſelves to the ſtudy of ſcripture and religion, no otherwiſe than they would have done to ſome trade, whereby they meant in time to get their living: So that a man can expect but very few of them to prove other than mercenary or hireling paſtors.

‘ Now, that it was the cuſtom of the Jewiſh Church that all might thus propheſy, we may hence conjecture, in that it is upon record, LUKE iv. how our Lord, upon the ſabbath-day, according to the cuſtom, came into the ſynagogue, took a book and expounded a place of Eſay; and how, being twelve years of age, he ſate at Jeruſalem in the temple among the doctors, and did diſpute. For he could not ſo do by virtue of any ordinary office, foraſmuch as his age was uncapable, neither did the doctors know who he was. Yea, rather, our Lord in ſo doing muſt needs make uſe of the power which was granted to every one to ſpeak. It remained in the Chriſtians congregations until the times of Conſtantine, at the leaſt. Foraſmuch as we have theſe words of Euſebius, the writer of church affairs, to that effect: “If any man, inſpired by the Grace of God, ſhould ſpeak unto the people, they all, with great ſilence, fixing their eyes upon him, gave ſuch attention, as if he had brought them ſome errand from Heaven.” So great was the reverence of the hearers, ſuch order was ſeen among the miniſters. One after another, another after him. Neither were there only *two* or *three* that propheſied, according to what the Apoſtle ſaid, but to *all* was given to ſpeak; ſo that the wiſh of Moſes ſeems rather to have been fulfilled in them, when he ſaid, “Would God *all* the people might propheſy.” There was no ſpleen, no envy; the gifts of God were diſpenſed; every one, according to his ability, contributing his aſſiſtance for the confirmation of the church: And all was done with love, in ſuch ſort, that they ſtrove mutually to honour each other, and every one to prefer another before himſelf. But to the end this common propheſying may be profitable to the church, we muſt diligently mark what the Apoſtle adviſes. For a ſure thing it is, that the pride of man is ſo great, that whatever hath once fallen from him, he will by any means have it ſtand for a truth; neither can he ſuffer that any man ſhould infringe the ſame. So that if he might be permitted to judge, that laſt ſpake, it will be a miracle if a man in his life-time ſhould ſee any one give way to him that contradicts him: What is Paul's advice therefore in this caſe? “Let two or three Prophets ſpeak, and let the reſt judge.” He will not therefore have the

Luke iv.

Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 9.

1679.

‘ſame perſons to be parties and judges. And he adds a little after, “And the ſpirit of the prophets is ſubject to the prophets; for God is not the author of diſſenſion, but of peace.” So that as ſoon as any man hath ſpoken his own mind, he ought to reſt himſelf ſatisfied with the judgment of the reſt, and not obſtinately to make no end of contending. If this be not done, a ſure thing it is, there will be no end of ſtrife. But what if any man will not be content to ſubmit to the judgment of the reſt: Verily I would avouch, that being ſharply admoniſhed that he diſturb not the congregation, and that he go not againſt the command of the Apoſtle, or rather of our Lord, commanding the ſpirits of the prophets to be ſubject to the prophets, he ought to be caſt out of the ſociety, though he ſhould hold the prime place in the congregation. The people likewiſe muſt frequently be admoniſhed, that liberty for any one to ſpeak in the congregation, is not therefore granted by the Apoſtle, to the end every one ſhould ſpeak what comes to his tongue's end, as if he were in a market; but whereas he gives liberty to him to ſpeak to whom any thing is *revealed*, he would have all raſhneſs and impudence to be laid aſide. He that reverences not the Church of God, let that man know he deſpiſeth the Spirit of God, who is preſident there; and ſhall be ſure not to eſcape unpuniſhed. Before a man propounds any thing to the Church, he ought to conſider, again and again, *how ſure* a manifeſtation he hath of that thing; and whatever the matter be, let him be ſure not to forget a ſober, modeſt, baſhful behaviour; without which virtues, doubtleſs no good can be effected. But here we muſt attentively conſider, both how far a man ought to ſubmit to the Judgment of the Congregation, and who may deſervedly be accounted a Troubler of the Church. Verily I conceive a man ought ſo far to give way, as that, after I have alledged what I had to ſay for my opinion, if yet the reſt ſhall not allow of my judgment, I ought to give over defending it, and ceaſe to be troubleſome to the congregation concerning the ſame: But I ought not to be compelled to confeſs that I have erred, nor to deprecate any fault, while I do not yet underſtand that I have erred, for ſo I ſhould ſin againſt God. He therefore is a troubler of the church, that will not, ſo far as we have expreſſed, ſubmit to the judgment of the church, but goeth on to be troubleſome; but eſpecially that man who would exact of another that which he ought not to do; viz. to recant, being not perſuaded that he is in an error. But thoſe men are commonly reputed troublers of the church, who refuſe to ratify whatever ſhall any ways fall out of the paſtors mouths. Again, in this place it may reaſonably be demanded, whether, when that a matter hath been once or twice debated, and ſome man, knowing the judgment of the congregation, would again reduce it into controverſy, he ought to be heard, or injoined ſilence, and take the matter for determined. But of this we ſhall in another place more conveniently diſpute. That which remains, therefore, is, that we wreſtle with God, by daily prayers, to grant that we may have the uſe of this ſo ſovereign and ſaving Liberty, ſo profitable to the Church, and that thereby we may reap abundance of fruit: And that he would, to that end, break and tame our ſpirits with *his* Spirit, and render them mild and gentle; and not ſuffer what he hath ordained for the confirmation and eſtabliſhment of his church, to be, by the ſtubbornneſs and perverſeneſs of our wits and minds, turned to the miſchief and deſtruction thereof.’ With much more to the ſame purpoſe, too large to be here inſerted.

What I have cited, makes an apology, for doing ſo, needleſs: His whole book is a moſt accurate account of Satan's ſtratagems, to cauſe and keep up diviſions among Chriſtians; deſerving a firſt place with the moſt chriſtian writers ſince the apoſtolical times. He was an Italian, of excellent natural and ſupernatural endowments, baniſhed about Luther's time for the Goſpel.

J. Hales, of the keys, pag. 170, 171, 172, 173.

Let us now inform ourſelves of the judgment of that great man of our own country, J. Hales of Eaton, in his treatiſe of the ‘Power of the Keys,’ upon the matter in hand; viz. ‘To your ſecond query, *Whether the keys were confined to the* Apoſtles *only?* The anſwer is in no caſe hard to give, it may perchance, in ſome caſe, be dangerous; for there is a generation of men in the world, the *Clergy* they call them, who impropriate the keys unto *themſelves*, and would be very angry to underſtand, that others from themſelves ſhould claim a right unto them. To your queſtion then; no doubt but originally none received the keys from the mouth of our Saviour, but the Apoſtles only; none did, or ever could, manage them with that authority and ſplendor, as the Apoſtles did, who were, above all, moſt amply furniſhed with all things fitting ſo great a work. For whereas you ſeem to intimate, that the *preaching* miſſion was communicated to others, as the ſeventy-two *Diſciples*, as well as the *Apoſtles*, you do but miſtake yourſelf, if you conceive that the keys of the Goſpel were any way committed to them: For concerning the myſtery of Jeſus Chriſt, and him crucified for the ſins of the world (wherein, indeed, the opening the kingdom of heaven did conſiſt) *they* received it not, they *knew* it not. To be the prime reporters of this, was an honour imparted only to the Apoſtles: Yet were they not ſo imparted, as that they ſhould be confined to them. *Every one* that heard and received the light of the

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ſaving doctrine from *them,* ſo far forth as he had *underſtanding* in the ways of life, had now the keys of the kingdom of heaven committed to his power, both for his *own* and *others* uſe. *Every one,* of what *ſtate* or *condition* ſoever, that hath any *occaſion* offered him to ſerve another in the ways of life, *Clergy* or *Lay, Male* or *Female,* whatever he be, hath theſe keys, not only for *himſelf,* but for the benefit of *others.* For if *natural* goodneſs teach every man, *Lumen de Lumine, erranti comiter monſtrare viam,* &c. then how much more doth *chriſtian* goodneſs require of every one, to his ability, to be a light to thoſe who ſit in darkneſs, and direct their ſteps who moſt dangerouſly miſtake their way? *To ſave a ſoul, every man is a prieſt.* To whom I pray you, is that ſaid in Leviticus, "Thou ſhalt not ſee thy brother ſin, but ſhalt reprove, and ſave thy brother?" And if the Law binds a man, when he ſaw his enemy's cattle to ſtray, to put them in their way; how much more doth it oblige him to do the like for the Man himſelf? See you not how the whole world conſpires with me in the ſame opinion? Doth not every father teach his ſon, every maſter his ſervant, every man his friend? How many of the Laity in this age, and from time to time in all ages, have by writing, for the publick good, propagated the goſpel of Chriſt; as if ſome ſecret inſtinct of nature had put into mens minds thus to do, &c.

To this let me add his ſenſe of the force of the Fathers authority in the deciſion of controverſies; and how far the ancients, whether Fathers or Councils, ought to be intereſted in the debates of theſe times; which may not be improper to the preſent ſubject, becauſe not a few build upon their bottom, the Clergy to be ſure, that pretend to direct the reſt.

J. Hales, Tract of Schiſm, p.201, 202, 203, 204.

'You ſhall find,' ſays he, 'that all Schiſms have crept into the church by one of theſe three ways; either upon Matter of Fact, or Matter of Opinion, or Point of Ambition. For the firſt; I call that Matter of Fact, when ſomething is required to be done by us, which either we know, or ſtrongly ſuſpect, to be unlawful: So the firſt notable Schiſm, of which we read, in the Church, contained in it Matter of Fact: For it being, upon *Error,* taken for neceſſary that an *Eaſter* muſt be kept; and upon *worſe* than Error, if I may ſo ſpeak, for it was no leſs than a point of *Judaiſm,* forced upon the church, upon worſe than error, I ſay, thought further neceſſary, that the ground for the time of our keeping that feaſt, muſt be the rule left by Moſes to the Jews; there aroſe a ſtout queſtion, *whether we were to celebrate, with the* Jews, *on the fourteenth moon, or the* Sunday *following?* This matter, though moſt unneceſſary, moſt vain, yet cauſed as great a combuſtion as ever was in the Church; The Weſt ſeparating, and refuſing communion with the Eaſt, for many years together. In this fantaſtical hurry, I cannot ſee but all the world were ſchiſmaticks: Neither can any thing excuſe them from that imputation, excepting only this, that we charitably ſuppoſe that all parties, out of conſcience, did what they did.

'A thing which befel them through the *Ignorunce* of their *Guides;* for I will not ſay their *Malice;* and that through the juſt judgment of God; becauſe, through *Sloth* and *Blind Obedience,* men *examined* not the things which they were taught; but, like beaſts of burden, patiently *couched down,* and indifferently underwent whatſoever their *ſuperiors* laid upon them. By the way, by this you may plainly ſee the danger of our appeal unto Antiquity, for reſolution in controverted points of Faith, and how ſmall relief we are to expect from thence. For if the diſcretion of the chiefeſt *Guides* and *Directors* of the *Church,* did, in a point ſo trivial, ſo inconſiderable, ſo mainly *fail* them, as not to ſee the truth in a ſubject, wherein it is the greateſt marvel how they could avoid the ſight of it; can we, without imputation of extreme groſſneſs and folly, think ſo poor-ſpirited perſons competent judges of the queſtions now on foot betwixt the churches? Pardon me! I know not what temptation drew that note from me.'

How theſe two worthy men will come off, I cannot tell: They have ventured fairly, and yet I think their caſe not hazardous at all. You have them in three points plain. Firſt, 'That relying upon the *Clergy,* as guardians of truth to the people, and the people not *examining* the truth of things from them, is not apoſtolical, but apoſtatical. Secondly, That no *Councils* or *Fathers* ought to be the *Rule* or *Judge* of our *Faith.* Thirdly, That to ſave ſouls, *every man* is a *Prieſt:'* That is, the people are intereſted in the Chriſtian Miniſtry, which is not tied to times, places, perſons and orders, as under the law; but free to all that have obtained mercy and grace from God. And therefore Peter calls the believers, 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. "an holy and royal Prieſthood." So that every believer is a prieſt to himſelf under the Goſpel. But all this I have mentioned with deſign, if it be poſſible, to beat men off that ſuperſtitious and dangerous veneration they carry to the names of *Church, Prieſthood,* and *Fathers;* as if they were to be ſaved by *them,* and not by *Chriſt,* who is the "Only Head and Saviour of the True Church, and God over all, bleſſed for ever." And truly, when I conſider the wide dependance ſome people have upon the Church, whilſt they know not *what* ſhe *is,* and make it a principle *not to inquire,* I am amazed, and often ſtruck with horror, to obſerve with what confidence they expoſe their ſouls. This principle it is, and not *Inquiry,*

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But to proceed to thoſe ſcriptures that are irreconcileable to *implicit Faith* and *blind obedience*: "He that believeth, hath the witneſs in himſelf," 1 John v. 10. This general rule reſpects no perſons: It is the reſult of the Holy Ghoſt to all believers. 'Such have no need to go to *Rome*, nor *Winifred*'s *Well*, to the *Shrines* of *Saints*, the *Prieſts*, nor the *Church*,' for a proof of their faith. They have an evidence nearer home: They have the witneſs of their faith, and the reaſon of their hope, in themſelves.

It is true, this is a *private* judge; but (as it happens) it is one of the *Holy Ghoſt*'s ſetting up; of all things, I confeſs, moſt deſtructive to *Papacy*, no doubt; for there is a judge in every man, that ſincerely believes, to whom he muſt ſtand or fall in this and the other world. For, ſaith the apoſtle, "If our heart condemn us, God "is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things: Beloved, if our heart condemn "us not, then have we confidence towards God," 1 John iii. 20, 21. That is, 'The Witneſs in ourſelves diſcharges us.' "The Spirit beareth witneſs with our "ſpirits, that we are the children of God;" Rom. viii. 16. and Sons of the True Church: Not ſhe that hath fatted herſelf with the fleſh of the ſaints, and dyed her garments in the blood of martyrs, who hath merchandized in the ſouls of men; but of that Church which is crowned with Stars, and cloathed with the Sun, and has the Moon under her feet. A Church of *Light* and *Knowledge*, of *Underſtanding* and *Truth*, and not of *implicit faith* and *blind obedience*: One that tramples upon all ſublunary glory; and not ſhe that makes her pretences to Religion a decoy to catch the Empire of the World.

Of like tendency is that notable paſſage of the apoſtle Paul to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xiii. v. "Examine yourſelves, whether ye be in faith; prove your own ſelves: "Know ye not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be reprobates?" Here is not a word of the Pope, nor an external judge! no human inquiſition or authority. "Examine yourſelves, whether ye be in the faith? Prove "your own ſelves:" But which way ſhall we do this? By Chriſt, who is the *Great Light*, that ſhines in our hearts, to give us the knowledge of God and ourſelves: "He that believes in him, has the witneſs in himſelf;" he is no reprobate; his heart "condemns him not."

To which I will add another paſſage to the ſame purpoſe, in his epiſtle to the Galatians, Gal. vi. 4, 5. "But let every man prove his own work; then ſhall he have re-"joicing in himſelf alone, and not in another: For every man ſhall bear his own bur-"den." Here every man is enjoined to turn inquiſitor upon himſelf; and the reaſon rendered ſhews the juſtice of the thing; 'becauſe my rejoicing muſt be in myſelf alone, and 'not in another, I ſtand and fall to *no* man; ſuch as I ſow, I muſt reap at the hand 'of God,' if Paul ſay true. Mens pardons are vain, and their indulgences fictitious; "For every man ſhall bear his own burden, in that great day of the Lord." It cannot therefore be reaſonably thought that another man ſhould have the keeping of my Underſtanding at my eternal coſt and charge; or that I muſt entirely depend upon the judgment of a man, or men, who erring, (and thereby cauſing me to err) cannot be damned for me, but I muſt pay their reckoning at the hazard of my own damnation.

I am not unacquainted with the great objection that is made by Roman Catholicks, and ſome Proteſtants too, High Church-men perhaps, that love the treaſon, but hate the traitor; that like *this* part of Popery, but hate the *Pope*, viz. 'There are 'doubts in ſcripture, even about the moſt important Points of Faith: Somebody muſt 'guide the weak; there muſt be ſome One ultimate, external, and viſible Judge to 'appeal to, who muſt determine and conclude all perſons, as to their doubts and ap-'prehenſions concerning the Interpretation of Scripture; otherwiſe, So many *Men*, ſo 'many *Minds*; the Church would be filled with controverſy and confuſion.'

I anſwer, That the ſcriptures are made more doubtful than they are, by ſuch as would fain preſerve to themſelves the umpirage and judgeſhip of their meaning. I deny it, in point of fact, that man's duty is not *moſt plainly* expreſſed in all that con-

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concerns Eternal Salvation. But it is very ſtrange, that when God intends nothing more by the ſcriptures, than to reach the Capacities of men as to things on which their eternal ſalvation depends, that no book, if ſuch men ſay true, ſhould be ſo obſcure, or ſubject to ſo many various, nay contradictory, conſtructions. Name me one author, *Heathen*, *Jew*, or *Chriſtian*, that ever wrote with that obſcurity and ſeeming inconſiſtency, which ſome gladly pretend to find in the Holy Scripture, that they might have the uſe and keeping of them from the Vulgar, and make their own ends by it. Is, then, *every body*'s book to be underſtood but *God*'s? Was that writ not to be *underſtood?* In ſhort, one of theſe two things muſt be true; 'Either that God intended '*not* to be underſtood, or *to* be underſtood, in what he commanded to be written.' If he reſolved *not* to be underſtood, it had been better there had been nothing writ; for then there had been no doubts about the meaning of it: But if it was his purpoſe *to be* underſtood of men, it muſt be ſuppoſed that what he cauſed to be written, was plain enough for men to underſtand, or he miſſed his own aim and end, and writ it to no purpoſe; which were too low and abſurd a thought of the infinite Goodneſs and Wiſdom.

If it ſhould be told me, 'That it is not denied but that the Scriptures may be un'derſtood by *ſome* body, but not by *every* body; for that the Great, Viſible Judge 'muſt *needs* underſtand them, becauſe it belongs to his office to *reſolve* thoſe doubts, 'and *determine* thoſe controverſies that may ariſe about underſtanding them; but not 'every one that *reads* them.'

Anſ. I muſt alſo ſay, that this is not true in fact: For it is ridiculous to imagine, that Luke did not make Theophilus *his own judge* in the reading of what he *writ* to him; or that the apoſtles, in writing to the ſeveral churches, as Rome, Corinth, Epheſus, &c. to whom they directed their epiſtles, did not intend that they ſhould *underſtand* what they writ; or that they erected any ſuch officer in the church, as an *expounder* of their epiſtles to the aſſembly to be neceſſarily believed. For we know, in thoſe days, the *People* made the Church; *they* were the κληρός, the *Clergy*, however it came about that it be now engroſſed into fewer hands; as you may ſee in the Greek of Peter, 1 Pet. v. 4. Μηδ᾽ ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων; which κλήρων, is tranſlated *Heritage* in all our Bibles. But this is as if the *Prieſts* only were the Lord's *Heritage*; which cannot be, for a reaſon obvious to all; namely, that they have long reigned as *Lords* over God's Heritage, or Clergy, forbid expreſly by Peter; therefore *not* the Heritage and Clergy over which they ſo *rule* like lords; by no means.. I will ſay no more but this, it is no convincing proof to me of their humility. But to ſhut up this argument about the difficulty of underſtanding the ſcripture, and pretended neceſſity of a viſible judge; I ſay, 'Whatſoever may be *ſpoken*, may be *written*:' Or thus; 'Whatſoever a viſible judge 'can now *ſay*, the holy penmen, by God's direction, might have *written*:' And what an Omniſcient and Omnipotent God did *know*, and could *do*, for man's ſalvation, an Omnibenevolent God, that tells us, "He delights not in the death of one ſoul, but "rather that he ſhould be ſaved," would certainly have *done* for man. And becauſe God is as Omnibenevolent, as Omniſcient and Omnipotent, we muſt conclude he *has* done it: And it is great preſumption, and a mean ſhelter to ignorance or ambition, to raiſe a credit to human devices, by beating down the true value of the ſcriptures.

'They are *dark*:' What follows? 'They muſt not be read?' What follows then? *Why then ſuch teachers may do as they liſt with the people.* But did the Phariſees, with their broad phylacteries, know God's mind better than the Prophets? Or could they deliver it clearer? No ſuch matter: It is by the ſame ſtrange figure, that the *Schoolmen* know the mind of Chriſt better than the *Apoſtles*; and that the *Council* of *Trent* can declare Faith more clearly than the *Holy Ghoſt* in the Scripture hath done: And yet this is the Engliſh of their doctrine, that hold to us *thoſe* lights to read the Scripture by; and that would have us ſearch their *Canons* and *Decrees*, to find out the Mind of the *Holy Ghoſt* in Scripture.

The confuſions that are pretended to follow ſuch an inquiry, are but the wretched arts of ſelfiſh men, as much as in them lies, to keep *Light* and *Truth* out of the world. When the net was caſt into the ſea, there came ſome good, ſome bad fiſh; it was not the *Fiſherman*'s fault they were no better. Enquiry is not to be blamed, for the ill uſe weak, or worſe men, make of it. The Bereans might not all *believe*, though they might all *ſearch*; for men do not enquire with equal wiſdom, love, and good deſire. "Some ſeek and find not, ſome aſk and receive not;" James iv. 3. Muſt none therefore aſk or ſeek after that which is good? Or, becauſe ſome aſk or ſeek amiſs, will it follow that the thing itſelf is naught? If ſuperſtition, error, idolatry, and ſpiritual tyranny be detected, and truth diſcovered, will it not more than make amends for all that weakneſs and folly ſome men have brought forth by the liberty of ſuch an enquiry? The enemies of *Light* may be as rhetorical as they pleaſe upon the exceſs or preſumption of ſome, bolder than wiſe, and more zealous than knowing; but if they had nothing to loſe by the diſcovery, they would never be the enemies of a *Chriſtian Search*. It is to be feared, ſuch get that obedience and ſubjection by a blind devotion, which no man

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But this notion of an infallible viſible judge, is as falſe in Reaſon as in Fact. For, firſt, it takes away the *Uſe* of every man's *Reaſon*; and it is a contradiction to have any, unleſs he were ſuch an interpreter, and ſuch a judge, as would conclude us by Conviction, and not by Authority: That would be the moſt welcome perſon in the world. But to over-rule my own Sight, to give the lie to my own Underſtanding, ſay, *Black* is *White*, and that *Two* and *Three* make *Ten*; thus *ſubjugare intellectum in obſequium fidei*; to yield my Underſtanding to ſuch an *in-evident* way of faith, nay, which is worſe, to believe a *Lye*, (for ſo it is to them, to whom the thing to be believed appears untrue) is moſt unreaſonable.

If we muſt be *led*, it had been eaſier for us to have been born *blind*; we might then have better followed the *Dog* and the *Bell*; for we could not mend ourſelves: But to *ſee*, and to be *led*, and that in ways we ſee to be foul or *wrong*, this is anxious. Here lies the diſpute: And truly here the queſtion might fairly end, 'Either *put out* our Eyes, or let us *uſe* them." But if we have eyes for our *Minds* as well as for our Bodies, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould truſt any man, or men, againſt the *Eyes* of our *Underſtanding*, any more than we ought to confide in them againſt the ſenſe and certainty of the eyes of our bodies.

Where is the pooreſt mechanick that would be paid for his labour in baſe coin for ſilver, by either Pope or Biſhop? And can we be ſo brutiſh, as to think our *nobler part* void of diſtinction, about that *Treaſure* which is of *eternal moment*? For though Peter was to *feed* the ſheep, yet the ſheep were not to *follow* Peter, but Chriſt. "My ſheep hear my voice," ſays he, "and follow *me*, and a ſtranger they will not follow," John x. 14. Here is no mediator betwixt Chriſt and his ſheep; nor does any body elſe hear his voice *for* them; but they hear his voice *themſelves*. And though the Shepherd may have many ſervants, yet "*He only* is their ſhepherd, and they are only the ſheep of *his* fold."

But there are three places of ſcripture, that come freſh into my remembrance, that are very pertinent to the preſent occaſion. The firſt is this, Rom. i. 19. "That which may be known of God, is manifeſt in men, for God hath ſhewed it unto them:" That is, "The *Spirit* of *Man*, being the *Candle* of the Lord," Prov. xx. 27. God hath *enlightened* it, to manifeſt unto man what is neceſſary for him to know both of God and himſelf. Here is no need of *Wax-Candles*, or *Tapers*, or a *Viſible Guide* and *Church*; for ſtill, "he that believes, has the witneſs in himſelf."

Another paſſage is this: "Be ye followers of me, even as I am alſo of Chriſt." 1 Cor. xi. 1. In which the apoſtle is ſo far from ſetting himſelf up a *Judge* over the church of Corinth, that he makes his appeal to them concerning his doctrine and converſation, regulating both by that of his *Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, and making them judges of the truth of his conformity to that example. "Be ye followers of me:" How? After what manner? What! *Abſolutely*, without *Examination*? Muſt we believe thee without any *Trial*, and take what thou ſayeſt for granted, without any more to do? No ſuch thing. "Be ye followers of me, even as *I alſo* am of *Chriſt*: I ſubmit myſelf to be judged by you according to that rule; and all men and churches are to be thus meaſured, that lay claim to the name of Chriſtian: The text will bear it.

The third paſſage is in his Second Epiſtle to the ſame Church of Corinth; it is this; 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2. "Therefore ſeeing we have this miniſtry, as we have received mercy, we faint not; but have renounced the hidden things of diſhoneſty, not walking in craftineſs, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but, by manifeſtation of the Truth, commending ourſelves to every man's conſcience in the ſight of God." Here is the utmoſt *Impoſition* the apoſtle makes us of: He requires not men to receive him without *Evidence*, and refers himſelf to that of their own *Conſciences* in the *Sight* of *God*. This was the way of making Chriſtians then; it muſt be the way of keeping and making men Chriſtians now.

Conſcience, in the beſt ſenſe of the word, has ever been allowed to be a bond upon men in all religions: But that religion, whoever holds it, which, under pretence of Authority, would ſuperſede *Conſcience*, and inſtead of making men better (the End of Religion) make them worſe, by confounding all ſenſe and diſtinction betwixt Good and Evil, and reſolving all into an *implicit faith* and *blind obedience* unto the commands of a *viſible* guide and judge, is falſe; it cannot be otherwiſe. For to admire what men do not know, and to make it a principle not to enquire, is the laſt mark of folly in the believer, and of impoſture in the impoſer. To be ſhort, a *Chriſtian* implies a *Man*; and a *Man* implies *Conſcience* and *Underſtanding*: But he that has *no* Conſcience nor Underſtanding

ing, (as he has not, that has delivered them up to the will of *another man*) is no *Man*, and therefore no *Chriſtian*.

I do beſeech you Proteſtants, of all ſorts, to conſider of the danger of this principle, with reſpect to Religion. Of old it was the *Fool* that ſaid in his heart, “ there is no “ God?” But now, upon this principle, men muſt be made *Fools*, in order to *believe* there is one. Shall *Folly*, which is the *Shame*, if not the *Curſe* of Man, be the Perfection of a *Chriſtian?* Chriſt, indeed, has adviſed us to become as “ little children,” but never to become ſuch *Fools*; for, as the proverb is, this is to be led by the *Noſe*, and not by our *Wits*. You know that God hates the “ Sacrifices of fools;” Eccleſ. v. 1. “ I will pray with the Spirit and with the Underſtanding alſo,” ſaith the Apoſtle. 1 Cor. xiv. Let us commend that teſtimony, which we believe to be true, to the Conſciences of men, and let them have the Goſpel privilege of *Examination*. *Error only* loſes upon *Trial*. If this had been the way to Chriſtianity, (with reverence be it ſpoken) God had not made our condition better, but worſe; for this tranſlates our faith and dependance upon *God*, to *Man*; and the poſſibility, if not probability, of man's erring, expoſes us to a greater inſecurity than before: For where I never *truſted*, I never could be *deceived*: But if I muſt abandon *my own* ſenſe and judgment, and yield myſelf up to the faith and authority of *another* (to ſay no more of the blindneſs and lameneſs of ſuch belief and devotion) what *ſecurity* can I have, that the man or men whom I truſt, may not *err*, and *deceive* me? And that deceit is irreparable.

Again; ſince man is a *reaſonable* creature, and that the *more* reaſonable he is in his Religion, the *nearer* to his own *being* he *comes*, and to the wiſdom and truth of his Creator, that did ſo make him; a Religion without Reaſon, impoſed by an unaccountable Authority, *againſt* Reaſon, Senſe and Conviction, cannot be the Religion of the God of *Truth* and *Reaſon*: For it is not to be thought that he requires any thing that carries any Violence upon the *Nature* of his *Creature*, or that gives the *Lye* to that *Reaſon* or *Senſe* with which he firſt endowed him. In ſhort, either convince my *Underſtanding* by the Light of *Truth* and Power of *Reaſon*, or bear down my infidelity with the force of Miracles: For not to give me Underſtanding or Faith, and to preſs a Submiſſion that requires *both*, is moſt unreaſonable.

But if there were no other argument than this, it goes a great way with me; That as to ſuch as have their *Underſtanding* at *liberty*, if they are miſtaken, there may be hopes of reclaiming them, by *informing* them: But where the Underſtanding and Conſcience are enſlaved to Authority, and where men make it a principal doctrine, to ſuſpect their own *Senſe*, and ſtrive againſt their own *Convictions*; to move only by *other* mens breath, and fall down to *their* concluſions; nothing ſeems to be left for the *ſoundeſt arguments*, and *cleareſt truths*, to work upon. They had almoſt need to be *recreated*, in order to be converted; for who can reaſonably endeavour to make him a *Chriſtian*, that is not a *Man*; which he cannot be truly ſaid to be, who has no *Underſtanding*, or reſolves not to *uſe* it, but *reject* it, which is yet worſe: For he that has no Underſtanding, has no Prejudice againſt it; but he that purpoſely denies and abuſes it, is ſo much worſe, as that he turns enemy to him that has and uſes his underſtanding. He, therefore, can never be convinced of his error, who is prejudiced againſt the *neceſſary Means* of *Conviction*, which is the *Uſe* of his *Underſtanding*; without which it is impoſſible he ſhould ever be convinced.

To conclude, I have reſerved, till laſt, one argument, which is *ad hominem*, unanſwerable by us Proteſtants; and without yielding to which, we cannot be conſiſtent with ourſelves, or be thought to do unto others what we would have others do unto us; and that is this. The *Tranſlation* of the *Scripture* was the painful work of our *Anceſtors*; and this I call their moſt ſolemn *Appeal* to the *People*, againſt the *Pope* and *Traditions* of *Rome*, in the buſineſs of their *Separation*. For when the queſtion aroſe of the Divine Authority of this or the other practice in the doctrine or worſhip of the Roman Church, preſently they recurred to the *Scriptures*, and therefore made them ſpeak *Engliſh*, that they might witneſs for them to the People. This appeal to the people, in defence of their ſeparation, by making *them* judges of their proceeding againſt the *Church*, according to the teſtimony of the Holy Scripture, puts every man in poſſeſſion of them. ‘ Search the ſcriptures,’ ſay the firſt Proteſtants; ‘ prove all things; ſee if ‘ what we ſay againſt the Pope and Church of Rome be not true.’ And in caſe any difficulty did ariſe, they exhorted all to *wait* upon God, for the divine aid of his *Spirit*, to illuminate their *Underſtandings*, that one ſhould not *impoſe* upon the other, but commend them to God: ‘ Be brotherly, patient, long-ſuffering, ready to help the ‘ weak, inform the ignorant, ſhew tenderneſs to the miſtaken, and with reaſon and mo‘ deration to gain the obſtinate.’ In ſhort, *Proteſtancy* is a reſtoring to every man his *juſt Right* of *Inquiry* and *Choice*: And, to its honour be it ever ſpoken, there is a greater likelihood of *finding* truth, where all have liberty to *ſeek* after it, than where it is denied to all, but a few grandees, and thoſe too as ſhort-ſighted as their neighbours. But now let us Proteſtants examine, if we have not departed from this ſobriety, this chriſtian temperance? How comes it that we, who have been forgiven much, have

1679. ourſelves fallen upon our fellow-ſervants, who yet owe us nothing? Have not we refuſed them this reaſonable Choice? Have we not threatened, beaten and impriſoned them? Pray conſider, have you not made *Creeds*, framed *Faiths*, formed and regulated a *Worſhip*; and ſtrictly enjoined all mens *Obedience*, by the help of the *Civil Power*, upon pain of great ſufferings, which have not been ſpared upon Diſſenters; though they have been, in common, Renouncers and Proteſters with you, againſt the Pope and Church of Rome. For this the land mourns, Heaven is diſpleaſed, and all is out of due courſe.

To give us the Scriptures, and knock our fingers for *taking* them; to tranſlate them that we may *read* them, and puniſh us for endeavouring to *underſtand* and uſe them as well as we *can*, both with reſpect to God and our neighbour, is very unreaſonable upon our Proteſtant principles. I wiſh we could ſee the miſchief we draw upon ourſelves, and, which is worſe, upon our cauſe; for the Papiſt, in this caſe, acts according to his principle, but we againſt our principle; which ſhews, indeed, that we profeſs the better religion, but that we alſo are more condemnable. If we will conſider it ſeriouſly, we ſhall find it not much more injurious to ſcripture, truth and good conſcience, that we believe as the *Church* believes, than that we believe as the church ſays the *Scripture* would *have us* believe. For where is the difference, ſince I am not allowed to uſe my *Underſtanding* about the *Senſe* of Scripture, any more than about the *Faith* of the *Church*? And if I muſt not receive any thing for faith or worſhip from ſcripture, but what is *handed* to me through the *meanings* of the Church, or her Clergy, I ſee myſelf in as ill terms, as if I had ſat down with the old doctrine of believing as the *Church* believes. And had the controverſy been only for the word *Scripture*, without the *Uſe* and *Application* of it, (for, at this rate, that is all that is left us) truly the enterpriſe of our fathers had been weak and unadviſed: But becauſe nothing leſs was intended by them, and that the Tranſlation of the Scripture was both the *Appeal* and *Legacy* of thoſe Proteſtant Anceſtors; for the reaſons before-mentioned, I muſt conclude we are much degenerated from the ſimplicity of primitive Proteſtancy, and need to be admoniſhed of our backſlidings: And I heartily pray to Almighty God, that he would quicken us, by his repeated mercies and providences, to return to our firſt love, to the Light and Spirit of his Son, that we may become Sons indeed; the ground of true Chriſtianity, and from whence the true miniſtry hath its ſpring, which is open and free to thoſe that are proficients in that holy ſchool.

Let the ſcriptures be free, ſober opinion tolerated, good life cheriſhed, vice puniſhed: Away with impoſition, nick-names, animoſities, for the Lord's ſake; and let the Scripture be our Common Creed, and Pious Living the Teſt of Chriſtianity, that God may pleaſe to perfect his good work of Grace he has begun, and deliver us from all our enemies, both within and without.

SECT. VI.

Of the Propagation of Faith by Force.

I Am now come to the laſt point, and that is, Propagation of Faith by Force: In which I ſhall, with the Eccleſiaſtick, conſider the Civil Magiſtrate's ſhare herein: For though the Churchmen are principally guilty; who being profeſſed miniſters of a religion which renounces and condemns force, excite the civil magiſtrate to uſe it, both to impoſe their own belief, and ſuppreſs that of other men; yet the civil magiſtrate, in running upon their errands, and turning executioner of their cruelty upon ſuch as diſſent from them, involves himſelf in their guilt.

That in this proteſtant country laws have been made to proſecute men for their diſſent from the national worſhip, and that thoſe laws have been executed, I preſume will not be denied: For not only our own hiſtories ſince the Reformation will furniſh us with inſtances unbecoming our pretences, as the caſe of Barrow, Penrey, &c. in Queen Elizabeth's time, and others in the reign of King James and Charles the Firſt, but our own age abounds with proofs. ‘Thouſands have been excommunicated and impriſoned; whole families undone; not a bed left in the houſe, not a cow left in the field, nor any corn in the barn: Widows and orphans ſtripped without pity, no regard being had to age or ſex: And what for? Only becauſe of their meeting to worſhip God after another manner than according to the form of the Church of England; but yet in a very peaceable way.’

Nor have they only ſuffered this by laws intended againſt them, but, after an exceſſive rate, by laws known to have been never deſigned againſt them, and only intended againſt the *Papiſts*: And in theſe caſes four times the value hath not ſerved their turn. We can prove *Sixty pounds* taken for *Thirteen*, and not one penny returned, as we made appear before a Committee of the late Parliament, which is the penalty of *four* offences for *one*; to ſay nothing of the groſs abuſes that have been committed againſt our names and perſons, by men of ill fame and life, that have taken the advantage of our tenderneſs, and the preſent poſture of the law againſt us, to have their revengeful and covetous ends upon us. And tho' we are yet unredreſſed, not a Seſſion of Parliament has paſt theſe *Seventeen* years, in which we have not humbly remonſtrated our ſuffering condition: We have done our part, which has been patiently to ſuffer, and modeſtly to complain: It is yours now to hear our groans, and, if ever you expect mercy from God, to deliver us. The late parliament, juſt before its diſſolution, was preparing ſome relief for us; if that parliament could think of it, yea, begin it, we hope you will finiſh and ſecure it.

The better to remove all ſcruples or objections, that politically or eccleſiaſtically, on the part of the State or the Church, may be advanced againſt us in this requeſt, I ſhall divide this diſcourſe into two parts: Firſt, *Cæſar*'s *Authority*; next, the *Church*'s *Power* in things that relate to *Faith* and *Conſcience*; with my conſiderations upon both.

* Our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, did long ſince diſtinguiſh the *Things* of *Cæſar* from the *Things* of *God*, in his plain and notable anſwer unto that inſnaring queſtion of the Jews, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæſar, or not? Render," ſays he, "unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to God the things that are God's:" That is, *Divine Worſhip*, and all things relating to it, belong unto God; *Civil Obedience* to *Cæſar*. God only can be the author of right acts of worſhip in the mind: This is granted by all; therefore it is not in the power of any man or men in the world, to compel the mind rightly to worſhip God. Where this is but attempted, God's prerogative is invaded, and *Cæſar*, (by which word I underſtand the *Civil Government*) engroſſeth *all*. For he doth not only take his *own* things as much as he can, but the things appertaining to *God* alſo; ſince if God hath not *Conſcience* for his ſhare, he hath nothing. "My kingdom," ſays Chriſt, "is not of *this* world;" nor is the Magiſtrate's kingdom of the *other* world: Therefore he exceeds his province and commiſſion whenever he meddles with the rights of it. Let Chriſt have his kingdom, he is ſufficient for it; and let Cæſar have his, it is his due. "Give unto Cæſar the things that "*are* Cæſar's, and to God the things that are God's." Then there are things that belong *not* to Cæſar, and we are not to give thoſe to him which belong not to him; and ſuch are *God*'s things, *divine* things, things of an eternal reference: But thoſe that belong to Cæſar and his earthly kingdom, muſt be, of duty, rendered to him.

Mat. xxii. 17, 21.

John xi. 38.

If any ſhall aſk me, 'What are the things properly belonging to Cæſar?' I anſwer, in ſcripture language, "To love juſtice, do judgment, relieve the oppreſſed, right the "fatherleſs, and in general be a terror unto evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well:" For this is the great end of magiſtracy; and in theſe things they are to be obeyed, of conſcience as well as intereſt.

But perhaps my anſwer will be reckoned too general and ambiguous, and a freſh queſtion ſtarted, 'Who are the Evil-doers, to whom the Civil Authority ought to be 'terrible?' But this ought, in my judgment, to be no queſtion with men that underſtand the nature of civil authority; for thoſe are the evil-doers that violate thoſe laws which are neceſſary to the preſervation of civil ſociety; as Thieves, Murderers, Adulterers, Traitors, Plotters, Drunkards, Cheats, Vagabonds, and the like miſchievous and diſſolute perſons: Men void of virtue, truth and ſincerity; the foundation of all good government, and only firm bond of human ſociety. Whoever denies me this, muſt at the ſame time ſay, that *Virtue* is leſs neceſſary to *Government* than *Opinion*, and that the moſt *vitiated* men, profeſſing but Cæſar's *Religion*, are the *beſt* ſubjects to Cæſar's *Authority*; conſequently, that other men, living ever ſo honeſtly and induſtriouſly, and having elſe as good a claim to civil protection and preferment, ſhall, merely for their diſſent from that religion, (a thing they cannot help, for "Faith is the gift of God,") be reputed the worſt of evil-doers; which is followed with expoſing their names to obloquy, their eſtates to ruin, and their perſons to goals, exiles, and abundance of other cruelties. What is this, but to confound the Things of *Cæſar* with the Things of *God*, Divine Worſhip with Civil Obedience, the Church with the State, and perplex human ſocieties with endleſs debates about religious differences? Nay, is not this to erect *new* meaſures to try the members of Worldly Societies by, and give an acceſſion to *another* power, than that which is neceſſary to the Conſtitution of Civil Government? But that which ought to deter wiſe rulers from aſſuming and exerciſing ſuch an authority, is the conſideration of the pernicious conſequences of doing ſo. For,

I. It makes *Property*, which is the firſt and moſt fixed part of Engliſh Government, floating and uncertain; for, it ſeems, no Conformity to the *Church*, no Property in the *State*: And, doubtleſs, the Inſecurity of Property can be no Security to the Government: Pray think of that.

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* Note, The greateſt part of what follows in this ſection, was firſt printed by way of Appendix to the "Continued Cry of the Oppreſſed for Juſtice," Anno 1675.

II. It makes me owe more to the Church than to the State: For in this caſe, the anchor I ride by, is not my obedience to laws relating to the preſervation of Civil Society, but conformity to certain things belonging to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church: So that though I may be an honeſt, induſtrious Engliſhman, a great lover of my country, and an admirer of the government I live under, yet if I refuſe to profeſs the religion that either now is, or hereafter may be impoſed, be it ever ſo falſe, that is all one, I muſt neither enjoy the liberty of my perſon, nor the quiet poſſeſſion of my eſtate.

III. This not only alters the Government, by ſacrificing mens properties for that which cannot be called a ſin againſt property, nor an offence to the nature of civil government, if any tranſgreſſion at all; but it narrows the intereſt and power of the Governors: For look what number they cut off from their protection, they cut off from themſelves and the government; not only rendering thereby a great body of people uſeleſs, but provoking them to be dangerous: To be ſure it clogs the civil magiſtrate in his adminiſtration of government, making that neceſſary which is not at all neceſſary to him as *Cæſar*.

It is a ſort of Duumvirateſhip in Power, by which the Civil Monarchy is broken: For as that was a Plurality of *Men*, ſo this is a Plurality of *Powers*. And, to ſpeak freely, the Civil Power is made to act the Lackey, to run of all the unpleaſant errands the froward zeal of the other ſends it upon; and the beſt preferment it receives for its pains, is to be *Informer*, *Conſtable*, or *Hangman* to ſome of the beſt Livers, and therefore the beſt Subjects, in the kingdom.

O! What greater injuſtice to Cæſar, than to make his government vary by ſuch modes of religion; and oblige him to hold his obedience from his people, not ſo much by their conformity to *him*, as to the *Church*; a mere relative of the other world.

IV. This is ſo far from reſembling the univerſal goodneſs of God, who diſpenſes his light, air, ſhowers and comfortable ſeaſons to *all*, and whom Cæſar ought always to imitate, and ſo remote from increaſing the *Trade*, *Populouſneſs*, and *Wealth* of this kingdom, as that it evidently tends to the utter ruin of thouſands of *Traders*, *Artiſicers*, and *Huſbandmen*, and their families; and, by increaſing the Charges, it muſt needs increaſe the Poor of the nation.

V. This muſt needs be a great diſcouragement to ſtrangers from coming in, and ſettling themſelves amongſt us, when they have reaſon to apprehend that they, and their children after them, can be no longer ſecured in the enjoyment of their *Properties*, than they ſhall be able to prevail with their conſciences to believe, ‘ That the *Religion* which our laws do now, or ſhall at any time hereafter, approve and impoſe, is ‘ undoubtedly *true*; and that the *Way* of *worſhipping God*, which ſhall be at any time ‘ by our laws enjoined, is, and ſhall be, more agreeable to the will of God, than any ‘ other way in which God is worſhipped in the world.’

VI. That Way of Worſhip we are commanded conformity to, doth not make *better livers*, that is a demonſtration; nor *better artiſts*; for it cannot be thought that going to *Church*, hearing *Common-prayer*, or believing in the preſent *Epiſcopacy*, teach men to build *ſhips* or *houſes*; to make *clothes*, *ſhoes*, *dials* or *watches*; *buy*, *ſell*, *trade*, or *commerce*, *better* than any that are of *another* perſuaſion. And ſince theſe things are *uſeful*, if not *requiſite*, in Civil Society, is not prohibiting, nay ruining, ſuch men, becauſe they will not come to hear Common-Prayer, &c. *deſtructive* of Civil Society? Pray ſhew me better ſubjects. If any object, ‘ Diſſenters have not always been ſo;’ the anſwer is ready, ‘ Do not expoſe them; protect them in their lives, liberties and ‘ eſtates; for in this preſent poſture they think they can call nothing their own, and ‘ that all the comforts they have in this world, are hourly liable to forfeiture, for their ‘ faith, hope and practice concerning the other world.’ Is not this to deſtroy Nature and Civil Government, when people are ruined in their natural and civil capacity, not for things relating to either, but which are of a ſupernatural import?

VII. This deprives them of protection, who protect the government. Diſſenters have a great ſhare in the *Trade*, which is the greatneſs of this kingdom; and they make a large proportion of the *Taxes* that maintain the government. And is it reaſonable, or can it be chriſtian, when they *pay tribute* to *Cæſar*, to be preſerved in an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the *reſt*, that the *reſt* ſhould be continually expoſed for the peaceable exerciſe of their conſciences to God?

VIII. Neither is it a conformity to True and Solid Religion, ſuch as is neceſſary to eternal ſalvation, wherein moſt parties verbally agree, but for a Modification of Religion; ſome peculiar way of worſhip and diſcipline. ‘ All confeſs One God, One ‘ Chriſt, One Holy Ghoſt, and that it is indiſpenſably requiſite to live ſoberly, righteouſ- ‘ ly, and godly in this preſent evil world,’ 2 Tit. xi. 12. yet is one proſecuting the other for his conſcience, ſeizing corn, driving away cattle, breaking open doors, taking away and ſpoiling of goods; in ſome places not leaving a cow to give poor orphans milk, nor a bed to lie on; in other places houſes have been ſwept ſo clean, that a ſtool hath not been left to ſit on, nor ſo much as working tools to labour for bread. To ſay nothing of the opprobrious ſpeeches, bloody blows, and tedious impriſonments, even to death itſelf, through naſtineſs of dungeons, that many innocent people have ſuffered only for their peaceable conſcience.

IX. But this way of proceeding for maintenance of the national religion, is of an ill conſequence upon this account, that Heaven is barred, as much as in men lies, from all farther illuminations. Let God ſend what Light he pleaſes into the world, it muſt not be received by Cæſar's people, without Cæſar's licence; and if it happen that Cæſar be not preſently convinced, as well as I, that it is of God, I muſt either renounce my convictions, and loſe my ſoul to pleaſe *Cæſar*, or profeſs and perſevere in my perſuaſion, and ſo loſe my life, liberty or eſtate, to pleaſe *God*. This hath frequently occurred, and may again. Therefore I would intreat Cæſar to conſider the ſad conſequence of impoſition, and remember both that God did never aſk man leave to introduce truth, or make farther diſcoveries of his mind to the world; and that it hath been a woful ſnare to thoſe governments that have been drawn to employ their power againſt his work and people.

X. This way of procedure endeavours to ſtifle, or elſe to puniſh, ſincerity; for fear or hopes, frowns or favour, prevail only with baſe minds; ſouls degenerated from true nobleneſs. Every ſpark of integrity muſt be extinguiſhed, where conſcience is ſacrificed to worldly ſafety and preferment. This net holds no temporizers: *Honeſt* men are all the fiſh it catches: But one would think they ſhould make but an ill treat to ſuch as reckon themſelves *generous* men, and, what is more, *Chriſtians* too. That which renders the matter more unjuſtifiable, is the temptation ſuch ſeverity puts men upon, not hardy enough to *ſuffer* for conſcience, yet ſtrongly perſuaded they have truth on their ſide, to deſert their principles, and ſmother their convictions; which, in plain terms, is to make of ſincere men, hypocrites: Whereas it is one great end of government, by all laudable means, to preſerve ſincerity; for without it there can be no faith or truth in civil ſociety. Nor is this all; for it is a maxim worthy of Cæſar's notice, 'Never to think him true to *Cæſar*, that is falſe to his own *Conſcience*:' Beſides, raped conſciences treaſure up Revenge; and ſuch perſons are not likely to be longer friends to Cæſar, than he hath preferments to allure them, or power to deter them from being his moſt implacable enemies.

XI. There is not ſo ready a way to Atheiſm, as this of extinguiſhing the *Senſe* of *Conſcience* for *Worldly Ends*: Deſtroy that *Internal Rule* of *Faith*, *Worſhip* and *Practice* towards *God*, and the reaſon of my religion will be Civil Injunctions, and not Divine Convictions; conſequently, I am to be of as many religions as the civil authority ſhall impoſe, however untrue or contradictory. This ſacred tye of conſcience, thus broken, farewel to all heavenly obligations in the ſoul, ſcripture-authority, and ancient proteſtant principles. Chriſt may at this rate become what the Jews would have had him and his apoſtles to be reputed, to wit, "Turners of the world up-ſide down," as their enemies repreſented them; and the godly martyrs of all ages, ſo many ſelf-murtherers; for they might juſtly be eſteemed reſiſters of worldly authority, ſo far as that authority concerned itſelf with the impoſition of religion, becauſe they refuſed the conformity commanded by it, even to death.

And it may not be unworthy of Cæſar's conſideration, that from theſe proceedings people are tempted to infer, there is nothing in religion but *Worldly Aims* and *Ends*; becauſe ſo much worldly power is abuſed, under the name of religion, to vex and deſtroy men for being of another religion; and that he hazards the beſt hold and obligation he hath to obedience, which is Conſcience. For where they are taught only to obey for intereſt, duty and conviction are out of doors. By all means let conſcience be ſacred, and virtue and integrity (though under diſſenting principles) cheriſhed: Charity is more powerful than Severity, and Perſuaſion than all the penal laws in the world.

Laſtly, To the reproach of this courſe with wiſe men, it hath never yet obtained the end deſired; ſince, inſtead of compliance, the difference is thereby widened, and the ſufferers are pitied by ſpectators, which only helps to increaſe the number of diſſenters; for whoever is in the wrong, few think the perſecutor in the right. This, in all ages, having been the iſſue of ſevere proſecution of diſſenters for matters of religion, what a cruel, troubleſome, thankleſs, ſucceſsleſs office is it for Cæſar to be employed in? May he take better meaſures of his authority and intereſt, and uſe his power to the encouragement of all the virtuous and induſtrious, and juſt puniſhment of the lazy and vicious in all perſuaſions; ſo ſhall the kingdom flouriſh, and the government proſper.

Church Power ſuppoſeth a *Church* firſt. It will not be improper therefore to examine; firſt, 'What a Scripture New-Teſtament-Church is;' and next, 'What is the Scripture Power belonging to ſuch a Church.' A Scripture-church, as ſhe may be called viſible, is a *Company* or *Society* of *People*, *believing*, *profeſſing* and *practiſing* according to the *Doctrine* and *Example* of *Chriſt Jeſus* and his *Apoſtles*, and not according

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a Mat. xi. 10.
b 1 Pet. iii. 2.
2 Cor. xi. 2.
c Phil. iv. 8.
1 Pet. iv. 15.
d Mat. xvi. 24.
e 2 Cor. iv. 6.
f Luke vi. 37.
g John xviii. 36.

to the Scribes and Phariſees, that “ taught for Doctrine the *Traditions* of *Men*.” They are ſuch as are meek in heart, lowly in ſpirit *(a)* chaſte in life, *(b)* virtuous in all converſation, *(c)* full of ſelf-denial, *(d)* long-ſuffering and patient, *(e)* not only forgiving, *(f)* but loving their very enemies; which anſwers Chriſt's own character of himſelf, religion and kingdom, which is the moſt apt diſtinction that ever can be given of the nature of his church and her authority, viz. *(g)* “ My kingdom is not of this world.” Which well connects with “ Render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and unto God the things that are God's.”

It was an anſwer to a very ſuſpicious queſtion; for it was familiarly bruited that he was a *King*, and came to *poſſeſs* his kingdom, and was, by ſome, called the *King* of the *Jews*.

The Jews being then ſubjected to the Roman Empire, it concerned Pilate, Cæſar's Deputy, to underſtand his pretenſions; which, upon better information, he found to center in this, “ My kingdom is not of this world, elſe would my ſubjects fight for me.” As if he had ſaid, ‘ Theſe reports are a mere perverſion of my peaceable and ſelf-denying intentions; an infamy invented by malicious Scribes and Phariſees, that they might the better prevail with Cæſar to ſacrifice me to their hatred and revenge.’

Titus ii. 12.

Mat. xxvi. 52.

Mat. xxvii. 20, 27, 29, 48.

‘ I am Cæſar's friend; I ſeek none of theſe kingdoms from him; nor will I ſow ſedition, plot or conſpire his ruin; no, let all men render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's: That's my doctrine; for I am come to erect a kingdom of another nature than that of this world, to wit, a *ſpiritual* kingdom, to be ſet up in the heart; and conſcience is my throne, upon that will I ſit, and rule the children of men in righteouſneſs; and whoever lives ſoberly, righteouſly and godlily in this world, ſhall be my good and loving ſubjects. And they will certainly make no ill ones for Cæſar, ſince ſuch virtue is the end of government, and renders his charge both more eaſy and ſafe than before. Had I any other deſign than this, would I ſuffer myſelf to be reproached, traduced and perſecuted by a conquered people? Were it not more my nature to ſuffer than revenge, would not their many provocations have drawn from me ſome inſtance of another kind than the forbearance and forgiveneſs I teach? Certainly, were I animated by another principle than the perfection of meekneſs and divine ſweetneſs, I ſhould not have forbidden Peter fighting, ſaying, “ Put up thy ſword,” or inſtructed my followers to bear wrongs; but have revenged all affronts, and, by plots and other ſtratagems, have attempted ruin to my enemies, and the acquiſition of worldly empire; and no doubt but they would have fought for me. Nay, I am not only patiently, and with pity to enemies, ſenſible of their cruel carriage towards me for my good-will to them, whoſe eternal happineſs I only ſeek; but I foreſee what they farther intend againſt me: They deſign to crucify me: And, to do it, will rather free a Murderer, than ſpare their Saviour. They will perform that cruelty with all the aggravation and contempt they can; deriding me themſelves, and expoſing me to the deriſion of others: They will mock my divine kingſhip with a crown of thorns, and in mine agonies of ſoul and body, for a cordial, give me gall and vinegar to drink. But, notwithſtanding all this, to ſatisfy the world that my religion is above wrath and revenge, I can forgive them.’

Luke xxiii. 34.
Mat. xxvi. 53.

Mat. v. 44. 45, 46, 47.

‘ And to ſecure Cæſar and his people from all fears of impoſition, notwithſtanding my authority, and the many legions of angels I might command, both to my deliverance, and the enforcement of my meſſage upon mankind; I reſolve to promote neither with worldly power; for it is not of the nature of my religion and kingdom. And as I neither aſſume nor practiſe any ſuch thing myſelf, that am the great author, promoter and example of this holy way; ſo have I not only never taught my diſciples to live or act otherwiſe, or given them a power I refuſe to uſe myſelf, but expreſly forbad them, and warned them, in my inſtructions, of exerciſing any the leaſt revenge, impoſition or coercion towards any. This is evident in my ſermon preached upon the Mount, where I freely, publickly, and with much plainneſs, not only prohibited *Revenge*, but enjoined *Love to Enemies*, making it to be a great token of true diſcipleſhip to ſuffer wrongs, and conquer cruelty by patience and forgiveneſs; which is certainly very far from impoſition or compulſion upon other men.

Luke ix. 53, 54, 55, 56.

‘ Furthermore, when I was ſtrongly bent for Jeruſalem, and ſent meſſengers before to prepare ſome entertainment for me and my company, in a village belonging to the Samaritans, and the people refuſed, becauſe they apprehended I was going to Jeruſalem, though ſome of my diſciples, particularly James and John, were provoked to that degree, that they aſked me, if I were willing that they ſhould command fire from heaven to deſtroy thoſe Samaritans, as Elias in another caſe had done; I turned about, and rebuked them, ſaying, “ Ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of; for I am not come into the world to deſtroy mens lives, but,” by my peaceable doctrine, example and life, “ to ſave them.”

Luke ix. 49, 50.

‘ At another time, one of my diſciples relating to me ſome paſſages of their travels, told me of a certain man they ſaw, that caſt out devils in my name; and becauſe he was not of their company, nor followed them, ſaid he, *we forbade him*; as if they thereby ſerved and pleaſed me; but I preſently teſtified my diſlike of the igno-

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'rance and narrowneſs of their zeal, and, to inform them better, told them, they ſhould not have forbid him; for he that is not *againſt us* is *for us*.'

'My drift is not *Opinion*, but *Piety*: They that caſt out devils, convert ſinners, and turn men to righteouſneſs, are not againſt me, nor the nature and religion of my kingdom, and therefore ought to be cheriſhed rather than forbid. That I might ſufficiently declare and inculcate my mind in this matter, I did at another time, and upon a different occaſion, preach againſt all Coercion and Perſecution for matters of Faith and Practice towards God, in my parable of the ſower, as my words manifeſt, which were theſe; "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which ſowed good ſeed in his field; but while men ſlept, his enemy came, and ſowed tares among the wheat, and went his way: But when the blade ſprung up, and brought forth fruit, there appeared the tares alſo; ſo the ſervants of the houſholder came and ſaid, Didſt thou not ſow good ſeed in thy field? From whence then hath it tares? He anſwered, An enemy hath done this: The ſervants ſaid unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he ſaid, Nay, leſt while ye gather up the tares, ye root up alſo the wheat with them; let both grow together till the harveſt, and in the time of harveſt I will ſay to the reapers, Gather ye together firſt the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them, but gather the wheat into my barn."

Mat. xiii. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.

'And that I might not leave ſo neceſſary a truth miſ-apprehended of my dear followers, or liable to any miſ-conſtructions, my diſciples, when together, deſiring an explanation, I interpreted my words thus:

"He that ſoweth the good ſeed is the Son of Man; the field is the world; the good ſeed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that ſowed them is the devil; the harveſt is the end of world; and the reapers are the angels."

ver. 37, 38, 39.

'This patience, this long-ſuffering and great forbearance belonging to my kingdom and the ſubjects of it, my doctrine ſpeaks it, and mine example confirms it; and this can have no poſſible agreement with impoſition and perſecution for conſcience. It is true, I once whipped *out* the profaners of my Father's temple; but I never whipped any *in*. I called, I cried to every one that thirſted to come, and freely offered my aſſiſtance to the weary and heavy-laden; but I never *impoſed* my help, or *forced* any to receive me; for I take not my kingdom by violence, but by ſuffering. And that I might ſufficiently deter my followers from any ſuch thing, as I profeſs myſelf to be their Lord and Maſter, ſo have I commanded them to *love* one another in a more eſpecial manner. But if, inſtead thereof, any ſhall grow proud, high-minded, and beat or abuſe their fellow-ſervants in my religious family, when I come to take an account of my houſhold, he ſhall be cut aſunder, and appointed his portion among the unbelievers. Behold the recompence I appoint to impoſing lordly perſons, ſuch as count others infidels; and, to make them ſuch believers as themſelves, will exerciſe violence towards them, and if they prevail not, will call for *Fire* from *Heaven* to *devour* them; and if Heaven refuſe to gratify their rage, will fall a beating and killing, and think, it may be, they do God good ſervice too; but their lot ſhall be with unbelievers for ever.'

John xv. 12.

'Nay, I have ſo effectually provided againſt all maſtery, that I expreſly charged them, not to be many Maſters; for *One* was their Maſter: I told them, the greateſt amongſt them was to be *ſervant* to the reſt, not to *impoſe* upon the reſt: Nay, that to be great in my kingdom, they muſt become as gentle and harmleſs as *little children*, and ſuch cannot *force* and *puniſh* in matters of religion. In fine, I ſtrictly commanded them to *love* one another, as I have loved *them*, who am ready to lay down my life for the ungodly, inſtead of taking away godly mens lives for Opinions. And this is the great maxim of my holy religion, "He that would be my diſciple, muſt (not crucify other men, but) take up his croſs and follow me, who am meek and lowly;" and ſuch as endure to the end, ſhall find eternal reſt to their ſouls: This is the power I uſe, and this is the power I give.'

How much this agrees with the language, doctrine and example of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son and Lamb of God, I ſhall leave them to conſider that read and believe ſcripture. But ſome, affected to preſent church-power, and deſiring their ruin that conform not to her worſhip and diſcipline, will object, 'That Chriſt did give his church power to bind and looſe, and bid any perſons aggrieved tell the church.'

I grant it; but what binding was that? Was it, I pray, with *outward* chains and fetters, in naſty holes and dungeons? Nothing leſs: Or was it that his church had that true *diſcerning* in her, and power with *him*, that what ſhe bound, that is, *condemned*, or looſed, that is *remitted*, ſhould ſtand ſo in God's ſight and Chriſt's account.

But tell the Church; and what then? Obſerve Chriſt's extent in the puniſhment of the offender: "If the offender will neither receive private admonition, nor hear the Church, then," ſays Chriſt, "let him be to thee as an Heathen," &c. Here is not one word of *Fines*, *Whips*, *Stocks*, *Pillories*, *Goals*, and the like inſtruments of cruelty, to puniſh the Heretick: For the purport of his words ſeems to be no more than this; ‘ If any member of the church refuſe thy private exhortation, and the church's admonition, look upon ſuch a perſon as obſtinate and perverſe; have no more to do with him; let him take his courſe; thou haſt done well, and the church is clear of him.’

Well, but ſay the Church-Fighters of our age, ‘ Did not St. Paul wiſh them cut
‘ off that troubled the church in his time?’ Yes: But with what ſword think you?
Mat. xxvi. 52. Such as Chriſt bid Peter *put up*, or the “ Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of
Eph. vi. 12, to the 18. “ God?” Give him leave to explain his own words; “ For though we walk in the
2 Cor. x. 3, 4, 5. “ fleſh, we do not war after the fleſh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal,
“ but mighty through God, to the pulling down of ſtrong-holds, caſting down imaginations,
1 Tim. i. 18. “ and every high thing that exalteth itſelf againſt the knowledge of God,
“ and bringing every thought into obedience to Chriſt.”

What think you of this? Here are warfares, weapons, oppoſitions and conformity, and not only no external force about matters of religion uſed or countenanced, but the moſt expreſs and pathetical excluſion and diſclaiming of any ſuch thing that can be given.

Rom. xiv. 4. It was this great apoſtle that aſked that queſtion, “ Who art thou that judgeſt the ſervant of another? To his own Lord he ſtandeth or falleth: But he ſhall ſtand; for God is able to make him ſtand.” Can we think that impoſition or perſecution is able to anſwer him this queſtion in the day of judgment? Do we with reaſon deny it to the *Papacy?* With what reaſon then can we aſſume it to *ourſelves?* Let us remember who ſaid, “ Not that we have Dominion over your *Faith*, but are helpers of your Joy.” *Helpers*, then not *Impoſers* nor *Perſecutors*. What joy can there be in that to the perſecuted? But if Paul had no ſuch commiſſion or power over conſcience, I would fain know by what authority more inferior miniſters and chriſtians do claim and uſe it.

1 Pet. v. 2, 3. The Apoſtle Peter is of the ſame mind; “ Feed,” ſays he, “ the flock of God,
Mat. xxiii. 8. “ not by *Conſtraint*, &c. neither as being *Lords* over God's heritage.” The heritage
of God is free; they have but One Lord in and of their religion, Chriſt Jeſus, and
they are Brethren.

2 Cor. iii. 7. The Apoſtle Paul ſays, “ That where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty;”
but where *Coercion*, *Fines* and *Goals* are, there is *no* liberty. Is it to be ſuppoſed that
men in theſe days are inſtructed by the Spirit of the Lord to deſtroy people in *this*
world for their Faith about the *other* world? That cannot poſſibly be; ſuch mock at
it. Again, ſays that Apoſtle to the Chriſtians of his time, “ You are called to liberty;”
Gal. v. 13. “ from what, I pray? “ Sin and the Ceremonies of the Law?” And ſhall the
end of that call be the enthralling conſcience to human edicts in religion, yea, about
mere ceremonies of religion, under the Goſpel? This would make our caſe worſe than
the Jews, for their worſhip ſtood on divine authority; and if Chriſt came to make men
free from them, and that thoſe very ordinances are by the Apoſtle called beggarly
elements and a burdenſome yoke, is it reaſonable that we muſt be ſubject to the Injunctions
of men in the worſhip of God, that are not of equal authority with them?

Rom. xiv. 9, 10. The apoſtle yet informs us, “ For this end,” ſays he, “ Chriſt both died and roſe again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living: But why doſt thou judge thy brother?” Than which nothing can more expreſly oppoſe the Impoſition, Excommunication, and Perſecution that are among us: It is as if he had ſaid, ‘ Chriſt is Lord of Chriſtians; by what authority doſt thou pretend to judge his ſervants? Thou alſo art but one of them: A brother at moſt. Thou haſt no dominion over their faith, nor haſt thou commiſſion to be Lord over their conſciences; it is Chriſt's right, his purchaſe, he has paid for it: “ For this end he both died and roſe again, that he might be Lord of dead and living;” that he might reſcue them from the jaws of oppreſſion, from thoſe that uſurp over their conſciences, and make a prey of their ſouls.’ “ But why doſt thou judge thy brother?” If not *judge*, then not *perſecute*, *plunder*, *beat*, *impriſon* to death our Brethren; that muſt needs follow. Come, let us Proteſtants look at home, and view our actions, if we are not the men.

Rom. xiv. 5. In ſhort, “ Let every man be fully perſuaded in his own mind; and if any thing be ſhort, God will reveal it:” Let us but be patient. It was not *Fleſh* and *Blood* that revealed *Chriſt* to *Peter*; they are Chriſt's words; therefore let us leave off the Conſultation and Weapons of Fleſh and Blood, and truſt Chriſt with his own kingdom: He hath ſaid, that the “ Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it;” and we cannot think that he would have us ſeek to Hell's Gates to maintain it: And if it is not of this world, then not to be maintained by Force and Policy, which are the props of the kingdoms of this world. “ God,” the Apoſtle tells us, “ has choſen the weak things of this world, to confound the mighty:” Therefore he has not choſen the ſtrength and power of this world, to ſuppreſs conſcientious people, that, as to human force, are juſtly accounted weakeſt and moſt deſtitute, in all ages, of defence.

I will here conclude my ſcripture-proofs with this exhortation, or injunction rather, of the apoſtle. "Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the ſervants of men." The ſubject here is not *human*, wherein human ordinances are to be obeyed; that is not 1 Cor. vii. 23 the queſtion; but *divine*; and thoſe that for fear or favour of men deſert their principles, and betray their conſciences, they renounce their Lord, deny him that bought them, and tread his blood, the Price of their ſouls, under their feet: "Ye are bought "with a price;" Chriſt has purchaſed you; you are not your own, but his that bought you; therefore be not the *ſervants* of *men*, about God's things or Chriſt's kingdom; vail to no man's judgment, neither make man's determinations your rule of faith and worſhip. "Stand faſt in the liberty wherewith he has made you free, and Gal. v. "be not entangled again into bondage; for we are not come to that mountain Heb. xii. "that we cannot touch, to Sinai:" We are not now to be kept under, like ſchool-boys or minors: That impoſition might be uſeful then, which is a bondage now. Moſes was God's ſervant, and faithful; he ſaw, heard, and went up to the mount for the people; but Chriſtians are come to *Mount Zion*, to *Jeruſalem*, the Mother of *Peace* and *Freedom*. Much then depended upon the integrity of Moſes; and yet God ſent for the people near the Mount, that they might *ſee* his glory; and wrought wonders and miracles to engage their faith, and vindicate the integrity of Moſes his ſervant (as the 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 chapters of Numbers declare) and which none now can pretend to vouch the exerciſe of their authority: I ſay it pleaſed God then to appear by thoſe ways; but now the *Law* is brought home to every man's *Heart*, and every one ſhall know God for *himſelf*, from the leaſt to the greateſt. "My Heb. 8. "Sheep," ſays Chriſt, "hear my voice." And let us remember that there is no poſ- John x. Mark xvi. ſibility of deception there, where there is no neceſſity of truſting. In fine, "Ye are "bought with a price, be not ye the ſervants of men. One is Lord, even Chriſt, and "ye are brethren."

But methinks I hear a ſtout objection, and it is this: 'At this rate you will overthrow all Church-Diſcipline, all Cenſure of Errors, if no man or men can determine.' My anſwer is ready and ſhort: No Scripture Church-Diſcipline is hereby oppugned or weakened: Let not the ſentence end in violence upon the conſcience unconvinced: Let who will expound or determine, ſo it be according to true church-diſcipline, which can be exerciſed on them only, who have willingly joined themſelves in that covenant of union; and which proceeds only to a ſeparation from the reſt, a diſavowing or diſowning, and that only in caſe of falling from principles or practices once received, or about known treſpaſſes: But never to any corporal or pecuniary puniſhment; the two arms of Antichriſt, or rather of the great *Beaſt* which carries the *Whore*.

But let us obſerve what ſort of church-government the Apoſtle recommends. "Avoid fooliſh queſtions, and genealogies, and contentions, and ſtriving about the 1 Tim. iv, v, vi. "law; for they are unprofitable and vain: A man that is an Heretick, after the firſt 2 Tim. ii. 23. "and ſecond admonition, reject, knowing that he that is ſuch, is *ſubverted*, and ſin- Tit. iii. 9. "neth, being condemned of (or *in*) himſelf;" or ſelf-condemned.

It is very remarkable, firſt, That this great Apoſtle, inſtead of exhorting Titus to ſtand upon niceties, and ſacrifice mens natural comforts and enjoyments for Opinions of Religion, injoins him to ſhun diſputes about them; leaving the people to their own thoughts and apprehenſions in thoſe matters, as reputing the loſs of peace, in ſtriving, greater than the gain that could ariſe from ſuch an unity and conformity: Which exactly agrees with another paſſage of his; "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, Phil. iii. 15. "be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwiſe minded, God ſhall reveal even "this unto you." He did not ſay you ſhall be fined, pillaged, excommunicated and flung into priſon, if ye be not of our mind.

2dly, That, in the Apoſtle's definition, an *Heretick* is a *ſelf-condemned* perſon, one conſcious to himſelf of error, and obſtinacy in it; but that are not conſcientious diſſenters; for many ten thouſands in this nation act as they believe, and diſſent from the national religion purely upon a principle of conſcience to Almighty God; and would heartily conform, if they could do it upon conviction, or with any ſatisfaction to their own minds: And with men of any tenderneſs, or common ſenſe, their continual great ſufferings in perſon and eſtate, and their patience under them, are a demonſtration, or there can be none in the world, that Conſcience, and not Humour or Intereſt, is at bottom.

Nor can their perſecutors diſprove them, unleſs they could ſearch hearts; and that is a little too far for a fallible ſpirit to reach, and an infallible one they deny. So that the Apoſtle makes not the Heretick to lie upon the ſide of *miſ-believing*, or not coming up to *his* degree of faith and knowledge, but upon the ſide of wilfully, turbulently, obſtinately, and ſelf-condemnedly, maintaining things inconſiſtent with the faith, peace and proſperity of the church.

Granting us then not to be obſtinate and ſelf-condemned diſſenters, (and you cannot reaſonably refuſe it us) how do you prove us erroneous in the other part? All parties plead Scripture, and that for the moſt oppoſite principles. 'The Scripture,' you ſay,

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But ſuppoſe conſcientious diſſenters as ill men as the Apoſtle deſcribes an Heretick to be; what is the puniſhment? This is cloſe to the point; ſtand it.

3dly. “ A man that is an Heretick, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, reject;” that is, deny his communion, declare he is none of you, condemn his proceedings by a public cenſure from among yourſelves. What more can be ſtrained, by the fierceſt proſecutors of men for religion, out of theſe words?

But will we be governed by the rules of Holy Writ? Have we any true veneration for the exhortations and injunctions therein? Then let us ſoberly conſider, what the Apoſtle Paul adviſes and recommends to his beloved Timothy upon the preſent occaſion, and I dare promiſe an end to conteſt and perſecution for religion. “ Flee youthful luſts; but follow righteouſneſs, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on “ the Lord out of a pure heart; but fooliſh and unlearned queſtions avoid, knowing “ that they do gender ſtrifes. And the ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be “ gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe “ themſelves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of “ the truth.” 2 Tim. ii. 22, 23, 24, 25.

There is ſuch a depth of wiſdom lodged in this one paſſage, that I find difficulty to expreſs myſelf upon it, and yet I ſhall with pleaſure endeavour it. Here is both Faith and Government, Religion and Duty, all that becomes us towards God, our brethren, our neighbour, ourſelves, yea, our oppoſers and enemies.

“ Flee youthful luſts:” That is, avoid ſin, turn away from every appearance of evil, flee the temptation as ſoon as thou ſeeſt it, leſt it enſnare thee; but follow righteouſneſs, charity and peace; ſeek and love holineſs, and there will be charity and peace to thyſelf, and in thee, to all men. Rom. xiv. 17. 1 Cor. iv. 20. “ For the kingdom of God ſtands in righteouſneſs and peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt;” not in conteſt about words, nor in maintaining fooliſh and unlearned queſtions, which reach not the ſoul, nor carry any force upon our affections, nor learn men to be better, to have more piety, virtue, goodneſs; but are mere notions and ſpeculations, that have no influence upon holy living, or tendency to the regimen of our paſſions: Such queſtions as the curioſity or wantonneſs of mens wit or reſtleſs fancy are apt to ſtart, under pretence of divine truth, and ſublime myſteries: Theſe niceties, conceits and imaginations of men, (not bottomed on the Revelation of the Eternal Spirit, but Human Apprehenſion and Tradition) ſuch queſtions avoid, meddle not with them; but, next to youthful luſts, flee them by all means; for they draw to ſtrife, to heats, animoſities, envy, hatred and perſecution, which unbecome the man of God; for ſays this Apoſtle, “ He muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient;” Let his rank, notion, opinion, or faith be what it will, he muſt not be fierce, nor cenſorious, much leſs ſhould he perſecute or excite Cæſar to do it for him; no ſuch matter: “ He “ muſt be apt to teach,” and inform the ignorant; and in caſe it ſucceed not, he ought not to be outrageous, or go about to whip or club it into him: “ He muſt be patient;” that is, he muſt not think to force and bend things to his own will or time, but commit his honeſt endeavours to God’s bleſſing, “ that can raiſe, of the ſtones of the ſtreets, “ children unto Abraham.” This ſort of man will ſerve God againſt his will, inſtead of ſubmitting his will to God’s: There is no evil he will ſtick at to ſerve God his way; he will plunder and kill for God’s ſake, and meritoriouſly ſend all his paſſions upon the errands of his ignorant zeal; and the trophies that it loves, are the ſpoils and havock it makes upon mankind; the moſt unnatural and dangerous temper in the world. Our bleſſed Lord, who knew what was in man, has left us his remark upon it, Luke ix. 55. The want of this patience has been the undoing of all.

But ſome will object, ‘ O! but it is not ignorance! it is obſtinacy and oppoſition.’ Hardly judged, my friend! But admit it were ſo, here is a receipt for the malady, and that of the Apoſtle’s preſcribing. Obſerve the following words: “ In meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, if God peradventure will give them repentance, to the acknowledging of the truth.” Then not fining, plundering, beating, ſtocking, impriſoning, baniſhing and killing, even oppoſers themſelves, for religion; unleſs there be a way of doing theſe things with gentleneſs, patience and meekneſs; which I confeſs I think nobody ever heard of.

But as the Apoſtle gives Timothy another method than is now uſed by the ſons of violence for reclaiming oppoſers, ſo the reaſon of the counſel makes all other ways unlawful, viz. "If God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgement "of the truth." I would hereupon enter the liſt with a perſecutor: Is repentance in my own power, or is it in thine to give me? The Apoſtle ſays neither: It is God's gift alone; "If God peradventure will give them repentance," &c. Since repentance then is in the caſe, and that God alone can give it, of what uſe are violent courſes, which never beget repentance? On the contrary, they have rarely failed to raiſe prejudice and beget hardneſs in the ſufferer, and pity in the beholder.

But was this the evangelical rule and practice? Yes, that it was. O then! whence comes impoſition, force, cruelty, ſpoil of goods, impriſonments, knockings, beatings, bruiſings, ſtockings, whippings, and ſpilling of blood for religion? What church is that whoſe officers are ſo far from cloathing the naked, that they ſtrip the cloathed; from feeding the hungry, that they take their bread from them; and thoſe, ſome of them, poor widows and helpleſs orphans? And ſo remote are they from viſiting the ſick and impriſoned, that they drag away their beds from under them, and caſt their perſons into priſon, for conſcience ſake. Nay, ſome have been ſo unnatural, that they haled away an honeſt man from a meeting to goal at Reading, a while ſince, not permitting him to take leave of his poor wife, newly delivered, and in a dying condition, though ſhe much deſired it, and lived but juſt by the meeting from whence they took him; with an hundred more things, that I forbear being particular in, becauſe I would not be thought to provoke, when I aim only at chriſtian reproof and amendment. In fine, What are they that for no other cauſe paſs ſuch dreadful excommunications, as render the excommunicants little better than outlawed perſons, ſubjecting their civil and natural rights to their pride, paſſion, intereſt or revenge, unleſs they will purchaſe their enjoyment at the dear rate of giving their own conſciences the lye? For what elſe can be the conſequence of conforming to that I do not believe? Is not this to deſtroy ſincere men, and make and ſave hypocrites? When it is but too palpable that vice reigns without controul, and few of theſe buſy men, theſe conſcience-hunters, give themſelves the thought of correcting manners, defending virtue, or ſuppreſſing vice.

O that ſuch as are concerned would ſoberly conſider if any thing be ſo ſcandalous to true religion as force! Who can think that evidence good that is extorted? And what a church is that which is made up of ſuch proſelytes, or that employs ſuch means to make them? It is baſe coin that needs impoſition to make it current, but true metal paſſeth for its own intrinſick value. O where is that Chriſtian meekneſs, patience and forbearance! How many have been ruined, that were never exhorted, and excommunicated before they were once admoniſhed? This is not to ſerve God, but worldly intereſt: It is quite contrary to Chriſt's counſel and his followers practice. He came to ſave, and not to deſtroy Nature, to magnify his Grace. You pretend, moſt of you, to diſlike J. Calvin's unconditional Reprobation, yet practiſe it: If you ſay, 'No Con-'formity is your condition;' I anſwer, It is as unreaſonable to require an impoſſibility, as cruel to damn men for not doing it: For, as you ſay, *his* doctrine makes God to command them to repent, that *cannot* repent; and yet damn them if they repent *not*? So you enjoin men to relinquiſh their preſent faith and worſhip, and conform to *yours*, which is not in their power to do, yet damn them, in a temporal reſpect, if they refuſe it: For you make ſuch an unavoidable diſſent puniſhable with the deſtruction of mens liberties and eſtates. You had better leave off valuing yourſelves upon the mercy and well-naturedneſs of that tenet of the univerſal love of God to mankind, 'till you love more than yourſelves, and abominate that the Church of England ſhould be the Elect to the civil government, and all others as Reprobates, ſince you pretend to deteſt the like injuſtice in John Calvin's notion of Election and Reprobation.

And the truth of it is, this helps on Atheiſm, as much as any enormity in the land; when witty men are not willing to take pains to examine after the truth and excellency in religion, ſo that people that call themſelves Chriſt's miniſters and the Apoſtles ſucceſſors and followers, affect and ſeek government, and yet twice deny it, when they go to receive it: That ſome others grow lordly, live voluptuouſly, and watch after the biggeſt preferments, not being excited by moſt ſervice for God, but earthly power and wealth for themſelves; and that, at the ſame time, they perſecute men of more ſelf-denial, for matters of opinion about faith and worſhip towards God; ſo that No Conformity to the Church, No Protection from the State. Which, among Proteſtants, is ſo much the more unreaſonable; Firſt, Becauſe they, by theſe courſes, implicitly own and aſſume the higheſt infallibility and perfection, and yet deny any ſuch thing. For it ſuppoſes that nothing is truer, nothing perfecter; or elſe they both perſecute men to embrace a fallible and imperfect religion, and with cruel penalties provide againſt any thing more true or infallible; which is the greateſt injury to the world that can be, inaſmuch as it is a plain endeavour to fruſtrate all thoſe excellent propheſies and gracious promiſes God hath given, and the holy ſcriptures declare of the latter

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To ſum up all at this time; If we muſt believe as Cæſar appoints, why not then as the Church believes? But if not as either, without *convincement*, pray how can force be lawful? Let me recommend one book to you, that of right claims a place with you, and that is, 'Biſhop Taylor's, of Liberty of Prophecy;' never anſwered, that I have heard of, and I have reaſon to believe never will be attempted; for indeed it is unanſwerable. That was the judgment of a doctor under perſecution; I could be glad if it might be the practice of biſhops in their power: I may ſay the ſame of J. Tillotſon's ſober and ſeaſonable diſcourſe before the Commons on the fifth of November. And, the truth is, I am the more earneſt with you at this time, becauſe I find that God daily ſhews us he has great good-will to poor England. O why ſhould we drive him from us, by our diſobedience to him, and our ſeverities to one another! He has lately put a prize into our hands, and continues to pour his favours upon us: All depends upon a ſincere reformation, and our perſeverance therein.

To give teſtimony of this, let us with our whole hearts turn to God, and keep his holy law; and let us but be jealous of his glory, by puniſhing vice, and cheriſhing virtue, and we may aſſure ourſelves he will intereſt himſelf in our ſafety. Of this we cannot doubt; for he who has begun to do it under our diſobedience, will not deſert us in our ſincere repentance. And as this is our duty to God, without which we vainly hope for deliverance, ſo is there a duty we owe to one another, that is the next requiſite to our preſervation.

Let, therefore, all aſperities be avoided, nick-names forbidden, and the oppreſſed Proteſtant delivered. Revive the noble principle of *Liberty of Conſcience*, on which the Reformation roſe: For in vain do we hope to be delivered from Papiſts, 'till we deliver ourſelves from Popery. This coercion upon conſcience, and perſecution for religion, are that part of Popery which is moſt juſtly hated and feared: And if we either fear or hate Popery for its Cruelty, ſhall we *practiſe* the Cruelty we fear or hate it for? God forbid! No, not on thoſe that have uſed it to us. This were the way to be deſerted of God, and left to their cruelty. The ſame ſins will ever fix the ſame odium, and find the ſame puniſhment, wherever they are; yea greater, by how much Proteſtants pretend to better things: If they burnt your anceſtors, do not you ſtrip and ſtarve your brethren: Remember the many thouſands now perſecuted in this kingdom, for the ſake of their tender and very peaceable conſciences; huſbands are unlawfully ſeparated from their wives, and parents from their children; their corn, cattle and houſhold-ſtuff ſwept away, perhaps at the inſtigation of ſome lewd and indigent informer, or to pleaſe the malice of an ill-diſpoſed neighbour. In the mean time, many, once ſufficient, are expoſed to charity; the fruits of their honeſt labour and bread of their poor helpleſs children being now made the forfeiture of their conſcience.

Friends and countrymen, there is a deep doctrine in this providence; examine it well, that you may reap the benefit of it: And, among the reſt, let me tell you, this is not the leaſt part of it, that God is ſhewing *you* mercy, that *you* may ſhew mercy, and has awakened you at the brink of the pit, that you may help your brethren out of it; aye, your Enemies. Be wiſe and conſiderate: It will be much your own fault if you are not happy. And truly I have no manner of ſcruple but God will preſerve us, if we will not caſt away ourſelves. For our own ſins and folly can only direct the hand that ſeeks to hit and hurt us; and ſhall we make it ſucceſsful to our own ruin? Let us therefore turn away from all impiety; let the magiſtracy diſcourage and puniſh it; and let us forbear and love one another. If we begin with God, we ſhall end with God, and that is with *ſucceſs*: Elſe, be aſſured, we ſhall only inherit the wind of our own invention, and be deſerted of him then, when we ſhall moſt want him.

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In ſhort, reverence the preſent Providence; and though your lives have not deſerved it, let them now be grateful, and not abuſe it. Purſue your advantages thoroughly, but wiſely; be as temperate as zealous; and to your enemies as generous as juſt. Inſult not over ill men for the ſake of their ill principles, but pity their unhappineſs, whilſt you abhor the cauſe of it: Let them ſee, that you had rather inform than deſtroy them, and that you take more pleaſure in their converſion, than your own revenge. This will be the greateſt confutation upon them, that they be taught the Goodneſs of your religion by the Mildneſs of it; and, by its Mercy the Cruelty of their own. The Indian Atabaliba rejected the Romiſh Baptiſm, becauſe of the Spaniſh Tyranny; whence it was uſual with thoſe poor Americans to deſire they might *not* go to Heaven if the *Spaniards* went thither. I know there are little arts uſed to prevent Proteſtant Union, and that in a Proteſtant Guiſe: And it is a trick, not of yeſterday, to put one party of Proteſtants upon devouring four or five, that both the Proteſtant Church may have the odium of eating or devouring her own children, and that *another* intereſt, behind the hangings, may find the more eaſy and creditable acceſſion to the chair: It is the men of this ſtrain, though under diſguiſe, that now ſeek to diſtract you; and to effect it the better, old ſtories muſt be had up, acts of oblivion violated, the dead diſturbed, their tombs rifled, and they haled out of their graves to receive a new ſentence: That condemning the living of that intereſt by the dead, they might be deſerted of thoſe, that, to ſay true, cannot be long ſafe without them.

If any thing ſober and judicious be propoſed for allaying aſperities, accommodating differences, and ſecuring to Prince and people a juſt and legal union of intereſt, as our government requires, we muſt preſently be told of 41, and 42; as if there were a ſort of Necromancy in the *Numbers*, or that the naming of thoſe *Figures* (long ſince made Cyphers, by an Act of Oblivion) had power enough to lay the active and generous ſpirits of our times: But they find themſelves miſtaken in their black art, and that things, as well as times, are changed: The maſk is off, and he that runs may read, *Res nolunt male adminiſtrari.*

Men, in their pleas and endeavours for truth, juſtice, and ſincere religion, will not be overborne or ſtaggered by ſuch ſtale and trifling reflections, rarely uſed of late, but to palliate wretched deſigns, or diſcredit good ones with men of weak judgment, though perhaps of loyal principles.

I beſeech you let us not be unſkilful in theſe tricks, that we may not be miſtaken or abuſed by them: I cannot tell a time in which the minds of all ſorts of Proteſtants have been more powerfully and unanimouſly engaged to endeavour a good underſtanding between the king and people. And as I am ſure it was never more needed, ſo let me ſay, no age hath put a richer prize into the hands of men, or yielded a fairer occaſion, to fix an happy and laſting union upon: In order to which, let me prevail with you that we may ſtudy to improve this great principle as the neceſſary means to it, viz. ‘ That God's Providence, and our own Conſtitution, have made the intereſt of prince ‘ and people *One*; and that their peace and greatneſs lie in a moſt induſtrious and ‘ impartial proſecution of it.’

Thoſe that teach other doctrine, as that the ‘ Prince hath an Intereſt *apart* ‘ from the good and ſafety of the People,’ are the ſole men that get by it; and therefore, find themſelves obliged to ſtudy their miſunderſtanding, becauſe they only are diſappointed and inſecured by their union.

Experience truly tells us, that ſuch perſons have another intereſt than that which leads to a common good, and are often but too artificial in intereſting princes in the ſucceſs of it: But prudent and generous princes have ever ſeen that it is neither ſafe nor juſt; and that no kingdom can be governed with true glory and ſucceſs, but there where the intereſt of the *Governor* is One with that of the *Governed*, and where there is the ſtricteſt care to ſteer all tranſactions of ſtate by the Fundamentals, or the firſt and great Principles, of their own Conſtitution: Eſpecially ſince ſwerving from them hath always made way for confuſion and miſery in government. Our own ſtories are almoſt every-where vext by this neglect; and thoſe of our neighbours muſt ſubmit to the ſame truth.

To conclude, and ſum up the whole diſcourſe: If you will both cure preſent and prevent future grievances, it will greatly behove you to take a moſt deliberate and unbiaſſed view of the preſent ſtate of things, with their proper cauſes and tendencies. Let us confront our *Eccleſiaſtical* Matters with the plain *Text* and *Letter* of Holy Scripture: This is *Proteſtant:* And let us compare our *Civil* Tranſactions with the *Ancient Laws* and *Statutes* of the realm: This is *Engliſh.* And I do humbly and heartily beſeech Almighty God, that he would ſo diſpoſe the hearts of prince and people, as that firm foundations may be now laid for a juſt and laſting tranquillity to theſe nations: And, believe me if you pleaſe, unleſs they are *juſt* and *equal*, they cannot *laſt*. Time will prove it, becauſe it always has; and that God is unchangeable in the Order and Juſtice of his Providence. And ſince Righteouſneſs exalts a nation, and that Sin is the ſhame of any people; therefore will I cloſe with David's prayer, Pſal. vii. 9. “ O let the wickedneſs of the wicked come to an end, “ but eſtabliſh the juſt; For the righteous God trieth the hearts and the reins.”

AN

AN APPENDIX, OF THE CAUSES and CURE OF PERSECUTION.

I Impute all perſecution for religion to theſe Seven enſuing cauſes; though, properly ſpeaking, there is but One Original Cauſe of this Evil, and that is the DEVIL; as there is but One Original Cauſe of Good, and that is GOD.

I. The firſt cauſe of perſecution is this, ‘ That the authors and uſers of it have little ‘ or no Religion at heart:’ They are not ſubject to the ground and firſt cauſe of true religion in their own ſouls; for it is the part of true religion to *humble* the mind, Iſaiah lxvi. 2. *break* the heart, and *ſoften* the affection. It was God himſelf that ſaid, “ Unto this “ man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite ſpirit, and trembles at “ my Word:” Not one that breaks heads and plunders goods, for Religion. “ Bleſſed “ are they that mourn,” ſaid Chriſt, “ they ſhall be comforted:” But not thoſe that ſell *Joſeph*, and make merry. “ Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the “ kingdom of God:” Thoſe that are low in their own eyes; not ſuch as devour and damn all but themſelves. “ Bleſſed are the meek, for they ſhall inherit the earth:” Such as are gentle, and ready to help, and not tyrannize over neighbours. “ Bleſſed “ are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy:” What then ſhall become of thoſe that are cruel, under pretence of doing it for God’s ſake? “ Bleſſed are the peace“ makers, for they ſhall be called the children of God:” Then diſturbers and deſtroyers of their peaceable neighbours ſhall not be called ſo. “ Bleſſed are they that “ hunger and thirſt after Righteouſneſs, for they ſhall be filled:” But not thoſe that hunger and thirſt after our Corn and Cattle, Houſes and Land, for Conſcience ſake. “ And bleſſed are you,” ſays Chriſt, “ when men ſhall revile and perſe“ cute you,” &c. Then not thoſe that revile and perſecute others that are ſober and harmleſs: Not one bleſſing to the conſcience-hunting doctrine and practice of him, that devours the widow and orphans for religion. Were men inwardly and truly religious, they would have ſo low an opinion of themſelves, ſo tender a regard to mankind, ſo great an awe of Almighty God, as that none of theſe froward paſſions would have any ſway with them. But the miſchief is, *unmortified Paſſions* pretend to *Religion*; a proud, impatient, arrogant mind would promote it; than which, nothing of man is more remote from it; miſtaking the very nature and end of Chriſt’s James i. 27. peaceable religion; which, if the apoſtle James ſay true, is “ to viſit the fatherleſs and “ widow, and keep ourſelves unſpotted of the world.” But, on the contrary, they turn widow and fatherleſs out of houſe and home, and ſpot themſelves with the cruelty and injuſtice of uſurping their poor patrimony, the bread of their lives, and ſuſtenance of their natures: Such men as theſe are void of natural affection; their religion has no bowels, or they are without mercy in the profeſſion of it; which is the reverſe of true religion, that makes us "love enemies, do good to them that hate us, and pray "for them that deſpitefully uſe us." Mat. v. 44. And ſo much ſtronger, in ſouls truly religious, is the power of Love to mankind than any ſelf-revenging paſſion, that, from an humble and ſerious reflection upon the mercies and goodneſs of God to them, they do not only ſuppreſs any riſing of heart againſt their Perſecutors (much more againſt peaceable Diſſenters) but, with much ſoftneſs and charity, commiſerate their ignorance and anger; offering to inform them, and praying that they may be forgiven. This is to be *religious*; and therefore thoſe that *perſecute* for religion any ways, are *irreligious*.

II. The next cauſe of perſecution, is the groſs but general miſtake which people are under concerning the nature of the Church and Kingdom of Chriſt: For the lamentable worldlineſs of mens minds hath put them upon thoſe carnal conſtructions which have made way for all the external coercion and violence, uſed by bad and ſuffered by good men, on the ſcore of religion, from the beginning. And no wonder if ordinary perſons ſtumble upon this conſtruction, when the diſciples of Jeſus ſhewed themſelves ſo ill-read in the myſteries of his kingdom, that after all the intimacy they had had with him, they refrained not to aſk, "When ſhall the king- "dom be reſtored to Iſrael?" They looked abroad, had a *worldly* idea in their minds; *Jews*-like, they waited for *external* deliverance from the power of the *Romans*, rather than an *internal* ſalvation from the dominion of *Satan*; and interpreted thoſe words to *worldly* loſs and freedom, which did relate to the loſs and redemption of the *ſoul*: But Jeſus taught them better things; yet ſo, as not to deny or flatly diſcourage and rebuke them; for that, though true, might have been more at that time, than they could have borne; therefore he winds off with them upon the *time* and the *ſeaſon* of the thing; knowing that the time was at hand, that they ſhould be better taught and ſatisfied of the nature of his kingdom, unto which he referred them. "When the Spirit of Truth comes, it ſhall lead you into all truth," &c. John xvi. 13.

That the kingdom of Chriſt is not of *this* world, has been before obſerved; and the reaſon is ſo great, that all men of common ſenſe muſt allow it, upon Chriſt's principle and argument; "for," ſays he, "then would my ſervants *fight* for me:" John xviii. 36. Truly implying, becauſe the kingdoms of this world are evidently ſet up and maintained by worldly force, and that he will have no worldly force uſed in the buſineſs of his kingdom, that therefore it is not of this world. Conſequently, thoſe that attempt to ſet up his kingdom by worldly force, or make that their pretence to uſe it, are none of his ſervants: They are truly but men of this world; ſuch as ſeek an earthly, and not an heavenly crown and kingdom: Themſelves, and not Chriſt Jeſus. Where, by the way, let me obſerve, that though the Jews, to engage Pilate the more eaſily to their ſide, impeached Chriſt of being an enemy to Cæſar, *they* were enemies, and *he* appeared a *friend* to Cæſar; for he came to reform the *lives* of men, to make them better *ſubjects*; to *obey* Cæſar, not for *fear*, but for *conſcience*-ſake: A way to make Cæſar's province both eaſy and ſafe. But the Jews would have had him Cæſar's enemy; one that ſhould have forcibly reſcued them from Cæſar's power: That was what they waited for; a *Captain-General* to head the revolt; and, with an high hand, to overbear and captive *Cæſar*, as *he* had done *them*: And it is more than probable, that this appearance being after quite another manner, and to another end, than they expected, they therefore rejected him; their hearts being ſet upon the deſire of *worldly* empire.

But to return: Chriſt told his diſciples, that he had "choſen them *out* of the world:" How, pray? Not to *converſe*, or live *bodily* in it? No ſuch matter: But he had choſen or ſingled them from the *Nature*, *Spirit*, *Glory*, *Policy* and *Pomp* of this world. How perſons, ſo qualified, can make a *worldly* Church or Kingdom, unleſs they deſert Chriſt's doctrine, is paſt my ſkill to tell. So that the capacity that Chriſtians ſtand in to Chriſt is *ſpiritual*, and not worldly or carnal: And for that reaſon, not carnal or worldly, but *ſpiritual* methods and weapons only, are to be uſed to inform or reclaim ſuch as are ignorant or diſobedient. And if we will give ancient ſtory credit, we ſhall find that worldly weapons were never employed by the Chriſtian Church till ſhe became *worldly*, and ſo ceaſed to be truly *Chriſtian*.

But why ſhould I ſay the *Church*? The moſt abuſed word in the world! It is her *Leaders* have taught her to err; and that of believing as the *Church* believes, is ſo far from being true in point of Fact, as well as Reaſon, that the Church *herſelf* has long believed as the *Clergy*, that is, the *Prieſt*, believed, ever ſince that ſort of men have practiſed a diſtinction from, and ſuperiority upon, the Laity. He that will peruſe the Eccleſiaſtical Story, delivered us by Euſebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholaſticus, Evagrius, Ruffinus, Sozomen, and more eſpecially the Councils, B. Uſher, aye, and Baronius *himſelf*, will find but too many and ſad inſtances of the truth of this.

In ſhort, people apprehending the Church and Kingdom of Chriſt to be *viſible* and *worldly*, like other ſocieties and governments, have thought it not only to be lawful, but neceſſary, to uſe the arts and force of *this* world to ſupport his Church and Kingdom; eſpecially ſince the intereſt of religion hath been incorporated with that of the *Civil Magiſtrate:* For from that time he hath been made *Cuſtos utriuſque Tabulæ*; and ſuch as offend, though about Church-Matters, have been reputed tranſgreſſors againſt the State, and conſequently the State intereſted in puniſhing the offence. Whereas had Chriſtians remained in their primitive ſimplicity and purity, in the ſelf-denying, patient, and ſuffering doctrine of Chriſt; Chriſtianity had ſtood in *Holy Living*, and not in *Worldly Regiment*; and its compulſion would have been *Love*, its arms *Reaſon* and *Truth*, and its utmoſt rigour, even to obſtinate enemies or apoſtates, but renouncing of their communion, and that not till much forbearance and many Chriſtian endeavours had been uſed to reclaim them.

To ſum up all: The kingdoms of this world ſtand in outward, bodily and civil matters; and here the laws and power of men reach and are effectual. But the Kingdom and Church of Chriſt, that is choſen out of the world, ſtands not
1 Tim. iv. 8. in "*Bodily Exerciſe*," (which, the apoſtle ſays, "profits little") nor in *Times* nor
John iv. 23, 24. *Places*, but in *Faith*, and that Worſhip which Chriſt tells us is in "Spirit and in "Truth." To this no worldly compulſion can bring or force men; it is only the Power of that King of Righteouſneſs whoſe kingdom is in the minds and ſouls of the juſt; and he rules by the law of his own free Spirit, which, like the wind,
John iii. 8. "Bloweth where it liſteth." And as without this Spirit of regeneration, no man can be made a member of Chriſt's Church or Kingdom, and leſs a Miniſter, ſo neither is it in the power of man to command or give it; and conſequently all worldly force, employed to make men members of Chriſt's Church and Kingdom, is as ineffectual as unnatural. I could be very large upon this point; for it is very fruitful, and ſo much the cauſe of perſecution, that if there were never another to be aſſigned, this were enough; and upon due conſideration it muſt needs meet with every man's judgment and experience. I will here add the ſenſe of memorable Hales of Eaton upon this ſubject.

'When our Saviour, in the Acts, after his reſurrection, was diſcourſing to his
'diſciples concerning the kingdom of God, they preſently brake forth into this
'queſtion, "Wilt thou *now* reſtore the kingdom unto Iſrael?" Certainly this
'queſtion betrays their ignorance: Their thoughts ſtill ran upon a kingdom, like
'unto the kingdoms of *the World*, notwithſtanding they had ſo long and ſo often
'heard our Saviour to the contrary. Our Saviour therefore ſhortly takes them up,
'*Non eſt veſtrum*; your queſtion is nothing to the purpoſe; the kingdom that I have
'ſpoken of is another manner of kingdom than you conceive. Sixteen hundred years,
'*& quod excurrit*, hath the goſpel been preached unto the world, and is this ſtain ſpunged
'out yet? I doubt it. Whence ariſe thoſe novel and late diſputes, *de notis eccleſiæ*,
'of the Notes and *Viſibility* of the Church? Is it not from hence, they of Rome take
'the World and the Church to be like *Mercury* and *Soſia* in *Plautus* his Comedies,
'ſo like one another, that one of them muſt wear a *toy* in his cap, that ſo the ſpectators
'might diſtinguiſh them: Whence comes it, that they ſtand ſo much upon *State*
'and *Ceremony* in the Church? Is it not from hence, that they think the Church
'muſt come in like Agrippa and Bernice in the Acts, μετὰ ϖολλης φαντασίας, as St. Luke
'ſpeaks, with a great deal of *Pomp*, and *Train*, and *Shew*, and *Vanity*? And that
'the ſervice of God doth neceſſarily require this noiſe and tumult of outward ſtate and
'ceremony? Whence comes it, that we are at our wits end, when we ſee perſecution,
'and ſword, and fire, to rage againſt the true profeſſors of the Goſpel? Is it not
'becauſe, as theſe bring ruin and deſolation upon the kingdoms of the world, ſo
'we ſuppoſe they work no other effect in the kingdom of Chriſt? All theſe conceits,
'and many more of the like nature, ſpring out of no other fountain than that
'old inveterate error, which is ſo hardly wiped out of our hearts, that the State of
'the Church and Kingdom of Chriſt, doth hold ſome proportion, ſome likeneſs,
'with the ſtate and managing of *temporal* kingdoms. Wherefore to pluck out of
'our hearts, *Opinionem tam inſitam, tam vetuſtam*, a conceit ſo ancient, ſo deeply
John xviii. 36. 'rooted in us, our Saviour ſpake moſt excellently, moſt pertinently, and moſt fully,
'when he tells us that his *Church*, that his *Kingdom* is not of *this* world.

'In which words of his, there is contained the true art of diſcovering and knowing
'the true nature and eſſence of the Church. For as they which make *Statues*, cut
'and pare away all ſuperfluities of the matter upon which they work; ſo our Saviour,
'to ſhew us the true proportion and features of the *Church*, prunes away the *World*, and
'all ſuperfluous excreſcences, and ſends her to be ſeen, as he did our firſt parents in Paradiſe,
'*ſtark-naked:* As thoſe Elders in the Apocryphal ſtory of Suſanna, when they
'would ſee her beauty, commanded to take off her maſk; ſo he that longs to ſee
'the beauty of the Church, muſt pull off that maſk of the *World*, and outward
'ſhew. For as Juda, in the book of Geneſis, when Thamar ſat vailed by the
'way-ſide, knew not his daughter from an whore; ſo whilſt the Church, the
'daughter and ſpouſe of Chriſt, ſits vailed with the *World*, and *Pomp* and *Shew*,

'it will be an hard matter to diſcern her from an Harlot. But yet farther, to make the difference betwixt theſe kingdoms the more plainly to appear, and ſo better to fix in your memories, I will briefly touch ſome of thoſe heads, in which they are moſt notoriouſly differenced.

'The firſt head wherein the difference is ſeen, are the Perſons and Subjects of this kingdom: For as the Kingdom of Chriſt is not of *this* world, ſo the Subjects of this kingdom are men of *another* world, and not of this. Every one of us bears a double perſon, and accordingly is the ſubject of a double kingdom: The Holy Ghoſt, by the Pſalmiſt, divides Heaven and Earth betwixt God and Man, and tells us, as for God, "He is in Heaven; but the Earth has he given to the Children of Men:" So hath the ſame Spirit, by the apoſtle St. Paul, divided every one of our perſons into heaven and earth, into an outward and earthly man, and into an inward and heavenly man: This *Earth*, that is, this *Body* of Clay, hath he given to the *Sons* of *Men*, to the *Princes* under whoſe government we live; but *Heaven*, that is, the *inward* and *ſpiritual Man*, hath he reſerved unto himſelf: They can reſtrain the *outward Man*, and moderate our *outward Actions*, by Edicts and Laws; they can tie our hands and our tongues: *Illâ ſe jactet in aulâ Æolus:* Thus far they can go; and when they are gone thus far, they can go no farther: But to rule the *inward* man in our *hearts* and *ſouls*, to ſet up an impartial throne in our *Underſtandings* and *Wills*, this part of our government belongs to *God* and to *Chriſt:* Theſe are the Subjects, this the Government, of his Kingdom. Men may be kings of *earth* and *bodies*; but Chriſt alone is the King of *Spirits* and *Souls*. Yet this *inward* government hath influence upon our *outward* actions: For the authority of kings over our outward man is not ſo abſolute, but that it ſuffers a great reſtraint; it muſt ſtretch no farther than the Prince of our *inward* man pleaſes: For if ſecular princes ſtretch out the ſkirts of their authority to command aught by which our *ſouls* are prejudiced, the king of Souls hath in this caſe given us a greater command, "That we rather obey *God* than *Men*."

III. A third great cauſe of perſecution for religion is this, 'That men make *too many* things neceſſary to be believed to ſalvation and communion.' Perſecution entered with *Creed-making:* For it ſo falls out, that thoſe who diſtinguiſh the Tree in the Bulk, cannot with the like eaſe diſcern every Branch or Leaf that grows upon it: And to run out the neceſſary articles of Faith to every good or true thing that the wit of man may deduce from the Text, and ſo too, as that I ought to have a *diſtinct* idea or apprehenſion of every one of them, and muſt run them over in my mind, as a child would conn a leſſon by heart, of which I muſt not miſs a tittle upon my ſalvation; this I think to be a temptation upon men to fall into diſpute and diviſion: And then we are taught, by long experience, that he that has moſt power will oppreſs his opinion that is weaker; whence comes Perſecution. This certainly puts unity and peace too much upon the hazard. Mary's choice therefore was not of *many* things, but the *one* thing neceſſary, as Chriſt, the Lord of the *true* divinity, terms it, Luke x. 42. And pray what was this One needful thing, but Chriſt Jeſus *himſelf*, and her Faith, Love and Obedience *in* and *to* him? Here is no perplexed Creed to ſubſcribe, no *Syſtem* of *Divinity* to charge the head with: This *One* needful thing was Mary's choice and bleſſing: May it be ours! and then I ſhould hope a quick end to controverſies, and conſequently to Perſecutions.

IV. Another cauſe of perſecution, is 'The Prejudice of Education, and that byas Tradition gives to thoſe men, who have not made their Religion the Religion of their *Judgment:*' For ſuch will forbid all the *Inquiry* which might queſtion the weakneſs or falſhood of their religion, and had rather be deceived in an honourable deſcent, than be ſo uncivil to the memory of their anceſtors as to ſeek the truth; which found, muſt reprove the ignorance of their ages: Of this, the vaineſt of all honours! they are extremely careful; and at the very mention of any thing, to them *new*, though as old as *Truth*, and older than *this* world, are eaſily urged into a tempeſt, and are not appeaſed but by a *ſacrifice*. This ignorance, and want of inquiry, helps on perſecution.

V. Another reaſon, and that no ſmall one, is 'Self-love, and Impatience of men under Contradiction,' be it of ignorance, that they are angry with what they cannot refute, or out of private intereſt, it matters not: *Their* Opinion muſt reign alone; they are tenacious of their *own* Senſe, and cannot endure to have it queſtioned, be there never ſo much Reaſon for it. Men of their paſſions are yet to learn that they are ignorant of *Religion*, by the want they have of *Mortification*; ſuch perſons can eaſily let go their hold on Charity, to lay violent hands upon their oppoſers: If they have power, they rarely fail to uſe it ſo; not remembering, that when they abſolved themſelves from the tie of *Love*, *Meekneſs* and *Patience*, they aban-

1679. doned true Religon, and contended not for the Faith once delivered to the Saints, which ſtood *therein*, but for mere *Words*.

It is here that proud Fleſh, and a capricious Head, diſputes for religion, and not an humble Heart and a divine frame of Spirit. Men that are *angry* for God, *paſſionate* for Chriſt, that can call *names* for Religion, and fling *ſtones* for Faith, may tell us they are Chriſtians if they will, but nobody would know them to be ſuch by their *fruits*; to be ſure they are no Chriſtians of Chriſt's making.

I would to God that the diſputants of our time did but calmly weigh the irreligiouſneſs of their own heats for religion, and ſee if what they contend for will quit the coſt, will countervail the charge of departing from Charity, and making a ſacrifice of Peace, to gain their point. Upon ſo ſeaſonable a reflection I am confident they would find that they rather ſhow their love to *Opinion* than Truth, and ſeek *Victory* more than Concord.

Could men be contented, as he whom they call their Lord was, to *declare* their *Meſſage*, and not ſtrive for *Proſelytes*, nor vex for *Conqueſt*, they would recommend all to the Conſcience; and, if it muſt be ſo, patiently endure contradiction too, and ſo lay their religion, as he did *his*, not in Violence, but Suffering: But I muſt freely profeſs, and in duty and conſcience I do it, that I cannot call that Religion, which is introduced againſt the laws of Love, Meekneſs and Friendſhip: Superſtition, Intereſt, or Faction, I may.

There is a zeal *without* knowledge; that is *Superſtition*: There is a zeal *againſt* Knowledge; that is *Intereſt* or *Faction*, the true *Hereſy*: There is a zeal *with* Knowledge; that is *Religion*: Therefore *blind* Obedience may be *Superſtition*, it cannot be *Religion*; and if you will view the countries of Cruelty, you ſhall find them ſuperſtitious rather than religious. *Religion* is *gentle*, it makes men *better*, more *friendly*, *loving*, and *patient*, than before. And the ſucceſs which followed Chriſtianity, whilſt the ancient profeſſors of it betook themſelves to no other defence, plainly proves both the force of thoſe paſſive arguments above all corporal puniſhments, and that we muſt never hope for the ſame proſperity, till we fall into the ſame methods, Gal. v. 22. James iii. 17. Are men impatient of having their Conceits owned? They are then moſt to be ſuſpected. Error and Superſtition, like cracked titles, only fear to be ſearched, and run and cry for *Authority* and *Number*. Truth is *plain* and *ſtedfaſt*, without arts or tricks: Will you receive her? well; if not, there is no compulſion. But pray tell me, what is that deſired Uniformity that has not *Unity*, and that Unity, which has not *Love*, *Meekneſs* and *Patience* in it? I beſeech you hear me; for thoſe men depart from the Spirit of Chriſtianity that ſeek with Anger and Frowardneſs to promote it. Let us not put ſo miſerable a cheat upon ourſelves, nor ſuch an affront upon Chriſtianity, as to think that a moſt *gentle* and *patient* Religion can be advanced by moſt *ungentle* and *impatient* ways. I ſhould ſooner ſubmit to an humble Oppoſition, than to the greateſt Zealot in the World; and rather deliver up myſelf to him that would modeſtly drop a controverted truth, than to ſuch as ſeek tempeſtuouſly to carry it: For even Error, baſhfully and patiently defended, endangers Truth, in the management of imprudent and haſty zeal; and gives to it that luſtre, which only *good* eyes can ſee from gold. Alas! it is for want of conſidering that men do not ſee, that to diſorder the mind in controverſy is a greater miſchief, than to carry the point can be a benefit; inaſmuch as it is not to be religious to *apprehend rightly*, but to *do well*: The latter can ſcarcely be without the former, but the former often is without the latter; which brings me to my ſixth cauſe of perſecution.

VI. Another, and that no ſmall cauſe of perſecution, is a 'Miſapprehenſion of the 'word *Religion*.' For when once the ignorance or prejudice of men has perſuaded them to lay more weight upon their own *Opinion*, or *Diſſent* of their neighbours, than in truth the thing will bear, to excuſe their zeal, or juſtify their ſpleen or credit, they preſently heighten the difference to a *new* religion; whence we ſo frequently hear of ſuch reflections as theſe, '*New* Goſpels and Faiths, *upſtart* Religi'ons and Lights,' and with the like ſcare-crows they amuſe the vulgar, and render their own deſign of ruining honeſt men the more practicable. But I would obviate this miſchief; for a *new Religion* has a new *Foundation*, and conſequently where there is the *ſame Foundation*, there cannot be a *new Religion*. Now the *Foundation* of the Chriſtian Religion is *Chriſt*; and that only is *another* religion than the Chriſtian which profeſſes another *Foundation*, or corruptly *adds* to that Foundation; by adding of *other* Mediators, and introducing a *new* way of Remiſſion of Sin: Which, at leaſt, cannot be ſaid of the ſeveral ſorts of Proteſtants? For Proteſtants therefore to reproach each other with *new* religions and goſpels; and by their indecent and unchriſtian behaviour to inflame their own reckoning, and draw into more diſcord, is a ſin againſt God, an injury to the common cauſe of proteſtancy, and to the ſecurity of the civil intereſt of that country, where the inhabitants are of that religion, as well as a real injuſtice to one another: For Proteſtants do not only agree in the ſame *Fundamentals* of *Chriſtianity*, but of *Proteſtancy* too; that is, in the *Reaſons* of ſeparation from Rome, which was alſo Chriſtian. Let not every circumſtantial difference or variety of *Cult* be nicknamed a new *Religion*; neither ſuffer ſo ill an uſe to be made of ſuch diſſents, as to carry them beyond their true bounds: For the meaning of thoſe arts of ill men, is to ſet the people farther off from one another than they really are, and to aggravate differences in judgment to contrariety in affection: And when they have once inflamed them to variance and ſtrife, nothing can hinder perſecution but want of power; which being never wanted by the ſtrongeſt ſide, the weakeſt, though trueſt, is oppreſſed, not by argument, but worldly weapons.

VII. The ſeventh and laſt cauſe I ſhall now aſſign for perſecution is this, 'That 'Holy Living is become no teſt among us, unleſs againſt the Liver.' The Tree was once known by its Fruits: It is not ſo now: The better liver, the more dangerous, if not a *Conformiſt*, and ſo the more in danger; and this has made way for perſecution. There was a time, when Virtue was venerable, and good men admired; but that is too much derided, and Opinion carries it.

He that can perſuade his conſcience to comply with the Times, be he vicious, knaviſh, cowardly, any thing, he is protected, perhaps preferred. A man of wiſdom, ſobriety and ability to ſerve his king and country, if a *Diſſenter*, muſt be blown upon for a *Fanatick*, a man of *faction*, of *diſloyal* principles, and what not?

Rewards and Puniſhments are the Magiſtrate's Duty, and the Government's Intereſt and Support. Rewards are due to Virtue, Puniſhments to Vice. Let us not miſtake nor miſcall things; Let Virtue be what it always was in government; good *Manners*, ſober and juſt *Living*; and Vice, *ill* manners and *diſhoneſt* living. Reduce all to this: Let ſuch good men have the *ſmiles* and *rewards*, and ſuch ill men the *frowns* and *puniſhments* of the Government: This ends Perſecution, and lays Opinion to ſleep. Ill men will make no more advantages by ſuch conformity, nor good men no more ſuffer for want of it.

In ſhort: As that religious Society deſerves not the protection of the Civil Government which is inconſiſtent with the Safety of it; ſo thoſe Societies of Chriſtians that are not only not deſtructive of the Civil Government, but Lovers of it, ought, by the Civil Government, to be ſecured from ruin.

God Almighty open our underſtandings and hearts, and pour out the Spirit of thorough Reformation upon us; for it is in the *Spirit*, and not in the *Words* of Reformation, that the life and proſperity of Reformation ſtands; that ſo we may be all conſcientiouſly diſpoſed to ſeek and purſue thoſe things which make for love, peace and godlineſs, that it may be well with us and ours, both here and for ever.

"For yet a little while and the Wicked ſhall not be; yea, thou ſhalt diligently "conſider his place, and it ſhall not be: But the meek ſhall inherit the earth, "and ſhall delight themſelves in abundance of peace. The Wicked plotteth a"gainſt the Juſt, and gnaſheth upon him with his teeth; the Lord ſhall laugh at "him; for he ſeeth that his day is coming." Pſal. xxxvii. 10, 11, 12, 13.

The Judgment of King JAMES and King CHARLES the Firſt, about Perſecution for Religion.

WE find it aſſerted by King James, in his ſpeech to the parliament in the year 1609. 'That it is a pure Rule in Divinity, That God never loves to plant 'his Church with *Violence* and *Blood*.' And he farthermore ſaid, 'It was uſually the 'condition of Chriſtians to be *perſecuted*, but not to *perſecute*.'

And we find the ſame things in ſubſtance aſſerted again by his ſon, King Charles the Firſt, in his book known by the name of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, printed for R. Royſton, as followeth:

Page 67. In his prayer to God, he ſaid, 'Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty, amongſt 'Chriſtians, is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, 'unleſs we crucify one another.'

Page 28. 'Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing *violent* and *injurious* can be Religion.'

Page 70. 'Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious reformations by the Sword, as to 'poliſh them by fair and equal Diſputations, among thoſe that are moſt concerned in 'the differences; whom not *Force*, but *Reaſon*, ought to convince.'

'Sure, in matters of religion, thoſe truths gain moſt upon Mens Judgments and 'Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with Secular Violence, which weakens Truth 'with Prejudices.'

Page 115. 'It being an office not only of Humanity, rather to uſe *Reaſon* than *Force*; 'but alſo of Chriſtianity, to ſeek peace and enſue it.'

Some Words of Advice from King CHARLES the Firſt to the then Prince of Wales, now King of England, &c.

Page 165. 'MY counſel and charge to you is, That you ſeriouſly conſider the former real or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion my troubles, that you may avoid them,' &c.

'Beware of exaſperating any faction, by the croſſneſs and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours, and private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon differences in leſſer matters, which are but the ſkirts and ſuburbs of religion, wherein a Charitable Connivance, and Chriſtian Toleration, often diſſipates their ſtrength, when rougher oppoſition fortifies, and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed party into ſuch combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their perſecutors.'

Page 166. 'Take heed that Outward Circumſtances and Formalities of Religion devour not all.'

ENGLAND's GREAT INTEREST IN THE CHOICE OF THIS NEW PARLIAMENT.

Dedicated to all her **Freeholders** and **Electors.**

1679.

SINCE it hath pleaſed God and the King to begin to revive and reſtore to us our ancient right of *Frequent Parliaments,* it will greatly concern us, as to our preſent intereſt, and therein the future happineſs of our poſterity, to act at this time with all the wiſdom, caution and integrity we can. For beſides that it is our own buſineſs, and that if, by a neglect of this ſingular opportunity, we deſert ourſelves, and forſake our own mercies, we muſt expect to be left of God, and good men too. It may be there has never happened, not only in the memory of the living, but in the records of the dead, ſo odd and ſo ſtrange a conjuncture as this we are under. It is made up of ſo many unuſual and important circumſtances (all affecting us to the very heart) that whether we regard the Long Sitting of the Late Parliament, or its abrupt and moſt unexpected Diſſolution, or the Prorogation of the laſt, and its ſurpriſing Diſſolution, or the ſtrong Jealouſies of the People, and that Univerſal Agitation that is now upon the Spirit of the Nation, and the reaſons and motives thereof (ſo far as we can reach them) there ſeems never to have been a time, wherein this kingdom ought to ſhow itſelf more ſerious and diligent in the buſineſs of its own ſafety.

To be plain with you, 'All is at ſtake:' And therefore I muſt tell you, that the work of this parliament is,

Firſt, To purſue the diſcovery and puniſhment of the *Plot:* For that has been the Old Snake in the Graſs, the Trojan Horſe, with an army in the belly of it.

Secondly, To remove, and bring to juſtice, thoſe Evil Counſellors, and Corrupt and Arbitrary Miniſters of State, that have been ſo induſtrious to give the King wrong meaſures, to turn things out of their ancient and legal channel of adminiſtration, and alienate his affections from his people.

Thirdly, To detect and puniſh the Penſioners of the former Parliament, in the face of the kingdom: This breach of truſt being treaſon againſt the fundamental conſtitution of our government.

Fourthly, To ſecure to us the execution of our ancient laws by *new* ones; and, among the reſt, ſuch as relate to *Frequent Parliaments,* the only true check upon *Arbitrary Miniſters,* and therefore feared, hated, and oppoſed by them.

Fifthly, That we be ſecured from Popery and Slavery, and that Proteſtant-Diſſenters be eaſed.

Sixthly, That in caſe this be done, the King be releaſed from his burdenſome debts to the nation, and eaſed in the buſineſs of his revenue. And let me be free with you, if you intend to ſave poor England, you muſt take this general meaſure, viz. 'To 'guide and fix your choice upon men, that you have reaſon to believe are well-affected, 'able and bold, to ſerve the country in theſe reſpects.'

1679. The words of the writ, (at leaſt the import of them) are, ‘ To chuſe wiſe men, ‘ fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs :’ And what to do? Says the ſame writ, ‘ To ‘ adviſe the king of the weighty matters of the kingdom.’ Let us not then play the fools or knaves, to neglect or betray the common intereſt of our country by a baſe election: Let neither fear, flattery, nor gain bias us. We muſt not make our public choice the recompence of private favours from our neighbours; they muſt excuſe us for that: The weight of the matter will very well bear it. This is our inheritance, all depends upon it: Men do not uſe to lend their wives, or give their children, to ſatisfy perſonal kindneſſes; nor muſt we make a ſwop of our Birth-right, (and that of our poſterity too) for a meſs of pottage, a *Feaſt*, or a *Drinking-bout*; there can be no proportion here: And therefore none muſt take it ill, that we uſe our freedom about that, which, in its conſtitution, is the Great Bulwark of all our ancient Engliſh Liberties. Truly, our not conſidering what it is to chuſe a parliament, and how much all is upon the hazard in it, may, at laſt, loſe us fatally by our own choice. For I muſt needs tell you, if we miſcarry, it will be our own fault; we have nobody elſe to blame: For ſuch is the happineſs of our Conſtitution, that we cannot well be deſtroyed, but by *ourſelves*: And what man in his wits would ſacrifice his throat to his own hands?

We, the Commons of England, are a great part of the fundamental Government of it; and Three Rights are ſo peculiar and inherent to us, that if we will not throw them away for fear or favour, for meat and drink, or thoſe other little preſent profits that ill men offer to tempt us with, they cannot be altered or abrogated. And this I was willing to give you a brief hint of, that you may know what ſort of creatures you are, and what your power is; leſt, through ignorance of your own ſtrength and authority, you turn ſlaves to the humours of thoſe, that properly and truly are but your ſervants, and ought to be uſed ſo.

The firſt of theſe three fundamentals is *Property*, that is, ‘ Right and Title to your ‘ own Lives, Liberties and Eſtates:’ In this, every man is a ſort of little ſovereign to himſelf: No man has power over his *Perſon*, to impriſon or hurt it, or over his *Eſtate*, to invade or uſurp it: Only your own tranſgreſſion of the laws, (and thoſe of your own making too) lays you open to loſs; which is but the puniſhment due to your offences, and this but in proportion to the fault committed. So that the Power of England is a *legal* Power, which truly merits the name of *Government*. That which is not legal, is a *Tyranny*, and not properly a Government. Now the *Law* is umpire between King, Lords and Commons, and the Right and Property is One in Kind through all degrees and qualities in the kingdom: Mark that.

The ſecond fundamental, that is your birthright and inheritance, is *Legiſlation*, or the power of making laws; ‘ No Law can be made or abrogated in England without ‘ *you*.’ Before Henry the Third's time, your anceſtors, the Freemen of England, met in their own *Perſons*; but their numbers much increaſing, the vaſtneſs of them, and the confuſion that muſt needs attend them, making ſuch aſſemblies not practicable for buſineſs, this way of *Repreſentatives* was firſt pitched upon as an expedient, both to maintain the Common Right, and to avoid the confuſion of thoſe mighty numbers. So that now, as well as then, ‘ No Law can be made, no Money levied, nor a Penny ‘ legally demanded (even to defray the charges of the Government) without your *own* ‘ *Conſent*;’ Than which, tell me, what can be freer, or what more ſecure to any people?

Your third great fundamental right and privilege is executive, and holds proportion with the other two, in order to compleat both your Freedom and Security, and that is, ‘ Your ſhare in the *judicatory* power, in the Execution and Application of thoſe Laws ‘ that you agree to be made.’ Inſomuch as no man, according to the ancient laws of this realm, can be adjudged in matter of *Life*, *Liberty*, or *Eſtate*, but it muſt be by the judgment of his *Peers*, that is, Twelve men of the neighbourhood, commonly called a JURY; though this hath been infringed by Two Acts, made in the late Long Parliament, one againſt the Quakers in particular, and the other againſt Diſſenters in general, called, ‘ An Act againſt Seditious Conventicles,’ where perſons are adjudged offenders, and puniſhable without a Jury; which, it is hoped, this enſuing parliament will think fit in their wiſdom to repeal; though with leſs ſeverity, than one of the ſame nature (as to puniſhing men without Juries) was by Henry the Eighth, who, for executing of it, hanged Empſon and Dudley.

Conſider with yourſelves, that there is nothing more your intereſt, than for you to underſtand your *Right* in the Government, and to be conſtantly jealous over it; for your well-being depends upon its preſervation.

In all ages there have been ill men; and we, to be ſure, are not without them now; ſuch as, being conſcious to themſelves of ill things, and dare not ſtand a Parliament, would put a final diſſolution upon the very Conſtitution itſelf, to be ſafe, that ſo we might never ſee another.

But this being a taſk too hard to compaſs, their next expedient is, to make them for their turn, by directing and governing the Elections; and herein they are very artificial, and too often ſucceſsful: Which indeed is worſe for us than if we had none. For thus the Conſtitution of Parliaments may be deſtroyed by Parliaments, and we, who by

Law are *free*, may hereby come to be made *Slaves* by Law. If then you are *free*, and *reſolve* to be ſo, if you have any regard to God's Providence, in giving you a claim to ſo excellent a Conſtitution, if you would not void your own *Rights*, nor lay a foundation of *Vaſſalage* to your unborn followers, the poor poſterity of your loins, for whom God and Nature, and the Conſtitution of the Government, have made you *Truſtees*, then ſeriouſly weigh theſe following particulars.

I. In your preſent election, receive no man's *Gift*, or *Bribe*, to chuſe him; but be aſſured, That he will be falſe to *you*, that baſely tempts you to be falſe to your *Country*, yourſelves, and your children. How can you hope to ſee God with peace, that turn mercenaries in a matter, on which depends the well-being of an whole kingdom, for preſent and future times? Since, at a pinch, one good man gains a vote, and ſaves a kingdom: And what does any County, or Burgeſs-town in England know, but all may depend upon their making a good Choice? But then to ſell the Providence of God, and the dear-bought purchaſe of your painful anceſtors for a little *Money*, (that after you have got it, you know not how little a while you may be ſuffered to keep it) is the mark of a wretched mind. Truly, ſuch ought not to have the power of a Freeman, that would ſo abuſe his own, and hazard other mens freedom by it: He deſerves to be caſt over-board, that that would ſink the veſſel, and thereby drown the company embarked with him.

Honeſt Gentlemen will think they give enough for the Choice, that pay their Electors in a conſtant, painful, and chargeable Attendance: But ſuch as give *Money* to be choſen, would *get* money by being choſen; they deſign not to ſerve *you*, but themſelves *of* you; and then fare you well. As you will anſwer it to Almighty God, I intreat you to ſhew your abhorrence of this infamous practice: It renders the very conſtitution contemptible, that any ſhould ſay, 'I can be choſen, if I will ſpend Money, or give them 'Drink enough:' And this is ſaid not without reaſon; Elections, that ought to be ſerious things, and gravely and reaſonably performed, being generally made the occaſions of more rudeneſs and drunkenneſs, than any of the wild May-games in uſe among us.

Thus by making men *Law-breakers*, they are, it ſeems, made fit to chuſe *Law-makers*, their choice being the purchaſe of *Exceſs*. But muſt we always owe our Parliaments to *Rioting* and *Drunkenneſs*? And muſt men be made uncapable of all *Choice*, before they chuſe their *Legiſlators*? I would know of any of you all, if in a difference about a private property, an Horſe or a Cow, or any other thing, you would be as eaſy, indifferent, and careleſs in chuſing your *Arbitrators*? Certainly you would not: With what reaſon then can you be unconcerned in the Qualifications of men, upon whoſe *Fitneſs* and *Integrity* depends all you and your poſterity may enjoy? Which leads me to the other particulars.

II. Chuſe no man that has been a *Reputed Penſioner*; it is not only againſt your Intereſt, but it is diſgraceful to you, and the Parliament you chuſe. The Repreſentatives of a nation ought to conſiſt of the moſt wiſe, ſober, and valiant of the people; not men of mean ſpirits, or ſordid paſſions, that would ſell the intereſt of the people that chuſe them, to advance their own, or be at the beck of ſome great man, in hopes of a lift to a good employ: Pray beware of theſe. You need not be ſtraitned; the country is wide, and the gentry numerous.

III. By no means chuſe a man that is an *Officer at Court*, or whoſe employment is *durante bene placito*, that is, at *will* and *pleaſure*. Nor is this any reflection upon the King; who being one part of the government, ſhould leave the other free, and without the leaſt awe or influence, to bar or hinder its proceedings. Beſides, an *Officer* is under a temptation to be biaſſed; and, to ſay true, an *Office* in a Parliament-man, is but a ſofter and ſafer word for a *Penſion*: The pretence it has above the other, is the danger of it.

IV. In the next place, chuſe no *Indigent Perſon*; for thoſe may be under a temptation of abuſing their truſt, to gain their own ends: For ſuch do not prefer *you*, which ſhould be the end of their choice, but *raiſe themſelves by you*.

V. Have a care of *Ambitious Men* and *Non-reſidents*, ſuch as live about town, and not with their eſtates; who ſeek honours and preferments above, and little, or never, embetter the Country with their Expences or Hoſpitality, for they intend *themſelves*, and not the advantage of the Country.

VI. Chuſe no *Prodigal* or *Voluptuous Perſons*; for beſides that they are not regular enough to be Law-makers, they are commonly *idle*; and though they may wiſh well to your Intereſt, yet they will loſe it, rather than their Pleaſures; they will ſcarcely give their Attendance, they muſt not be relied on. So that ſuch perſons are only to be preferred before thoſe that are ſober to do *miſchief*; whoſe debauchery is of the *Mind*; men of unjuſt, mercenary, and ſiniſter principles; who, the ſoberer they be to *themſelves*, the worſe they are to *you*.

VII. Review the Members of the *Laſt* Parliaments, and their *Inclinations* and *Votes*, as near as you can learn them, and the converſation of the gentlemen of your own country, that were *not* members, and take your meaſures by both, by that which is your true and juſt intereſt, at this critical time of the day, and you need not be divided or diſtracted in your choice.

1679. VIII. Rather take a *Stranger*, if recommended by an unqueſtionable hand, than a neighbour ill-affected to your *Intereſt*. It is not pleaſing a neighbour, becauſe rich and powerful, but ſaving *England*, that you are to eye: Neither pay or return private obligations at the coſt of the nation; let not ſuch engagements put you upon dangerous elections, as you love your country.

IX. Be ſure to have your eye upon *Men* of *Induſtry* and *Improvement*. For thoſe that are ingenious, and laborious to propagate the *Growth* of the Country, will be very tender of weakning or impoveriſhing it: You may *truſt* ſuch.

X. Let not your choice be flung upon *Men* of *Fearful Diſpoſitions*, that will let Good-Senſe, Truth, and your Real Intereſt in any point ſink, rather than diſpleaſe ſome one or other great man. If you are but ſenſible of your *own real great Power*, you will wiſely chuſe thoſe, that will, by all juſt and legal ways, firmly keep, and zealouſly promote it.

XI. Pray ſee that you chuſe *Sincere Proteſtants*; men that do not play the Proteſtant in *Deſign*, and are indeed *Diſguiſed Papiſts*, ready to pull off their maſk, when time ſerves: You will know ſuch by their laughing at the *Plot*, diſgracing the Evidence, admiring the Traitors Conſtancy, that were forced to it, or their religion and party were gone beyond an excuſe or an equivocation. The contrary, are men that thank God for this diſcovery, and in their converſation zealouſly direct themſelves in an oppoſition to the Papal Intereſt, which indeed is a combination againſt Good-Senſe, Reaſon and Conſcience, and to introduce a blind obedience without (if not againſt) Conviction. And that principle which introduces implicit faith and blind obedience in Religion, will alſo introduce implicit faith and blind obedience in Government. So that it is no more the *Law* in the one than in the other, but the Will and Power of the *Superior*, that ſhall be the Rule and Bond of our Subjection. This is that fatal miſchief Popery brings with it to Civil Society, and for which ſuch ſocieties ought to beware of it, and all thoſe that are friends to it.

XII. Laſtly, Among theſe, be ſure to find out, and caſt your favour upon, *Men* of *Large Principles*, ſuch as will not ſacrifice their neighbour's Property to the frowardneſs of their own Party in Religion: Pick out ſuch men, as will inviolably maintain Civil Rights, for all that will live ſoberly and civilly under the Government.

Chriſt did not revile thoſe that reviled him, much leſs did he perſecute thoſe that did not revile him. He rebuked his diſciples, that would have deſtroyed thoſe that did not follow and conform to them, ſaying, "Ye know not what ſpirit ye are of: "I came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them." Which made the Apoſtle to ſay, "That the weapons of their warfare were not carnal, but ſpiritual." This was the ancient proteſtant principle, and where Proteſtants perſecute for religion, they are falſe to their own profeſſion, and turn Papiſts even in the worſt ſenſe, againſt whom their anceſtors did ſo ſtoutly exclaim. Read the Book of Martyrs of all countries in Europe, and you will find I ſay true: Therefore beware alſo of that Popery. Conſider, that ſuch partial men do not love England, but a Sect; and prefer impoſed Uniformity, before virtuous and neighbourly Unity. This is that diſturber of kingdoms and ſtates; and until the *good* man, and not the *opinionative* man, be the Chriſtian in the eye of the government, to be ſure, while Force is uſed to propagate or deſtroy Faith, and the outward comforts of the widow and fatherleſs are made a forfeit for the peaceable exerciſe of their conſciences to God, He that ſits in heaven, and judgeth righteouſly, whoſe eye pities the oppreſſed and poor of the earth, will with-hold his bleſſings from us.

O lay to heart the grievous ſpoils and ruins that have been made upon your harmleſs neighbours, for near theſe twenty years, who have only deſired to enjoy their conſciences to God, according to the beſt of their underſtandings, and to eat the bread of honeſt labour, and to have but a penny for a penny's-worth among you. Whoſe ox or aſs have they taken? Whom have they wronged? Or when did any of them offer you violence? Yet ſixty pounds have been diſtrained for twelve, two hundred pounds for ſixty pounds. The flocks have been taken out of the fold, the herd from the ſtall; not a cow left to give milk to the orphan, nor a bed for the widow to lie on; whole barns of corn ſwept away, and not a penny returned; and thus bitterly proſecuted even by laws made againſt Papiſts. And what is all this for, unleſs their worſhipping of God according to their conſcience? For they injure no man, nor have they offered the leaſt moleſtation to the government.

Truly, I muſt take liberty to tell you, if you will not endeavour to redreſs theſe evils in your choice, I fear God will ſuffer you to fall into great calamity by thoſe you hate. You are afraid of Popery, and yet many of you practiſe it; for why do you fear it, but for its Compulſion and Perſecution? And will you compel or perſecute *yourſelves*, or chuſe ſuch as *do*? If you will, pray let me ſay, you hate the *Papiſts*, but not *Popery*. But God defend you from ſo doing, and direct you to do as you would be done by; that chuſing ſuch as love England, her People, and the Civil Rights, foundations may be laid for that ſecurity and tranquillity, which the children unborn may have cauſe to riſe up and bleſs your names and memories for. Take it in good part; I mean nothing but juſtice and peace to all; and ſo conclude myſelf,

Your honeſt Monitor, and Old England's true Friend,

PHILANGLUS.

ONE PROJECT

FOR THE

GOOD of ENGLAND:

THAT IS,

Our Civil Union is Our Civil Safety.

Humbly dedicated to the

Great Council, the Parliament

OF

ENGLAND.

RELIGION, as it is the nobleſt end of man's life, ſo it were the beſt bond of human ſociety, provided men did not err in the meaning of that excellent word. 1679. Scripture interprets it to be "loving God above all, and our neighbours as ourſelves;" but Practice teacheth us, that too many merely reſolve it into *Opinion* and *Form*; in which, not the *Text*, but the *Comment*, too often prevails: Whence it comes to paſs, that thoſe bodies of men, who have but one common civil intereſt, are miſerably diſtracted in favour of their adopted notions, upon which they are impatient to beſtow an earthly crown. And this is the reaſon of that miſchief and uncertainty that attend government. No ſooner one Opinion prevails upon another, (though all hold the Text to be ſacred) but Human Society is ſhaken, and the Civil Government muſt receive and ſuffer a Revolution; inſomuch, that when we conſider the fury and unnaturalneſs of ſome people for religion, (which ſhews they have none that is true, religion making men moſt natural as well as divine) we have reaſon to bewail the Miſ-underſtanding, as well as Miſ-living, of that venerable word.

But ſince it is ſo hard to diſabuſe men of their wrong Apprehenſions of Religion, and the true nature and life of it, and conſequently as yet too early in the day to fix ſuch a religion upon which mankind will readily agree as a common baſis for civil ſociety, we muſt recur to ſome lower, but true, principle for the preſent, and I think there will be no difficulty of ſucceeding.

It is this, 'That Civil Intereſt is the Foundation and End of Civil Government; 'and where it is not maintained intire, the Government muſt needs decline.' The word INTEREST has a good and bad acceptation: When it is taken in an ill ſenſe, it ſignifies a Purſuit of *Advantage* without regard to *Truth* or *Juſtice*; which I mean not: The good ſignification of the word, and which I mean, is 'a *Legal Endeavour* to keep *Rights*, or augment honeſt *Profits*,' whether it be in a private perſon or a ſociety. By GOVERNMENT, I underſtand a '*Juſt* and *Equal Conſtitution*,' where *Might* is not *Right*, but *Laws* rule, and not the *Wills* or *Power* of Men; for that were plain Tyranny.

This

1679. This Government muſt have a ſupreme authority in itſelf to determine, and not be ſuperſeded or controuled by any other power; for then it would not be a Government, but a Subjection; which is a plain contradiction.

Having thus explained the terms of the principle I have laid down, I repeat it, viz. ‘ That Civil Intereſt is the Foundation and End of Civil Government,’ and prove it thus: The *Good* of the *Whole* is the Riſe and End of Government: But the *Good* of the whole muſt needs be the *Intereſt* of the Whole; and conſequently the *Intereſt* of the Whole, is the Reaſon and End of Government. None can ſtumble at the word *good*; for every man may eaſily and ſafely interpret that to himſelf, ſince he muſt needs believe, it is good for him to be preſerved in an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his civil rights, according to the free and juſt laws of the land; and the conſtruction he makes for himſelf will ſerve his neighbour, and ſo the whole ſociety.

But as the Good of the people is properly the Civil Intereſt of the people, and that the reaſon and end of government; ſo is the maintainance of that civil intereſt *intire*, the preſervation of government. For where people are *ſure* of their *own*, and are protected from violence or injury, they cheerfully yield their obedience, and pay their contribution to the ſupport of that government. But, on the contrary, where men are inſecure of their civil rights, nay, where they are daily violated, and themſelves in danger of ruin, and that for no ſin committed againſt the nature of civil intereſt, (to preſerve which, government was inſtituted) we ought to ſuppoſe their affections will flag, that they will grow dead-hearted, and that what they pay or do, may go againſt the grain: And, to ſay true, ſuch unkindneſs is ready to tempt them to believe they ſhould not of right contribute to the maintenance of ſuch governments, as yield them no ſecurity or civil protection. Which unhappy flaw in the civil intereſt, proves an untoward crack in the government; men not being cordially devoted to the proſperity of that government that is exerciſed in their deſtruction; and how far that fraction upon the common intereſt of the people may affect the government I cannot tell, but to be ſure it is inſecure to any government, to have the people (its ſtrength) divided, as they will be, where their intereſt is ſo disjointed by the government; one protected, the other expoſed. Wherefore, wiſe governments have ever taken care to preſerve their people, as knowing they do thereby preſerve their own intereſt, and that how numerous their People, ſo large their Intereſt. For not only Solomon has told us, “ That the honour of a prince is in the multitude of “ his people,” but experience teaches, that plenty of people is the riches and ſtrength of a wiſe and good government; as that is, where vice is corrected and virtue encouraged, and all taken in and ſecured in civils, that have the ſame civil intereſt with the government.

But as the Good and Intereſt of the Whole is the Riſe and End of Government, ſo muſt it ſuppoſe that the Whole (which takes in all parties) concurs in ſeeking the Good of the Government; for the reaſon of the government will not ſuffer it to protect thoſe that are enemies to its conſtitution and ſafety; for ſo it would admit of ſomething dangerous to the ſociety; for the ſecurity of which, government was at firſt inſtituted.

It will follow, that thoſe that own another temporal power ſuperior to the government they properly belong to, make themſelves ſubjects not of the government they are born under, but to that authority which they avow to be ſuperior to the government of their own country, and conſequently men of another intereſt; becauſe it is their intereſt to purſue the advantages of that power they acknowledge to be ſovereign: But thoſe that own, embrace and obey the government of their own country as their temporal ſupreme authority, and whoſe intereſt is one and the ſame with that of their own proper government, ought to be valued and protected by that government.

The principle thus far lies general: I will now bring it to our own caſe:

ENGLAND is a country populous and Proteſtant; and though under ſome Diſſents within itſelf, yet the Civil Intereſt is the ſame, and in ſome ſenſe the *Religious* too. For, firſt, all Engliſh Proteſtants, whether Conformiſts or Nonconformiſts, agree in this, that they only owe allegiance and ſubjection unto the Civil Government of *England*, and offer any ſecurity in their power to give of their truth in this matter. And, in the next place, they do not only conſequentially diſclaim the Pope's ſupremacy, and all adheſion to *foreign* Authority under any pretence, but therewith deny and oppoſe the Romiſh Religion, as it ſtands degenerated from Scripture, and the firſt and pureſt ages of the Church; which makes up a great Negative Union.

And it cannot be unknown to men read in the reaſons of the Reformation, that a *Proteſtation* made by the German Reformers againſt the *Imperial Edicts* of Charles the fifth, impoſing *Romiſh Traditions*, gave beginning to the word *Proteſtant*.

In ſhort, It is the Intereſt of the Ruling or Church-Proteſtants of England, that the Pope ſhould have no claim or power in England. It is alſo the intereſt of the Diſſenting-Proteſtants, that the Pope ſhould have no claim or power here in England, becauſe they are ſubject to the ſame miſchiefs and ſufferings in their civil and religious rights that the Church-Proteſtants are liable to: If then both are like to loſe by Pope and Foreign Authority, their Intereſt muſt needs be *one* againſt Pope and Foreign Authority; and if they have but One Intereſt, it will follow, that the Church-Proteſtant cannot prejudice the Diſſenting-Proteſtant, but he muſt weaken and deſtroy his *own* intereſt.

The Civil Intereſt of Engliſh Proteſtants being thus the ſame, and their Religious Intereſt too, ſo far as concerns a Negative to the Uſurpation and Error of Rome; I do humbly aſk, if it be the intereſt of the government to expoſe thoſe to miſery, that have no other civil intereſt than that of the Government? Or if it be juſt or equal, that the weaker ſhould be proſecuted by the more powerful Proteſtants, whoſe intereſt is poſitively the ſame in Civils, and in Religion *negatively?* One would think it were reaſonable that they ſhould not ſuffer by Proteſtants, who, if Popery have a day, are likely to ſuffer with them, and that upon the ſame principles. Experience tells us, that the wiſeſt architects lay their foundations broad and ſtrong, and raiſe their ſquares and ſtructure by the moſt exact rules of art, that the fabrick may be ſecure againſt the violence of ſtorms; but if people muſt be deſtroyed by thoſe of the ſame intereſt, truly that intereſt will ſtand but totteringly, and every breath of oppoſition will be ready to ſhake it.

It was the inconfutable anſwer Chriſt made to the blaſphemers of that power by which he wrought miracles; “A kingdom divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand:” What he ſaid then, let me on another occaſion ſay now, ‘an Intereſt divided againſt itſelf muſt ‘fall.’

I know ſome men will take fire at this, and by crying ‘The CHURCH, the ‘CHURCH,’ hope to ſilence all arguments of this nature: But they muſt excuſe me, if I pay no manner of regard to their zeal, and hold their devotion both ignorant and dangerous at this time. It is not the way to fill the Church, to deſtroy the People. A Church without People is a contradiction; eſpecially when the ſcripture tells us, that it is the *People* that make the *Church*.

And it is not without an appearance of reaſon that ſome good and wiſe men are apprehenſive, that the greateſt ſticklers for perſecuting Proteſtant Diſſenters, in favour of the Church of England, are men addicted and devoted to the Church of Rome, or at leaſt animated by ſuch as are; who, deſpairing of doing any great feats, if known, hide themſelves under theſe pretences; but the meaning of it is to debilitate the Proteſtant Cauſe in general, by exciting the Church of England to deſtroy all other Proteſtant intereſts in theſe kingdoms, that ſo nothing may remain for Popery to conflict with, but the few zealous Abettors of that Church.

And that this may not look diſingenuous, or like a trick of mine, I will enforce it by a demonſtration. It is plain fact, that the Church of Rome hath, ever ſince the Reformation, practiſed the reſtoration of her religion and power in theſe kingdoms. It is as evident, that *Religion* is with her a word for *Civil Intereſt*; that is, that ſhe may have the *rule* over men, both Body and Soul. For it is *Government* ſhe aims at, to have the reins of *power* in her hand, to give *law*, and wield the *ſcepter*.

To do this, ſhe muſt either have a *greater* intereſt than the Proteſtants that are now in poſſeſſion, or elſe *divide* their intereſt, and ſo weaken them by themſelves, and make them inſtruments to her ends. That her own force is inconſiderable, is clear: She has nothing within-doors to give her hope, but the *Diſcord* of *Proteſtants*. It follows then, that ſhe muſt of neceſſity beſtir herſelf, and uſe her arts to inflame the reckoning among Proteſtants, and carry their diſſents about *religious* matters to a *Diviſion* in the *civil* intereſt. And it is the more to be feared, becauſe whatever ſhe has been to others, ſhe has been ever true to herſelf.

If this then be the only domeſtick expedient left her, we are ſure ſhe will uſe it; and if ſo, it muſt needs be of great importance with all Proteſtants to let fall their private animoſities, and take all poſſible care that their Diſſents about Faith or Worſhip, (which regard the other world) divide not their affection and judgment about the Common and Civil Intereſt of their Country; becauſe if *that* be kept intire, it equally fruſtrates the deſigns of Rome, as if you were of *One* Religion. For ſince, as I ſaid before, *Religion*, with the great men of that Church, is nothing elſe but a ſofter word for *Civil Empire*, preſerve you but your Civil Intereſt from *Fraction*, and you are, in that ſenſe, of One *Religion* too; and that ſuch an one, as you need not fear the temptation of Smithfield, if you will but be true to it.

This being the caſe, I would take leave to aſk the *Zealous* Gentlemen of the Engliſh Church, ‘If Conformity to the *Faſhion* of their *Worſhip* be dearer to them ‘than *England*'s *Intereſt* and the cauſe of *Proteſtancy*?’ If their love to Church-Government be greater, than to the Church and her Religion, and to their Country and her Laws? Or, laſtly, Whether in caſe they are ſincere in their allegations for the

Church, (which, I confeſs ingenuouſly, I am apt to ſuſpect) it is to be ſuppoſed that the preſent Church-men (*Conformiſts* I mean) are better able of *themſelves* to ſecure Proteſtancy, and our Civil Intereſt, againſt the attempts of Rome, than in *Conjunction* with the *Civil Intereſt* of all *Proteſtant Diſſenters?* If they ſay, ‘Yes;’ I would have them at the ſame time, for the ſame reaſon, to give it under their hands, that it is a ſtanding rule in Arithmetick, that ONE is more than SIX, and that hitherto we have been all miſtaken in the art of numbers.

Being brought to this pitch, I conceive they muſt ſay, That they had rather deliver up their Church to the power and deſigns of *Popery*, than ſuffer *Diſſenters* to live freely among them, though *Proteſtants*, of one *negative* religion, and of the *ſame* civil intereſt; or elſe haſten to break thoſe bonds that are laid upon diſſenters of truly tender (and by experience) of peaceable conſciences; and by law eſtabliſh the free exerciſe of their worſhip to Almighty God, that the fears, jealouſies, diſaffection and diſtraction, that now affect the one common intereſt of Proteſtants, may be removed; for it ſeems impoſſible to preſerve a *diſtinct* intereſt from *both*. But to which of theſe they may incline, I muſt not determine; and yet, I hope, they will not be of the mind of a late Monk of *Cullen*, who in his publick exerciſe exhorted the Civil Magiſtrates to chuſe to have their City *Poor* and Catholick, that is *Popiſh*, rather than *Great* and *Opulent* by the admiſſion of *trading Hereticks*: But if they ſhould, may *our* magiſtrates have at leaſt *their* prudence; for the *Culleners* gave him the hearing, but were as true to their *Intereſt*, as the Monk to his *Superſtition*.

Under favour, the *Civil Government* is greatly concerned to diſcountenance ſuch Bigotry; for it thins the people, leſſens trade, creates jealouſies, and endangers the peace and wealth of the whole. And, with ſubmiſſion, of what ſhould the Civil Magiſtrate be more tender, than of ſuffering the Civil Intereſt of a great People to be diſturbed and narrowed for the humour of any one party of them? For ſince the Civil Intereſt lies as large, as the *People* of that intereſt, the *People* muſt be preſerved in order to preſerve that *Common-Intereſt*. Other notions ever did divide and weaken Empire, and in the end they have rarely miſſed to pull the old houſe about their ears, who have governed themſelves by ſuch diſproportionable meaſures: By all means, intereſt the Affections of the people in the Proſperity of the government, by making the government a SECURITY to their particular rights and properties.

I aſk, ‘If more Cuſtom comes not to the King, and more Trade to the Kingdom, by encouraging the labour and traffick of an *Epiſcopalian, Preſbyterian, Independent, Quaker* and *Anabaptiſt*, than by an *Epiſcopalian* only?’ If this be true, why ſhould the reſt be rendered incapable of trade, yea, of living? What Schiſm or Hereſy is there in the labour and commerce of the Anabaptiſt, Quaker, Independent and Preſbyterian, more than in the labour and traffick of the Epiſcopalian?

I beſeech you give me leave: Is there ever a *Church-man* in England, that in diſtreſs would refuſe the courteſy of one of theſe *Diſſenters?* If one of them ſhould happen to fall into a pond or ditch, would he deny to be helped out by a *Diſſenter's* hand? Is it to be ſuppoſed, he would in ſuch a pickle be ſtomachful, and chuſe to lie there, and be ſmothered or drowned, rather than owe aid to the good-will of a poor *Fanatick?* Or if his houſe were on fire, may we think that he would have it rather burnt to the ground, than acknowledge its preſervation to a *Non-conformiſt?* Would not the *Act* be orthodox, whatever were the *Man?* So in caſe of being ſick, impriſoned, beſet, benighted, out of the way, far from kindred or acquaintance, with an hundred other caſes that may happen daily, can we think that ſuch men would aſk queſtions for conſcience ſake, or charge *Schiſm* upon the *Relief* given them? No, no; *Self* will always be true to its *Intereſt*, let *Superſtition* mutter what it will.

But ſince the *Induſtry, Rents* and *Taxes* of the *Diſſenters* are as current as their neighbours, who loſes by ſuch narrowneſs more than England, than the Government and the Magiſtracy? For till it be the intereſt of the farmer to *deſtroy* his *Flock*, to *ſtarve* the *Horſe* he rides, and the *Cow* that gives him *Milk*, it cannot be the intereſt of England to let a great part of her ſober and uſeful inhabitants be deſtroyed about things that concern another world. And it is to be hoped, that the wiſdom and charity of our governors will better guide them, both to their own real intereſt and their people's preſervation, which are inſeparable; that ſo they may not ſtarve them for *Religion*, that are as *willing* as *able* to work for the good of *King* and *Country*.

I beſeech you, let *Nature* ſpeak; who is ſo much a better friend to human ſociety, than falſe or froward *Opinion*, that ſhe often rectifies the miſtakes of a prejudiced education; ſo that we may ſay, how kind, how gentle, how helpful does ſhe teach us to be to each other, till that make-bate OPINION (falſly called *Religion*) begins the jangle, and foments to hatred.

All the productions of Nature are by *Love*; and ſhall Religion propagate by *Force?* If we conſider the poor *Hen*, ſhe will teach us humanity. Nature does not only learn her to hatch, but to be tender over her feeble chickens, that they may not be a prey to the *Kite*. All the *Seeds* and *Plants* that grow for the uſe and nouriſhment of man, are produced by the kind and warm influences of the *Sun*. Nothing but *Kindneſs* keeps up *Human Race:* Men and women do not beget children in *Spite* but *Affection*. It is wonderful to think by what friendly and gentle ways Nature produces and matures the creatures of the world; and that *Religion* ſhould teach us to be *froward* and *cruel*, is lamentable: This were to make her the *enemy*, inſtead of the *reſtorer*, of Nature. But, I think, we may without offence ſay, that ſince *True Religion* gives men *greater* Mildneſs and Goodneſs than they had before, *that* Religion which teaches them *leſs*, muſt needs be *falſe*. What ſhall we ſay then, but that even *Nature* is a truer guide to peace, and better informs us to preſerve Civil Intereſt, than *Falſe* Religion, and conſequently, that we ought to be true to the natural and juſt principles of ſociety, and not ſuffer one of them to be violated for Humour or Opinion. 1679.

Let us go together as far as our *Way* lies, and preſerve our unity in thoſe principles which maintain our Civil Society. This is our common and our juſt intereſt; all Proteſtant Diſſenters agree in this; and it is both wiſe and righteous to admit no fraction upon this pact, no violence upon this concord. For the conſequence of permitting any thing to break in upon the principles of human ſociety, that is *foreign* to the nature of it, will diſtract and weaken that ſociety.

We know, that in all *Plantations* the wiſdom of Planters is well aware of this: And let us but conſider, that the *ſame* ways that *plant* countries, muſt be *kept to* for *preſerving* the plantation, elſe it will quickly be depopulated.

That country which is falſe to its firſt principles of government, and miſtakes or divides its common and popular intereſt, muſt unavoidably decay. And let me ſay, That had there been this freedom granted eighteen years ago, *Proteſtancy* had been too potent for the enemies of it; nor had there been thoſe diviſions for *Popery* to make its advantage by; at leaſt, not in the Civil Intereſt of the nation. And where that has been preſerved intire, it has been never able to prevail: Witneſs the careful government of *Holland*, where the preſervation of their civil intereſt from fraction hath ſecured them againſt the growth of *Popery*, though it be almoſt tolerated by them: So powerful are the effects of an united civil intereſt in government. Now becauſe the civil intereſt of this nation is the *Preſervation* of the *Free* and *Legal Government* of it from all ſubjection to *Foreign Claim*, and that the ſeveral ſorts of Proteſtants are united, as in the Common Proteſtancy, that is, a *General Renunciation* of Rome, ſo in the maintenance of this Civil Government as a common ſecurity, (for it ſtrikes at both their rights, civil and ſacred; their conſcience, religion and law, to admit any foreign juriſdiction here) it muſt follow, that had theſe ſeveral, as well Engliſh as Proteſtant parties, been timely encouraged to this united civil intereſt, they had ſecured the government from this danger by rendering it too formidable for the attempt.

But there is a twofold miſtake that I think fit to remove. Firſt, That the difference betwixt *Proteſtants* and their *Diſſenters* is generally managed as if it were *civil*. Secondly, The difference betwixt *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant* is carried on as if it were chiefly *religious*.

To the firſt, I ſay, It is plauſible, but falſe; it is an artifice of ill men to inflame the government againſt good people, to make baſe ends by other mens ruin: Whereas they that diſſent, are at a *Ne plus ultra* on the behalf of the Engliſh Government, as well as themſelves. They neither acknowledge nor ſubmit to any other authority. They hold the One Common *Civil Head*; and not only acquieſce in the diſtribution of juſtice by law, but embrace it as the beſt part of their Patrimony. So that the difference between Proteſtants and their Diſſenters is purely *religious*, and moſtly about Church-Government, and ſome Forms of Worſhip, apprehended to be not ſo pure and apoſtolical as could be deſired: And here it is, that *Tenderneſs* ſhould be exerciſed, if in any caſe in the world, or St. Paul is miſtaken.

But as to the ſecond, under correction, the caſe is altered; for though it be moſtly managed on the ſide of *Religion*, the great point is merely *Civil*, and ſhould never be otherwiſe admitted or underſtood. For want of this caution, Proteſtants ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into tedious controverſies about religion, and give occaſion to the Profeſſors and Favourers of that Way to exclaim againſt them, as *Perſecutors* for Religion, who had reprobated ſuch ſeverity in the Papiſts to their anceſtors (a moſt plauſible, and very often a ſucceſsful, plea); when, in reality, the difference is not ſo much *religious* as *civil*. Not but that there is a vaſt Contrariety in Doctrine and Worſhip too: But this, barely, ſhould not be the cauſe of our ſo great diſtance, and that proviſion the law makes againſt them; but rather that fundamental *Inconſiſtency* they carry with them to the ſecurity of the Engliſh Government and Conſtitution unto which they belong, by acknowledging a *foreign* juriſdiction in theſe kingdoms. So that drawing into queſtion and danger the Conſtitution and Government, to which Scripture, and Nature, and Civil Pact, oblige their fidelity and obedience, there ſeems a diſcharge upon the Civil Government from any farther care of *their* protection, who make it a piece of *Conſcience* to ſeek its *Ruin*, and which is worſe, a *Principle*, not to be informed of *better* things; for even here not Reaſon or Law, but the Pope, muſt be judge.

This being the brief and modeſt ſtate of the caſe, I muſt return to my firſt great principle, ‘ That *Civil Intereſt* is the Foundation and End of *Civil Government:*’ And that how much men deſert the *Intereſt* of a kingdom, ſo much they wound and ſubvert the *Government* of it. I appeal to all wiſe and conſiderate men of the truth of this, by the preſent poſture of affairs and their proper cauſe.

To come then to our point: Shall Engliſh men *by* Engliſh men, and Proteſtants *by* Proteſtants, be free or oppreſſed? That is, ‘ Whether ſhall we receive as *Engliſhmen* and *Proteſtants*, thoſe that have no other civil intereſt than that which is purely *Engliſh*, and who ſincerely profeſs and embrace the ſame Proteſtation, for which the ancient reformers were ſtiled *Proteſtants*; or, for the ſake of humour or baſe ends, *diſown* them, and expoſe them and their families to utter miſery?’

I would hope better of our great Church-mens charity and prudence: But if they ſhould be ſo unhappy as to keep to their old meaſures, and ſtill play the gaudy, but empty, name of *Church* againſt the *Civil Intereſt* and *Religion* of the Nation, they will ſhew themſelves deſerted of God; and then how long it will be before they will be ſeen and left of all ſober men, let them judge. For, to ſpeak freely, after all this *Light* that is now in the world, no *Ignorance* can excuſe ſuch *Zeal*; nor will wiſe men believe it to be any thing more than a trick to weaken Proteſtancy, that her declared enemy may with leſs hazard gain the chair. And there is not ſo much reaſon to fear profeſſed Roman-Catholicks, as thoſe gentlemen, who valuing themſelves by their reſpects to the Church, and tenderneſs of its independent honour, have the opportunity, with *leſs* ſuſpicion, of letting in *Popery* at the back-door. Theſe are men that pay off the *Fanatick* in the name of the *Church*, but for the good of the *Pope*, to whoſe account thoſe endeavours muſt be placed.

But it will go a great way to our deliverance, if we are not careleſs to obſerve the ſecret workings of thoſe that have vowed our miſery; and, of them, ſuch as are in maſquerade, and wear the guiſe of friends, are moſt dangerous. But ſome men are purblind, they can ſee danger as near as their noſe; but in a difficulty that is not a foot from them, they are preſumptive, reſtive, and not to be governed. Could ſome Churchmen but ſee the irreparable miſchiefs that will attend them (if ſincere to their preſent profeſſion) unleſs prevented by a Modeſt and Chriſtian *Condeſcenſion* to Diſſenting Proteſtant Chriſtians, they would never ſuffer themſelves to be miſguided by ſtiff and rigid principles at this time of day.

If Chriſtianity, that moſt meek and ſelf-denying religion, cannot prevail upon them, methinks the power of Intereſt, and that *Self*-intereſt too, ſhould have ſome ſucceſs; for in thoſe caſes they uſe not to be obſtinate.

But I expect it ſhould be told me, ‘ That this is the way to ruin the *Church*, and let in an *Anarchy* in Religion:’ *Cujus contrarium verum.* I am glad to obviate this, before I leave you, ſeeing the contrary is moſt true; for it leaves the Church and Churchmen as they are, with this diſtinction, that whereas now conformity is *coercive*, which is Popiſh, it will be then *perſuaſive*, which is Chriſtian. And there may be ſome hopes, when the Parſons, deſtitute of the Magiſtrate's Sword, ſhall of neceſſity inforce their religion by good doctrine and holy living: Nor ought they to murmur, for that which ſatisfied Chriſt and his Apoſtles, ſhould ſatisfy them: *His* kingdom is not of *this* world; therefore they ſhould not *fight* for him, if they would be his ſervants, and the children of his kingdom. Chriſt, and not Civil Force, is the rock his Church is built upon. Nor indeed has any thing ſo tarniſhed the cauſe of Proteſtancy, as the profeſſors of it betaking themſelves to *worldly* arms to propagate their religion. David could not wear Saul's Armour; and true Proteſtants cannot uſe Popiſh Weapons, *Impoſition* and *Perſecution*. In ſhort; it is the very intereſt of the Church of England, to preſerve the Civil Intereſt *intire*, or elſe Popery will endanger all: But that cannot be, unleſs *all* of that civil intereſt be *preſerved*; therefore Proteſtant Diſſenters ſhould be *indulged*.

But ſome will ſay, ‘ There is a difference, even among Diſſenters: Some will give a ſecurity to the civil government by taking the Oaths; others will not: And be it through Tenderneſs, how do we know but *Papiſts* will ſhrowd themſelves under the wings of ſuch Diſſenters? And ſo, in tolerating Proteſtant Diſſenters to fortify Proteſtancy, in reality *Popery* will be hereby ſheltered *incognito*.’

I anſwer, firſt, That ſuch oaths are little or no ſecurity to any government; and though they may give ſome allay to the jealouſy of governors, they never had the effect deſired. For neither in private caſes, nor yet in publick tranſactions, have men adhered to their Oaths, but their Intereſt. He that is a Knave, was never made honeſt by an Oath: Nor is it an Oath, but Honeſty, that keeps honeſt men ſuch. Read ſtory, and conſult our modern times; tell me what government ſtood the firmer or longer for them? Men may take them for their own advantage, or to avoid loſs and puniſhment: But the queſtion is, What real benefit or ſecurity comes thereby to the government? It is certain they have often inſnared a *good* man, but never caught *one knave* yet: We ought not to put ſo great a value upon oaths, as to render the ſecurity of our government ſo low and hazardous.

God's Providence, and the wiſdom of our anceſtors, have found out a better teſt for us to reſt upon, and that is, our *Common Intereſt*, and the *Laws* of the *Land* DULY *executed:* Theſe are the ſecurity of our government.

For example: A man *ſwears* he will *not* plot, yet *plots:* Pray what ſecurity is this oath to the government? But though it is evident that this be *no* ſecurity, that *Law* which hangs him for plotting, is an *unqueſtionable* one. So that it is not for wiſe governors, by ſwearing men to the government, to think to ſecure it; but all having *agreed* to the Laws by which they are to be governed, let any man *break* them at his *peril.* Wherefore *good Laws*, and a *juſt Execution* of them, and not *Oaths*, are the *natural* and *real* ſecurity of a Government.

But next: Though ſome may ſcruple the oaths, it is not for the ſake of the Matter ſo much as Form; which, you know, is not the caſe of Roman Catholicks, (pray diſtinguiſh); and thoſe very perſons, whoever they be, of Proteſtant Diſſenters, I dare ſay they will very cheerfully promiſe their allegiance on the *ſame penalties*, and ſubſcribe *any* Renunciation of *Pope* and *Foreign Authority*, which the art of man can pen: Nor ſhould it be hard for you to believe they ſhould *ſubſcribe* what they have always *lived.*

To that part of the objection which mentions the danger of *Papiſts* concealing themſelves under the character of *Proteſtant Diſſenters;* under favour I ſay it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that thoſe who will deny their Faith upon Record, (as thoſe that ſubſcribe your Declaration do) will ſwallow the Oaths too: For the Declaration flatly denies the *Religion*, but the Oaths only the Pope's *Supremacy*, which even ſome of themſelves pretend to reject. Therefore thoſe that can ſincerely ſubſcribe the Declaration cannot be Papiſts.

If it be yet objected, 'That Papiſts may have *Diſpenſations* to ſubſcribe the Teſt, 'or a *Pardon*, when they have done it;' I anſwer, they may as well have diſpenſations to take the *Oaths*, or Pardons when they *have* taken them; and theſe laſt ſix months prove as much. There is no fence againſt this flail. At this rate they may as well be *Proteſtants*, as *Proteſtant-Diſſenters; Miniſters* or *Biſhops* in *Churches*, as *Speakers* or *Preachers* in *Meeting-houſes:* This objection only ſhows the weakneſs of both Oaths and Declaration for the purpoſe intended; and not that they can hide themſelves more under one People than another. For they that can have a diſpenſation or pardon for one act, can have it for another; eſpecially when the matter of the Declaration is of a more general weight to them, than that of the Oath: All which confirms my former judgment of the inſecurity of ſuch oaths to any government.

Give me leave then upon this to aſk you, If you will bring a certain ruin upon any Proteſtant Diſſenters for the ſake of ſuch an uncertain ſecurity to yourſelves? For this is the queſtion: I beſeech you to weigh it as becomes wiſe and good men: Shall they be reprobated for tenderly refuſing, what, being performed, cannot ſave or ſecure you?

Conſider, you have *no* reaſon to believe, but thoſe that are *allowed* to ſubſcribe the *Declaration*, or that will be pardoned when they have done it, may be allowed to take the *Oaths*, or will be pardoned or abſolved when they have taken them: But you *are* certain, on the other ſide, that the impoſing of the Oaths will be a great Snare to many Proteſtant Diſſenters, that love the Government, and renounce both Pope and Popery: They will be ruined; which, to me, is of the nature of an argument for thoſe people: For their not taking the Oaths, proves plainly, they have no Diſpenſations, nor hopes of Abſolution, and therefore no Papiſts: Shall they then lie under the ſeverities intended againſt Papiſts, who have none of their diſpenſations or abſolutions to deliver them from them? This is (with ſubmiſſion, but in plain terms) to make the caſe of the kingdom worſe; for it deſtroys thoſe who are not guilty, and whom, I believe, you would not deſtroy.

Having brought the matter to this, I ſhall firſt offer you a *new* Teſt: Next, the ways of taking it, with moſt aggravation againſt the party rejecting or breaking it: And laſtly, how you may ſecure yourſelves from Papiſts diſguiſing themſelves among Proteſtant-Diſſenters; that ſo nothing may remain a *remora* in the way, that ſhall not be removed, to leave you a plain and even path to peace and ſafety.

The New TEST.

I A. B. do ſolemnly and in good conſcience, in the ſight of God and men, acknowledge and declare, that King Charles the Second is lawful King of this Realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. And that neither the Pope nor See of Rome, nor any elſe by their authority, have Right in any caſe to depoſe the king, or diſpoſe of his kingdom, or upon any ſcore whatever to abſolve his ſubjects of their obedience, or to give leave to any of them to plot or conſpire the hurt of the King's Perſon, his State or People; and that all ſuch pretences and power are falſe, pernicious and damnable.

And I do farther ſincerely profeſs, and in good conſcience declare, that I do not believe that the Pope is Chriſt's Vicar, or Peter's Lawful Succeſſor, or that he or the See of Rome, ſeverally or jointly, are the Rule of Faith or Judge of Controverſy, or that they can abſolve ſins: Nor do I believe there is a Purgatory after death; or that Saints ſhould be prayed to, or Images in any ſenſe be worſhipped. Nor do I believe, that there is any Tranſubſtantiation in the Lord's Supper, or Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Conſecration thereof by any perſon whatſoever. But I do firmly believe, that the preſent communion of the Roman-Catholick Church is both ſuperſtitious and idolatrous. And all this I do acknowledge, intend, profeſs and declare without any equivocation, or reſerved or other ſenſe, than the plain and uſual ſignification of theſe words, according to the real intention of the Law-makers, and the common acceptation of all true Proteſtants.

This is the Teſt I offer; large in Matter, becauſe comprehenſive of Oaths and Teſt too, yet brief in Words.

The next thing is the ways of taking it with moſt aggravation upon the refuſers or violaters of it.

1. That in all cities and great towns, notice be given by the magiſtrates thereof to the inhabitants of every Ward or Pariſh to appear on ſuch a day, be it New Years-day, or Aſh-Wedneſday rather (when the Pope curſes all Proteſtants) at their publick hall, or other places of commerce, where the magiſtrates ſhall firſt openly read, ſubſcribe, and ſeal the Teſt. Then that it be read again by the proper officer of the place to the people, and that thoſe that take it, do audibly pronounce the words after him that reads it; and when they have ſo done, that they ſubſcribe and ſeal it. That ſuch ſubſcriptions be regiſtered, and Copies of each pariſh ſubſcription tranſmitted to the Pariſh, and affixed upon ſome publick place for all that will to ſee.

2. That in the countries, the Pariſhes of each Hundred or Rape may be likewiſe ſummoned to appear upon the day aforeſaid, at the head Market-town in the ſaid Hundred or Rape; and, that the Juſtices of the Peace within that part of the county ſhall firſt read, ſubſcribe, and ſeal the ſaid Teſt, in view of the people; and then that the people ſay, ſubſcribe, and ſeal the Teſt, as is before expreſſed. Which being done, let the ſaid Subſcriptions be collected into one volume, and kept in the county-court as a Book of Record; and that to each pariſh be tranſmitted a Copy of the ſaid Pariſh Subſcription, to be affixed upon ſome publick place within the ſaid pariſh, for all to ſee.

Laſtly, Let this be done annually, that is, upon every New-Years-day, or Aſh-Wedneſday, as a perpetual teſtimony of the people's affection to the King and Government, and their abhorrence of the practices of Rome.

The abuſe of this Diſcrimination ſhould be very penal: For it is a great lye upon a man's own conſcience, and a cheat put upon the government: Your wiſdom can beſt proportion and direct the puniſhment; but it can ſcarcely be too ſevere, as our buſineſs ſtands.

But as, in caſe of ſuch hypocriſy, a ſevere penalty ſhould be inflicted, ſo pray let proviſion be made, that if any perſon ſo ſubſcribing, ſhould be afterwards called by the name of Jeſuit or Papiſt, without very good proof, it ſhould be deemed and puniſhed in open ſeſſions, for a ſlander and breach of peace; yet ſo as that the penalty may be remitted at the requeſt of the abuſed party.

I ſhould think that this buſineſs, carefully done, might render needleſs my anſwer to the laſt objection, viz. 'Which way ſhall we be able to prevent Papiſts from paſſing 'for Proteſtant Diſſenters, that ſo the ſecurity propounded to the government, be not 'baffled by diſguiſe?' For no Papiſt can ſubſcribe this, but he will lye in the face of the government and country, and that Yearly, and upon Record too; which is ten times more than a tranſient Oath, muttered with one word ſpoken, and another dropt. However, that we may carry it as far as human prudence can go,-----

I yet offer two Expedients:

Firſt, That upon jealouſy of any perſon's being a Papiſt, or popiſhly inclined, who is known to frequent the aſſemblies of Proteſtant Diſſenters, Four of that party, of moſt note and integrity, unto which he pretends to adhere, ſhould be ſummoned to appear before thoſe Juſtices of the Peace unto whom the complaint is made, to teſtify their knowledge of the perſon ſuſpected, his Education, Principles, and Manner of Life: Which way of inſpection, as it goes as far as man can reach, ſo can it ſcarcely fail; for thoſe perſons will not only diſcover their own hypocriſy if they conceal him, but expoſe themſelves and their friends to ruin. So that to ſay true, the government has the intereſt and ſecurity of an intire party, for the diſcovery of every ſuch ſuſpected perſon.

But if this will not do, then

Secondly, Be you pleaſed to refer the diſcrimination of ſuſpected perſons to the good old way of the government, that is, 'The Enquiry and Judgment of Twelve men of 'the neighbourhood;' to wit, *a Jury*: provided always, that they be ſuch as have taken, or will themſelves take, the Teſt; elſe, that they may be excepted againſt by the party ſuſpected.

Indeed a good expedient may be made out of both, for the firſt may be the evidence to the laſt, and I think you will hardly fail of your ends.

I ſhall conclude with this requeſt, firſt, to Almighty God, that he would pleaſe to make us truly and deeply ſenſible of his preſent mercies to us, and to reform our hearts and lives to improve them thankfully. And, ſecondly, to you, that we may be loving, humble and diligent, one to and for another: For as from ſuch amendments we may dare promiſe great and ſudden felicity to England, ſo if looſeneſs in life, and bitterneſs in religion, be not ſpeedily reprehended and reformed, and the common civil intereſt maintained intire, God will, I juſtly fear, repent he has begun to do us good, adjourn the day of our deliverance to that of our repentance and moderation, and overcaſt theſe happy dawnings of his favour, by a thick and diſmal cloud of confuſion and miſery: Which God avert!

Theſe things that I have written, are no wild gueſſes, or may-be's, but the diſeaſe and cure, the danger and ſafety, of England: In treating of which, that God who made the world knows, I have not gratified any private ſpleen or intereſt (for I am ſorry at the Occaſion) but ſingly and conſcientiouſly intended his honour, and the laſting good of England, to which all perſonal and party conſiderations ought ever to ſubmit.

Amicus Plato, amicus Ariſtoteles, ſed magis amica Veritas. i. e. Anglia.

Your own faithful and moſt affectionate

PHILANGLUS.

A BRIEF

1681.

A BRIEF EXAMINATION AND STATE OF LIBERTY SPIRITUAL,

BOTH WITH RESPECT TO PERSONS in their PRIVATE CAPACITY, AND IN THEIR CHURCH SOCIETY and COMMUNION.

Written for the Eſtabliſhment of the Faithful, Information of the Simple-hearted, and Reproof of the Arrogant and High-minded,

By a Lover of TRUE LIBERTY, as it is in JESUS.

WILLIAM PENN.

To go amongſt the People of the Lord called Quakers.

If the SON make you FREE, ye ſhall be free INDEED. John viii. 36.
If we walk in the Light as he is in the Light, we have Fellowſhip one with another, and the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſeth us from all Sin. 1 John i. 7.

TO THE

PEOPLE of the LORD,

CALLED

QUAKERS.

Dear Friends and Brethren,

1681. IT hath of long time reſted with ſome preſſure upon my ſpirit, for Zion's ſake, and the peace of Jeruſalem, to write ſomething of the Nature of True Spiritual Liberty; *Liberty*, one of the moſt glorious words and things in the world, but little underſtood, and frequently abuſed by many. I beſeech Almighty God to preſerve you, his people, in the right knowledge and uſe of that Liberty, which Jeſus Chriſt, the captain of our ſalvation, hath purchaſed for us, and is redeeming us into, who hath "led captivity captive, and is giving gifts to them that truly believe in his name." Chriſt's Liberty is obtained through Chriſt's-Croſs; they that would be his Free-men, muſt be his Bonds-men, and wear his bleſſed yoke. His liberty is *from* ſin, not *to* ſin; to do his will, and not our own; no, not to ſpeak an idle word. "It is not I that live," ſaith the apoſtle, "but Chriſt that liveth in me," who had ſet him free from the power of ſin, and brought immortality to light in him; whence he learned thus to triumph, "O death, where is thy ſting! O grave, where is thy victory!" This is the perſonal freedom that comes by Jeſus Chriſt, to as many as receive him in the way, and for the end for which God hath given him; to wit, to be a Saviour and a Leader, to ſave us from our corruptions, and guide us in the narrow way of his holy croſs, and through the ſtrait gate of ſelf-denial, which leads to eternal life. And as many as have entered at this door, are come to have Unity with God, and one with another; to love him above all, and their neighbours as themſelves; yea, to prefer each other before themſelves. Such will not violate the great law of their Lord and maſter; "Love one another;" the New, and yet the Old Commandment: Theſe dwell in Love, and ſo they dwell in God; for "God is Love." It was the beloved diſciple's teſtimony, and it comes up to what another man of God hath ſaid, namely, "The church that dwells in God:" If ſhe dwells in God, then in Love; conſequently her members are in union, of one mind in church matters, ſince ſhe has but one Head to rule her.

Peruſe this brief diſcourſe in this love, and it may be to edification. My aim is to aſſert the truth, detect error, and point in true brotherly kindneſs at thoſe ſhoals and ſands which ſome by miſtake, or over-boldneſs, have and may run upon. O friends! I greatly deſire, that the Spirit of Love, Wiſdom, and a ſound Underſtanding, of Meekneſs, Judgment and Mercy, may ever reſt upon you; that blameleſly you may be kept, an holy family, at unity with itſelf, to the Lord God your Redeemer, that he over all may in you, through you, and by you, be exalted, honoured and praiſed, who is worthy and bleſſed for ever.

A BRIEF

A
BRIEF EXAMINATION
OF
SPIRITUAL LIBERTY.

Queſt. "WHAT is ſpiritual liberty?

Anſw. It is two-fold; there is a true and a falſe liberty, as a true and falſe ſpirit, the right diſcerning of which concerns every one's eternal well-being. 1681.

Qu. *What is true ſpiritual liberty?*

Anſw. Deliverance from ſin by the perfect law in the heart, "The perfect law of liberty," James ii. otherwiſe called, "The law of the Spirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus, that makes free from the law of ſin and death;" elſewhere ſtiled, "The law of truth writ in the heart," which makes free indeed, as ſaith Chriſt, "If the Son ſhall make you free, ye ſhall be free indeed." So that the liberty of God's people ſtands in the Truth, and their communion in it, and in the perfect ſpiritual law of Chriſt Jeſus, which delivers and preſerves them from every evil thing that doth or would embondage. In this bleſſed liberty, it is not the will nor wiſdom of man, neither the vain affections and luſts, that rule or give law to the ſoul; for the minds of all ſuch as are made free by the Truth, are by the Truth conducted in doing and ſuffering through their earthly pilgrimage.

Qu. *What is falſe liberty?*

Anſw. A departing from this bleſſed Spirit of Truth, and a rebelling againſt this perfect law of liberty in the heart, and being at liberty to do our own wills; upon which cometh reproof and judgment.

Qu. *But are there not ſome things wherein we ought to be left to our own Freedom?*

Anſw. "We are not our own, for we are bought with a price;" and in all things ought we to glorify God with our bodies, ſouls and ſpirits, which are the Lord's.

Qu. *But muſt we have a motion or command from the Spirit of Truth for all things that we do?*

Anſw. That may be *according to* the Truth, which may not be by the immediate *Motion* or *Command* of the Truth; for that is *according to* the Truth, that is not *againſt* the mind of the Truth, either particularly or generally expreſſed. The Truth commands me to "do all to the praiſe and glory of God;" but not that I ſhould wait for a motion to do every *particular* thing. For example: The variety of actions in trading, commerce and huſbandry, the variety of fleſh, fiſh and fowl for food, with more of the ſame nature, in all which there is a choice and liberty, but ſtill according to the Truth, and within the holy bounds and limits of it.

Qu. *Then it ſeems there are ſome things left to our Freedom.*

Anſw. Yes; but it muſt ſtill be according to the mind of God's Truth: There are things enjoined, ſuch as relate to our duty to God, to our ſuperiors, to the houſhold of faith, and to all men and creatures, theſe are *indiſpenſible.* There are alſo things that may be done or left undone, which may be called *indifferent*; as what ſort of meat I will eat to-day, whether I will eat fleſh, fiſh or herbs, or what hours I will eat my meals at, with many ſuch outward things of life and converſe; yet even in ſuch caſes I ought to act according to the Truth, in the temperance and wiſdom of it.

1681. Quſ. *But doth not Freedom extend farther than this? For ſince God hath given me a manifeſtation of his Spirit to profit withal, and that I have the gift of God in myſelf, ſhould I not be left to act according as I am free and perſuaded in my own mind, in the things that relate to God; leſt, looking upon myſelf as obliged by what is revealed unto another, though it be not revealed unto me, I ſhould be led out of my own meaſure, and act upon another's motion, and ſo offer a blind ſacrifice to God?*

Anſw. This is true in a ſenſe; that is, if thou art ſuch an one that canſt do nothing *againſt* the Truth, but *for* the Truth, then mayeſt thou ſafely be left to thy Freedom in the things of God: And the reaſon is plain, becauſe thy Freedom ſtands in the perfect of law of liberty, in the law of the Spirit of Life in Chriſt Jeſus, and in the Truth, which is Chriſt Jeſus, which makes thee free indeed; that is, perfectly free from all that is bad, and perfectly free to all that is holy, juſt, lovely, honeſt, comely, and of good report; but if thou pleadeſt thy Freedom againſt ſuch things, yea, obſtructeſt and ſlighteſt ſuch good, wholeſome and requiſite things, thy Freedom is naught, dark, perverſe, out of the Truth, and againſt the perfect law of love and liberty.

Qu. *But muſt I conform to things whether I can receive them or no? Ought I not to be left to the Grace and Spirit of God in my own heart?*

Anſw. To the firſt part of the queſtion, Nay; to the laſt, Yea. But now let us conſider what is the reaſon thou canſt not receive them: Is the fault in the things themſelves? Are they inconſiſtent with Truth, or will not the Truth own or aſſent unto them, or is the fault in thee? That is to ſay, Is it thy Weakneſs, or thy Careleſneſs? If thy Weakneſs, it is to be borne with, and to be informed; if thy Careleſneſs, thou oughteſt to be admoniſhed; for it is a dangerous principle, and pernicious to true religion, and, which is worſe, it is the root of Ranteriſm to aſſert, 'That 'nothing is a duty incumbent upon thee, but what thou art perſuaded is thy duty;' for the *ſeared* conſcience pleads his liberty againſt all duty, the *dark* conſcience is here unconcerned, the *dead* conſcience is here uncondemned; unleſs this diſtinction be allowed of, that there may be an ignorance or an inſenſibility from Inability or Incapacity, or a dark Education; and an Ignorance and Inſenſibility, from Careleſneſs, Diſobedience, Prejudice, &c. So that though thou art not to conform to any thing ignorantly, yet thou art ſeriouſly to conſider why thou art ignorant, and what the cauſe of ſuch ignorance may be: Certainly it cannot be in God, nor in his Gift to thee; it muſt then needs be in thyſelf, who haſt not yet received a ſenſe for or againſt the matter, about which thou art in doubt. To the ſecond part of the queſtion; 'Ought I not to be left 'to the Grace of God in my own heart?' *Anſ.* That is of all things moſt deſirable, ſince they are well left that are there left; for there is no fear of want of Unity, where all are left with the One Spirit of Truth; they muſt be of one mind, they cannot be otherwiſe. So that to plead this againſt unity, is to abuſe the very plea, and to commit the greateſt contradiction to that very doctrine of ſcripture, viz. 'That all ſhould 'be guided by the Grace and Spirit of God in themſelves;' for the end of that doctrine is Certainty. "They ſhall all know me, ſaith the Lord, from the leaſt to the greateſt. "And I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me for ever, for "the good of them, and of their children after them," Jer. xxxii. 39. "And I will "give them one heart, and I will put a new ſpirit within you; and I will take the "ſtony heart out of their fleſh, and will give them an heart of fleſh," Ezekiel xi. 19. "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and of one ſoul." Acts iv. 32. Is not this Unity too? "I will reſtore unto you a pure language; they ſhall "be of one heart and of one mind, and great ſhall be their peace." Therefore I muſt ſay to thee, Friend, What if thou wilt not be left with the Grace and Spirit of God in thyſelf, nor wait for its mind, nor be watchful to its revelations, nor humble and quiet till thou haſt received ſuch neceſſary manifeſtations, but pleadeſt againſt the counſel of the Spirit of the Lord in other faithful perſons, under the pretence of being left to his Spirit in thyſelf; by which means thou oppoſeſt the Spirit to the Spirit, and pleadeſt for Diſ-unity, under the name of Liberty; I aſk thee, May not I exhort thee to the practice of that I am moved to preſs thee to the practice of? If not, thou art the impoſer, by reſtraining me from my Chriſtian Liberty; and not only ſo, but away goeth preaching, and with it the ſcriptures, that are both appointed of God for "Exhortation, reproof and inſtruction."

Queſt. *But are there not various meaſures, diverſities of gifts, and ſeveral offices in the body?*

Anſw. True; but therefore are not the members of one mind, one will, and one judgment, in common and univerſal matters, eſpecially relating to the family and church of God? And indeed there cannot be a falſer reaſoning than to conclude *Diſcord* from *Diverſity*, *Contrariety* from *Variety*. Is there contrariety of *Bloods*, *Lifes*, *Feelings*, *Seeings*, *Hearings*, *Taſtings*, *Smellings*, in one and the ſame *Body*, at one and the ſame *Time*? No ſuch matter: Experience is a demonſtration againſt all ſuch inſinuations. So that though it be granted, that there is diverſity of Gifts, yet there is no diſagreement in Senſe; and though variety of Offices, yet no contrariety in Judgment concerning thoſe offices. Well ſay the holy ſcriptures of truth, "There "is but One God: The Lord our God is but One Lord: There is but One God and "Father of all things (that are good); and there is but One Lord, One Faith, and "One Baptiſm;" and his Light, Life and Spirit is at unity with itſelf in all: What comes from the Light, Life or Spirit in one, it is the ſame in truth and unity to the reſt, as if it did riſe in themſelves: This is ſeen in our aſſemblies every day, and will be throughout all generations in the Church of God, among thoſe that live in the lowly Truth, in which the pure ſenſe and ſound judgment ſtand: "God is not the "God of Confuſion, but Order:" Every one in his order is ſatisfied, hath unity and true fellowſhip, with whatever comes from the Life of God in another: For this precious Life reacheth throughout the heritage of God, and is the common Life that giveth the common Feeling and Senſe to the heritage of God. Degree or Meaſure *in* the ſame Life can never contradict or obſtruct that which is *from* the ſame Life for the common benefit of the family of God. "The Lord is the Unmeaſure-"able and Incomprehenſible Glorious Being of Life," yet have we unity with him in all his works, who are come to his divine meaſure of Light and Truth in our own hearts, and live therein; and ſhall we not have unity with that which proceeds from a fellow-creature? In ſhort, the ſaints way is in the Light, wherein there is neither doubt nor diſcord; yea, they are Children of the Light, and called *Light*, and "The *Lights* of the World;" and can it be ſuppoſed that ſuch ſhould diſagree and contradict each other in their exterior order and practice in the Church before the world? O the bleſſed ſeamleſs garment of Jeſus! Where that is known, theſe things can never riſe. But yet again, "The juſt man's path is" not only a Light but a "*ſhining* Light," Brightneſs itſelf: Certainly there can be no ſtumbling. It is alſo ſaid, that "Light is ſown for the righteous;" then the righteous ſhall never want light upon any occaſion: And ſaith that beloved evangeliſt and apoſtle of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "They that walk in the Light, have fellowſhip one with another," 1 John i. Whence it is eaſy to conclude, they that go out of the fellowſhip, go out of the Light: But if they that walk in the Light, have fellowſhip one with another, what ſhall we ſay of thoſe that plead being left to the Light to juſtify their not having fellowſhip one with another? And, which is yet worſe, who ſuppoſe people may conſcientiouſly and juſtifiably diſſent within themſelves, and that by reaſon of the variety of the degrees of the Spirit and Grace that are given of God unto them; as if the leſſer degree may diſſent from the greater, becauſe of its not being able to comprehend it. And to make this principle more authentick, ſuch tell us, 'This is the ancient prin-'ciple of Truth;' and object, 'How will you elſe be able to maintain the Quakers 'Principles?' The fallacy of all which, lieth (as I ſaid before) in not rightly diſtinguiſhing between Diverſity and Diſagreement, Variety and Contrariety; for this Diverſity hath *Concord*, and this Variety hath *Unity*. And it is a blindneſs that hath too much of late happened to ſome, by going from the one Life and Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, firſt to fall into diſagreements, and then plead for it, under the notion of Diverſity of Meaſures. I would aſk all ſuch perſons, who arrogate to themſelves ſuch a peculiar knowledge of the ancient principles of Truth, or the Quakers firſt principles; 1ſt, 'Whether they believe there be a Chriſtian Body? 2dly, Whether this Body hath an 'Head? 3dly, Whether Chriſt be not this Head? 4thly, Whether this Head be with-'out Eyes, Ears, Smell and Taſte, and this Body without Senſe and Feeling?' If not, 'Whether this Head ſeeth, heareth, ſmelleth, taſteth, *differingly* and *contrarily* to it-'ſelf? And whether this Body hath a contrary Feeling at the ſame time about the 'ſame thing?' And if it be true, that the Church of Chriſt, redeemed by his moſt precious blood to live to him, ſee with the ſame eye, hear with the ſame ear, ſpeak with the ſame mouth, live by the ſame breath, and are led by the ſame Spirit, where is this Diſagreement, Contrariety, or Diſſent about the things of his Church?

Qu. *But the members of Chriſt's Church in the primitive times had different* Apprehenſions; *as the Apoſtles, and the people gathered by them.*

Anſw. Pray let me know who they were, and in what caſes?

Qu. *The perſons were* PAUL *and* PETER, *and thoſe Chriſtians that differed about meats; and the ſcripture is plain in the caſe.*

Anſw. The difference between Peter and Paul (in the Acts) teſtifies the weakneſs of Peter, and the place juſtifies Paul's reproof of his too great compliance with the Jews in ſome of their rites; which makes *againſt* liberty of various practices in the Church of Chriſt, and not for *indulging* them. That inſtance about the difference of Chriſtians as to *meats*, &c. has nothing in it to the end for which it is alledged; for this related not to *Church-Order* or *Communion*, but *private* and *perſonal Freedoms*, what each might do with reſpect to themſelves; that is, they might make laws to themſelves, in things that only concerned private perſons, and it centred there; *e. g.* '*What* I will eat, '*When* I will eat,' things to myſelf, and for myſelf, as a man having power over my own appetite: The liberty in things private, perſonal, and indifferent, makes nothing for diſſenting about Church matters in things of Communion and Society, and that alſo are not indifferent, (as to eat *fiſh*, or eat *fleſh*, or eat *herbs*, plainly is) but neceſſary; as to be careful and orderly about the external buſineſs of the Church: Theſe are no Jewiſh rites, nor ſhadowy ceremonies; no meats nor drinks that are private and perſonal, where weakneſs is apt to miſtake (that were an unneceſſary and an unchriſtian yoke to bear) but things comely, orderly, and of good report, that tend to purity, peace and diligence in things acceptable to God, and requiſite among his people in their temporal and chriſtian capacity. And herein the Apoſtle Paul exerciſed his godly authority; and we find that not only thoſe that oppoſed themſelves to it, as thinking he took too much upon him, demanded a *mark* of Chriſt's ſpeaking in him, but are in ſcripture branded with "Contention." But the true believers, that had in themſelves a mark of Chriſt's ſpeaking in him, were of *one mind*, and avoided ſuch as were given to *contention*; for it was not the cuſtom of the churches of Chriſt. Thus were Chriſt's people of *one heart*, in things relating to their communion. Yet a little farther; they that have the Mind of Chriſt, are of One Mind; for Chriſt is not divided: They that have Chriſt for their Head, have One Counſellor and Prophet, One Seer and Biſhop, they diſagree not in their judgments in things relating to him, and the good of his Church; they have one and the ſame Guide; for the One Spirit, into which they have all drank, and by it are baptized into One Body, leads them all. Now to every member is a "Meaſure of the ſame Spirit given to profit with;" and though every member is not an *eye*, nor an *ear*, nor a *mouth*, yet every member hath unity with the *eye*, with the *ear*, with the *mouth*, in their proper and reſpective acts, and they one with the other: The *eye* ſees for the *mouth*; the *mouth* ſpeaks for the *eye*; and the *ear* hears for both: This Variety hath no Diſcord; but in this diverſity of gifts and offices, each member is ſenſible of the other, and moves and acts by one and the ſame Life, Spirit and Guidance, which is omnipreſent, proportionable to every member in its diſtinct office. It muſt be granted, that there are Helps in the Church, as well as that there is a Church at all; and the Holy Ghoſt has compared thoſe helps (as is before-mentioned) to ſeveral members and ſenſes of man's body, as an *eye*, an *hand*, a *foot*, *hearing*, *ſmelling*, &c. All then cannot be the *Eye*, neither can all be the *Hand*, for then they would confound their office, and act diſagreeably to the ordination of the great Orderer of his Church. And if I will not comply with him that God hath made an Eye, becauſe I am not that Eye, or an Hand, becauſe I am not that member myſelf, nor a party to the action or performance of that member, I reſiſt the Lord, though under pretence of reſiſting Man for the Lord's ſake. And truly, this is the rock that ſome of our own time, as well as perſons of former ages, have ſplit upon; they have not been contented with their own ſtation in the body, they have not kept to their own gift, nor been taken up with the duty of their own place in the Church. If he that is a foot would be an hand, and the hand covets to be an eye, envying others their allotted ſtation, through height of mind, and walking looſe from the holy croſs, there can be no ſuch thing as concord and fellowſhip in the Church of Chriſt.

Farthermore, ſince the Spirit of the Lord is one in all, it ought to be obeyed through another, as well as in one's ſelf: And this I affirm to you, that the ſame lowly frame of mind that receives and anſwers the Mind of the Spirit of the Lord in a man's ſelf, will receive and have unity with the Mind of the ſame Spirit through another: And the reaſon is plain; becauſe the ſame Self-evidencing Power and Virtue that ariſeth from the meaſure of the Spirit of Truth in one's ſelf, and that convinceth a man in his own heart, doth alſo attend the diſcovery of the Mind of the ſame Spirit, when delivered by another; for the words of the "Second Adam, the quickening Spirit," through another, are ſpirit and life, as well as in thy own particular: This is diſcerned by the ſpiritual man that judgeth all things, although the carnal man pleadeth being left to his *Freedom*; and it may be talks of being left to the *Spirit* in himſelf too; the better to eſcape the ſenſe and judgment of the ſpiritual man. It is my earneſt deſire, that all that have any knowledge of the Lord, would have a tender care how they uſe that plea, againſt their faithful brethren, that God put into their mouths againſt the perſecuting prieſts and hirelings of the world, namely, 'I muſt mind the Spirit of God in myſelf:' For though it be a great truth that all are to be left thereunto, yet it is as true, that he whoſe ſoul is left with the Spirit of Truth in himſelf, differs not from his brethren that are in the ſame Spirit; and as true it is, that thoſe who err from the Spirit of Truth, may plead being left to the Spirit in *themſelves*, againſt the motion and command of the Spirit through another, when it pleaſeth not his or her high mind and perverſe will; for a ſaying may be true or falſe, according to the ſubject matter it is ſpoken upon, or applied to: We own the Aſſertion, we deny the Application: There lies the ſnare. It is true, the people of God ought to be left to the guidings of the Spirit of God in themſelves; but for this to be ſo applied, as to diſregard the preachings or writings of Chriſt's enlightened ſervants, becauſe by them applied properly to the preaching or writing of falſe prophets and ſeducers, will by no means follow. I ſay the doctrine is true, but not excluſively of all external counſel or direction; therefore falſe in application, where men are allowed to have had the fear of God, and the mind of his Spirit, and are not proved to have acted in their own wills and wiſdom, or without the guidance of the Spirit of God, about the things of his church and kingdom.

Qu. *But though this be true, which hath been alledged for heavenly concord, yet what if I do not preſently ſee that ſervice in a thing, that the reſt of my brethren agree in? In this caſe, what is my duty and theirs?*

Anſw. It is thy duty to wait upon God in ſilence and patience, out of all fleſhly conſultations; and as thou abideſt in the Simplicity of the Truth, thou wilt receive an underſtanding with the reſt of thy brethren, about the thing doubted. And it is their duty, whilſt thou behaveſt thyſelf in meekneſs and humility, to bear with thee, and carry themſelves tenderly and loving towards thee: But if, on the contrary, thou diſturbeſt their godly care and practice, and groweſt contentious, and exalteſt thy judgment againſt them, they have power from God to exhort, admoniſh, and reprove thee; and (if thou perſevereſt therein) in his name to refuſe any farther fellowſhip with thee, till thou repenteſt of thy evil.

Qu. *But, leſt I ſhould miſtake, when thou ſpeakeſt of True Liberty, that it ſtands in being made free by the Truth from all unrighteouſneſs, doſt thou mean, That no other perſons ought to have the liberty of exerciſing their diſſenting conſciences, but that force may be lawful to reduce ſuch as are reputed erroneouſly conſcientious?*

Anſw. By no means: It were a great wickedneſs againſt God, who is Lord of the ſouls and ſpirits of men, and ought to preſide in all conſciences, who, as the Apoſtle ſaith, "Is the Only Potentate, and hath immortality." For though I give the True Liberty of ſoul and conſcience to thoſe only that are ſet free by the power of Chriſt, from the bondage of ſin, and captivity of death, yet do I not intend that any perſon or perſons ſhould be in the leaſt harmed for the external exerciſe of their diſſenting conſciences in worſhip to God, though erroneous: For though their conſciences be blind, yet they are not to be forced; ſuch compulſion giveth no ſight, neither do corporal puniſhments produce conviction: This we, above all people, in our day, have withſtood, in ſpeaking, writing and ſuffering; and, bleſſed be God, continue ſo to do with faithfulneſs. For Faith is the gift of God, and forced ſacrifices are not pleaſing to the Lord.

Qu. *But according to thy argument, it may be my fault, that I have not the gift of Faith; and upon this preſumption, it may be, thou wilt inflict ſome temporal penalties upon me.*

Anſw. No ſuch matter; for ſuch kind of faults are not to be puniſhed with temporal or worldly penalties; for whether the errors be through weakneſs or wilfulneſs, not relating to moral practice, all external coercion and corporal puniſhment is excluded. "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but ſpiritual."

Qu. *But what then is the extent of the power of the Church of Chriſt, in caſe of Schiſm or Hereſy?*

Anſw. The power that Chriſt gave to his Church was this, 'That offenders, after 'the firſt and ſecond admonition, (not repenting) ſhould be rejected:' Not impriſoned, plundered, baniſhed, or put to death; this belongs to the Whore and falſe Prophet: O! all theſe things have come to paſs for want of humility, for want of the ancient fear, and keeping in the quiet habitation of the juſt: The Truth in you all ſhall anſwer me. And this I affirm, from the underſtanding I have received of God, not only that the enemy is at work to ſcatter the minds of Friends, by that looſe plea, 'What haſt 'thou to do with me? Leave me to my Freedom, and to the Grace of God in myſelf,' and the like: But this propoſition and expreſſion, as now underſtood and alledged, is a deviation from, and a perverſion of, the ancient principle of Truth; for this is the plain conſequence of this plea, if any one (eſpecially if they are but lately convinced) ſhall ſay, 'I ſee no evil in paying Tythes to hireling Prieſts, in that they are not claim- 'ed by Divine Right, but by the Civil Laws of the land. I ſee no evil in Marrying 'by the Prieſt, for he is but a Witneſs. Furthermore, I ſee no evil in declining a 'publick teſtimony in ſuffering-times, or hiding in times of perſecution, for I have 'Chriſt's and Paul's examples. I ſee no evil in worſhipping and reſpecting the Perſons 'of men; for whatever others do, I intend a ſincere notice that I take of thoſe I know, 'and have a good eſteem for. Laſtly, I ſee no evil in keeping my ſhop ſhut upon the 'world's Holidays and Maſs-days, (as they call them) though they are rather leudly 'and ſuperſtitiouſly than religiouſly kept; for I would not willingly give any offence to 'my neighbours. And ſince your teſtimony is againſt impoſition, and for leaving every 'one to the meaſure of the Grace which God hath given him, not only no man hath 'power to reprove or judge me, but I may be as good a Friend as any of you, ac- 'cording to my meaſure.' And now, here is Meaſure ſet up againſt Meaſure, which is confuſion itſelf.----Babel indeed! This is that very rock both profeſſors and prophane would long ſince have run us upon, namely, 'That a way is hereby opened to 'all the World's Libertines, to plead the Light within for their exceſſes:' Which indeed grieves the Spirit of God, and was ſeverely judged by our Friends in the beginning, and is ſtill reproved by them that keep their habitation; though ſome are become

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This, dear Friends, I ſend amongſt you, as a token of my true love, in the revelation of the free Spirit of our God and Father; who have ever been a friend to True Liberty, as in the State according to Law, ſo in the Church according to Scripture, and as it ſtandeth in the Truth of Jeſus, that makes them who love it free indeed. Let us all keep low, and remember the Rock from whence we were hewn, and dwell in a tender and reverent ſenſe of the daily mercies and providences of the Lord, looking well to our own growth and proſperity in his heavenly way and work; then ſhall the deſire of our hearts be more and more after him, and the remembrance of his name; and, with our love to God, will our love increaſe one towards another, helping and aiding one another: And I no ways doubt, but God that has brought us out of the Land of Ægypt, and out of the Houſe of Bondage, and delivered us from the Mouth of the Lion and the Paw of the Bear, will preſerve his people from this uncircumciſed ſpirit that is not in covenant with God, nor under the yoke of his holy royal law of 'True Spiritual Liberty:' For they that keep and walk in the Light of Jeſus, are fenced from the power of this crooked Serpent, that ſeeks whom he may betray; nor are any ſtung by him but the unwatchful, the liſteners and hearkners after his jealous whiſpers, and detracting inſinuations: They are ſuch as make their dwelling in the Earth, where his region is, and where he creeps and twiſts, who is earthly, ſenſual and deviliſh, and ſo is all the wiſdom that comes from him.

My dear Friends: Keep, I pray you, in the ſimplicity of the Truth, and Croſs of Jeſus, and wait for your daily bread, and to be daily renewed from the Lord; look to your increaſe about eternal riches, and be ſure to lay up treaſure in heaven that fadeth not away, that your faith and hope may have eternal foundations, which the croſs occurences of time, and fears of mortality cannot move: And beware of that looſe and irreverent ſpirit, which has not thoſe in high eſteem among you, that are faithful in the Lord's work, and that labour in his bleſſed word and doctrine. I plainly ſee a coldneſs and ſhortneſs on this hand; and be the pretence as it will, it is not pleaſing to the Lord. They that love Chriſt, his ſervants are dear to them, and they bear a tender regard to their trials, travels, ſpendings and ſufferings, who ſeek not yours, but you, that you may all be "preſented blameleſs at the coming of the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt;" that ſo the goſpel-miniſtry and teſtimony may be held up with holy fervent love, and godly eſteem, to the keeping under every raw and exalted mind, and whatever may ſlight and turn againſt it; leſt God, that has richly viſited us with his Fatherly viſitations, and Day-ſpringing from on high, ſhould remove his bleſſing from amongſt us, and place his "Candleſtick" among other people. Be wiſe therefore, O Friends! for behold he is at the door that muſt have an account of your ſtewardſhip: Be watchful, keep to your firſt love and works, that ſo you may endure to the end, and be ſaved; and having overcome, you may have right to eat of the Tree of Life, which is in the midſt of the Paradiſe of God.

The God of peace, who hath brought our dear Lord Jeſus from the dead, and us with him, more abundantly enrich you all with wiſdom and knowledge, in the revelation of himſelf, through Faith in his Son, by whom in theſe laſt days he hath ſpoken to us, who is the Bleſſed and Only Potentate, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who only hath Immortality; to whom be honour and power everlaſting. Amen.

Your friend and brother, in the tribulation and ſalvation of the enduring kingdom of our God,

Worminghurſt in Suſſex,
the 20th of the 9th
month, 1681.

WILLIAM PENN.

# A
# LETTER
FROM
WILLIAM PENN,
PROPRIETOR and GOVERNOR
OF
PENNSILVANIA in AMERICA,
TO
The COMMITTEE of the Free Society of TRADERS of
that Province, reſiding in LONDON.

CONTAINING

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION of the ſaid Province, its Soil, Air, Water, Seaſons and Produce, both Natural and Artificial, and the Good Increaſe thereof. With an Account of the NATIVES, or ABORIGINES.

My Kind Friends:

1683. THE kindneſs of yours by the ſhip Thomas and Anne, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the intereſt you take in my Health and Reputation, and the Proſperous Beginning of this Province, which you are ſo kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which, I have ſent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myſelf, and the affairs of this Province, as I have been able to make.

In the firſt place, I take notice of the news you ſent me, whereby I find ſome perſons have had ſo little wit, and ſo much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a *Jeſuit* too. One might have reaſonably hoped, that this diſtance, like death, would have been a protection againſt ſpite and envy; and indeed, Abſence being a kind of Death, ought alike to ſecure the Name of the Abſent as the Dead; becauſe they are equally unable, as ſuch, to defend themſelves: But they that intend miſchief, do not uſe to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great ſorrow and ſhame of the inventors, I am ſtill alive, and *No Jeſuit*, and, I thank God, very well. And without injuſtice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falſly report, would have been glad it had been ſo. But I perceive many frivolous and idle ſtories have been invented ſince my departure from England, which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive than I am dead.

But if I have been unkindly uſed by ſome I left behind me, I found love and reſpect enough where I came; an univerſal kind welcome, every ſort in their way. For here are ſome of ſeveral nations, as well as divers judgments: Nor were the natives wanting in this, for their Kings, Queens, and great men, both viſited and preſented me; to whom I made ſuitable returns, &c.

For the Province, the general condition of it take as followeth.

I. The country itſelf, in its ſoil, air, water, ſeaſons and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be deſpiſed. The Land containeth divers ſorts of earth, as ſand yellow and black, poor and rich: Alſo gravel both loamy and duſty; and in ſome places, a faſt fat earth, like to our beſt vales in England, eſpecially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wiſdom having ordered it ſo, that the advantages of the country are divided, the Back-Lands being generally three to one richer, than thoſe that lie by Navigable Waters. We have much of another ſoil, and that is a black haſel-mould, upon a ſtony or rocky bottom.

II. The Air is ſweet and clear, the heavens ſerene, like the South-Parts of France, rarely overcaſt; and as the Woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itſelf will refine.

III. The Waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have moſtly gravel and ſtony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have alſo mineral waters, that operate in the ſame manner with Barnet and North-Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the Seaſons of the year, having by God's goodneſs now lived over the coldeſt and hotteſt that the oldeſt liver in the province can remember, I can ſay ſomething to an Engliſh underſtanding.

Firſt, Of the Fall, for then I came in: I found it from the 24th of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it uſually in England in September, or rather like an Engliſh mild Spring. From December, to the beginning of the month called March, we had ſharp froſty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our North-eaſt-winds bring with them in England; but a ſky as clear as in ſummer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reaſon of this cold is given, from the great lakes that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The Winter before was as mild, ſcarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a ſweet Spring, no guſts, but gentle ſhowers, and a fine ſky. Yet this I obſerve, that the Winds here, as there, are more inconſtant Spring and Fall, upon that turn of nature, than in Summer or Winter. From thence, to this preſent month, which endeth the Summer, (commonly ſpeaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated ſometimes by cool breezes. The Wind that ruleth the Summer-ſeaſon, is the South-weſt; but Spring, Fall and Winter, it is rare to want the wholeſome North-weſtern ſeven days together: And whatever miſts, fogs or vapours, foul the heavens by eaſterly or ſoutherly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other: A remedy that ſeems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet ſtanding, being liable to retain miſts and vapours, and yet not one quarter ſo thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country, of Vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The Trees of moſt note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypreſs, cheſnut, poplar, gumwood, hickery, ſaſſafras, aſh, beech and oak of divers ſorts, as red, white and black; Spaniſh cheſnut and ſwamp, the moſt durable of all: Of all which, there is plenty for the uſe of man.

The Fruits that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, cheſnut, wallnut, plumbs, ſtrawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers ſorts. The great red grape (now ripe) called by ignorance, 'The Fox-grape,' (becauſe of the reliſh it hath with unſkilful palates) is in itſelf an extraordinary grape, and by art, doubtleſs, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not ſo ſweet, yet little inferior to the Frontiniac, as it is not much unlike in taſte, ruddineſs ſet aſide; which in ſuch things, as well as mankind, differs the caſe much: There is a white kind of Muſkadel, and a little black grape, like the cluſter-grape of England, not yet ſo ripe as the other; but they tell me, when ripe, ſweeter, and that they only want ſkilful Vinerons to make good uſe of them: I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this ſeaſon, who ſhews ſome knowledge in thoſe things. Here are alſo Peaches, very good, and in great quantities, not an Indian Plantation without them; but whether naturally here at firſt, I know not: However, one may have them by buſhels for little; they make a pleaſant drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in Englend, except the true Newington. It is diſputable with me, whether it be beſt to fall to fining the fruits of the country, eſpecially the Grape, by the care and ſkill of art, or ſend for foreign ſtems and ſets, already good and approved. It ſeems moſt reaſonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth beſt, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another ſpecies of the ſame kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to ſolve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the conſequence will be as good wine, as any European countries, of the ſame latitude, do yield.

VI. [*] The artificial produce of the country, is Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Peaſe, Beans,

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[*] Note, That Edward Jones, ſon-in-law to Thomas Wynn, living on the Schulkil, had with ordinary cultivation, for one grain of Engliſh barley, ſeventy ſtalks and ears of barley: And it is common in this country, from one buſhel ſown, to reap forty, often fifty, and ſometimes ſixty: And three pecks of wheat ſows an acre here.

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VII. Of living creatures; Fiſh, Fowl, and the Beaſts of the Woods, here are divers ſorts, ſome for food and profit, and ſome for profit only: For food, as well as profit, the Elk, as big as a ſmall Ox; Deer bigger than ours; Beaver, Racoon, Rabbits, Squirrels, and ſome eat young Bear, and commend it. Of Fowl of the land, there is the Turkey, (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; Pheaſants, Heath-birds, Pigeons, and Partridges in abundance. Of the Water, the Swan, Gooſe, White and Gray; Brands, Ducks, Teal, alſo the Snipe and Curloe, and that in great numbers; but the Duck and Teal excel, nor ſo good have I ever eat in other countries. Of Fiſh, there is the Sturgeon, Herring, Rock, Shad, Catſhead, Sheepſhead, Eel, Smelt, Pearch, Roach; and in inland rivers, Trout, ſome ſay, Salmon, above the falls. Of Shell-fiſh, we have Oyſters, Crabs, Cockles, Conchs, and Muſcles; ſome oyſters ſix inches long; and one ſort of Cockles as big as the ſtewing-oyſters, they make a rich broth. The creatures for Profit only, by ſkin or furr, and that are natural to theſe parts, are the Wild Cat, Panther, Otter, Wolf, Fox, Fiſher, Minx, Muſk-rat: And of the Water, the Whale for Oil, of which we have good ſtore; and two companies of Whalers, whoſe boats are built, will ſoon begin their work, which hath the appearance of a conſiderable improvement. To ſay nothing of our reaſonable hopes of good Cod in the bay.

VIII. We have no want of Horſes, and ſome are very good, and ſhapely enough; two ſhips have been freighted to Barbadoes with Horſes and Pipe-ſtaves, ſince my coming in. Here is alſo plenty of Cow-cattle, and ſome Sheep; the people plow moſtly with oxen.

IX. There are divers Plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occaſion to prove by ſwellings, burnings, cuts, &c. that they are of great virtue, ſuddenly curing the patient: And for ſmell, I have obſerved ſeveral, eſpecially one, the Wild Myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are moſt fragrant.

X. The Woods are adorned with lovely Flowers, for colour, greatneſs, figure and variety: I have ſeen the Gardens of London beſt ſtored with that ſort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our Woods: I have ſent a few to a perſon of quality this year for a trial.

Thus much of the Country; next of the Natives, or Aborigines.

XI. The Natives I ſhall conſider in their Perſons, Language, Manners, Religion and Government, with my ſenſe of their original. For their Perſons, they are generally tall, ſtraight, well-built, and of ſingular proportion; they tread ſtrong and clever, and moſtly walk with a lofty chin: Of complexion, black, but by deſign, as the Gypſies in England. They greaſe themſelves with bears-fat clarified; and uſing no defence againſt ſun or weather, their ſkins muſt needs be ſwarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a ſtraight-looked Jew. The thick Lip and flat Noſe, ſo frequent with the Eaſt-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have ſeen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your ſide the ſea; and truly an Italian Complexion hath not much more of the White, and the Noſes of ſeveral of them have as much of the Roman.

XII. Their Language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in ſignification full; like Short-hand in writing, *One Word* ſerveth in the place of *three*, and the reſt are ſupplied by the Underſtanding of the hearer: Imperfect in their tenſes, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections: I have made it my buſineſs to underſtand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occaſion: And I muſt ſay, that I know not a language ſpoken in Europe, that hath words of more ſweetneſs or greatneſs, in accent and emphaſis, than theirs: For inſtance, *Octocockon*, *Rancocas*, *Oricton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poqueſien*; all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of ſweetneſs, *Anna*, is Mother, *Iſſimus*, a Brother, *Netcap*, Friend, *Uſque Oret*, Very Good, *Pane*, Bread, *Metſa*, Eat, *Matta*, No, *Hatta*, To Have, *Payo*, To Come; *Sepaſſen*, *Paſſijon*, the names of Places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanſe*, *Secatereus*, are the names of perſons. If one aſk them for any thing they have not, they will anſwer, *Mattá ne Hattá*, which to tranſlate is, *Not I have*, inſtead of *I have not*.

XIII. Of their Cuſtoms and Manners, there is much to be ſaid; I will begin with Children: So ſoon as they are born, they waſh them in Water, and while very young, and in cold weather to chuſe, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a ſtraight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and ſwaddle it faſt upon the board to make it ſtraight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at Nine Months commonly; they wear only a ſmall clout round their waſte, till they are big; if Boys, they go a fiſhing till ripe for the woods, which is about Fifteen; then they hunt, and after having given ſome proofs of their manhood, by a good return of ſkins, they may marry, elſe it is a ſhame to think of a Wife. The Girls ſtay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to uſe them to that young, which they muſt do when they are old; for the Wives are the true Servants of the Huſbands; otherwiſe the men are very affectionate to them.

XIV. When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear ſomething upon their heads for an advertiſement, but ſo as their faces are hardly to be ſeen, but when they pleaſe: The Age they marry at, if Women, is about Thirteen and Fourteen; if Men, Seventeen and Eighteen; they are rarely elder.

XV. Their Houſes are Mats, or Barks of Trees, ſet on Poles, in the faſhion of an Engliſh barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on Reeds or Graſs. In Travel, they lodge in the Woods about a great fire, with the Mantle of Duffils they wear by day wrapt about them, and a few boughs ſtuck round them.

XVI. Their Diet is Maize, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared; ſometimes roaſted in the aſhes, ſometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call *Homine*; they alſo make Cakes, not unpleaſant to eat: They have likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of Beans and Peaſe, that are good nouriſhment; and the Woods and Rivers are their *Larder*.

XVII. If an European comes to ſee them, or calls for lodging at their houſe, or *Wigwam*, they give him the beſt place, and firſt cut. If they come to viſit us, they ſalute us with an *Itah*, which is as much as to ſay, *Good be to you*; and ſet them down, which is moſtly on the ground, cloſe to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they ſpeak not a word, but obſerve all paſſages: If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not aſk; and be it little or much, if it be with kindneſs, they are well-pleaſed, elſe they go away ſullen, but ſay nothing.

XVIII. They are great Concealers of their own Reſentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practiſed among them: In either of theſe, they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical inſtance fell out ſince I came into the country: A King's Daughter, thinking herſelf ſlighted by her huſband, in ſuffering another Woman to lie down between them, roſe up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and eat it, upon which ſhe immediately died; and for which, laſt week, he made an *Offering* to her Kindred, for Atonement, and Liberty of Marriage; as two others did to the Kindred of their Wives, that died a natural death: For till *Widowers* have done ſo, they muſt not marry again. Some of the young women are ſaid to take undue liberty before Marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaſte: When with child they know their huſbands no more, till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a Stick, leſt they ſhould defile it; nor do their huſbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

XIX. But in liberality they excell; nothing is too good for their friend: Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may paſs Twenty hands before it ſticks: Light of heart, ſtrong affections, but ſoon ſpent: The moſt merry creatures that live, feaſt and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: Wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake; and though none ſhall want what another hath, yet exact obſervers of property. Some kings have ſold, others preſented me with ſeveral parcels of land: The pay, or preſents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring kings and their clans being preſent when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned conſulted what, and to whom they ſhould give them. To every king then, by the hands of a perſon for that work appointed, is a proportion ſent, ſo ſorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king ſubdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themſelves an equal ſhare with one of their ſubjects: And be it on ſuch occaſions as feſtivals, or at their common meals, the kings diſtribute, and to themſelves laſt. They care for little, becauſe they want but little, and the reaſon is, a little contents them: In this they are ſufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleaſures, they are alſo free from our pains. They are not diſquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery-ſuits and exchequer reckonings. We ſweat and toil to live; their pleaſure feeds them; I mean, their Hunting, Fiſhing and Fowling, and this table is ſpread every where: They eat twice a day, morning and evening; their ſeats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into theſe parts, they are grown great lovers of ſtrong liquors, Rum eſpecially; and for it exchange the richeſt of their ſkins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are reſtleſs till they have enough to ſleep; that is their cry, *Some more, and I will go to ſleep*; but, when drunk, one of the moſt wretched ſpectacles in the world!

XX. In ſickneſs, impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, eſpecially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural: They drink at thoſe times a *Teran*, or decoction of ſome roots in ſpring-water; and if they eat any Fleſh, it muſt be of the Female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their Apparel, be they man or woman, and the neareſt of kin fling in ſomething precious with them, as a token of their love: Their Mourning is Blacking of their Faces, which they continue for a Year; They are choice of the Graves of their dead; for leſt they ſhould be loſt by time, and

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XXI. Theſe poor people are under a dark night in things relating to Religion, to be ſure the Tradition of it; yet they believe a GOD and *Immortality*, without the help of Metaphyſicks; for they ſay, 'There is a Great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious Country to the ſouthward of them; and that the Souls of the good ſhall go thither, where they ſhall live again.' Their *Worſhip* conſiſts of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico: Their Sacrifice is their Firſt Fruits; the firſt and fatteſt Buck they kill goeth to the Fire, where he is all burnt, with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with ſuch marvellous Fervency, and Labour of Body, that he will even ſweat to a foam. The other part is their Cantico, performed by Round-Dances, ſometimes words, ſometimes ſongs, then ſhouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by ſinging, and drumming on a Board, direct the Chorus: Their poſtures in the Dance are very antick, and differing, but all keep Meaſure. This is done with equal earneſtneſs and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the Fall, when the Corn cometh in, they begin to feaſt one another: There have been two great feſtivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one myſelf; their entertainment was a great Seat by a Spring, under ſome ſhady-trees, and Twenty Bucks, with hot Cakes of new Corn, both Wheat and Beans, which they make up in a ſquare form, in the leaves of the ſtem, and bake them in the aſhes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go, muſt carry a ſmall preſent in their money, it may be Six-pence, which is made of the Bone of a Fiſh; the Black is with them as *Gold*, the White, *Silver*; they call it all *Wampum*.

XXII. Their Government is by Kings, which they call *Sachama*, and thoſe by ſucceſſion, but always of the Mother's Side: For inſtance, the children of him that is now king, will not ſucceed, but his brother by the Mother, or the children of his Siſter, whoſe *Sons* (and after them the Children of her Daughters) will reign; for no Woman inherits: The reaſon they render for this way of deſcent, is, that their iſſue may not be ſpurious.

XXIII. Every King hath his Council, and that conſiſts of all the Old and Wiſe Men of his Nation, which perhaps is Two hundred people: Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, ſelling of land or traffick, without adviſing with them; and, which is more, with the Young Men too. It is admirable to conſider, how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occaſion to be in Council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjuſt the terms of trade: Their order is thus: The King ſits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wiſe on each hand; behind them, or at a little diſtance, ſit the younger Fry, in the ſame figure. Having conſulted and reſolved their buſineſs, the king ordered one of them to ſpeak to me; he ſtood up, came to me, and in the name of his king ſaluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, 'He was ordered by his king to ſpeak to me; and that now it was not he, but the King that ſpoke, becauſe what he ſhould ſay, was the King's Mind.' He firſt prayed me, 'To excuſe them that they had not complied with me the laſt time; he feared there might be ſome fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor Engliſh; beſides, it was the Indian cuſtom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they reſolve; and that if the Young People and Owners of the Land had been as ready as he, I had not met with ſo much delay.' Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to diſpoſe of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have bought Twenty miles, not buying now Two. During the time that this perſon ſpoke, not a man of them was obſerved to whiſper or ſmile; the Old grave, the Young reverent in their deportment: They ſpeak little, but fervently, and with elegance: I have never ſeen more natural ſagacity, conſidering them without the help, (I was going to ſay, the ſpoil) of Tradition; and he will deſerve the name of wiſe, that out-wits them in any treaty about a thing they underſtand. When the purchaſe was agreed, great promiſes paſt between us of 'Kindneſs and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and Engliſh muſt live in Love, as long as the Sun gave Light.' Which done, another made a ſpeech to the Indians, in the name of all the *Sachamakers* or Kings; firſt to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them 'To love the Chriſtians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government: That many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himſelf to live and ſtay here before; and having now ſuch an one that had treated them well, they ſhould never do him or his any wrong.' At every ſentence of which they ſhouted, and ſaid, Amen, in their way.

XXIV. The Juſtice they have is pecuniary: In caſe of any wrong or evil fact, be it murther itſelf, they atone by feaſts, and preſents of their *Wampum*, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or perſon injured, or of the ſex they are of: For in caſe they kill a Woman, they pay double, and the reaſon they can render, is, 'That ſhe breedeth Children, which Men cannot do.' It is rare that they fall out, if ſober;

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and if drunk, they forgive it, ſaying, ‘ It was the *Drink*, and not the *Man*, that abuſed ‘ them.’

XXV. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, Six of each ſide ſhall end the matter: Do not abuſe them, but let them have juſtice, and you win them: The worſt is, that they are the worſe for the Chriſtians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them Tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as theſe people are at, and as glorious as their own condition looks, the Chriſtians have not out-lived *their* ſight, with all their pretenſions to an *higher* manifeſtation: What good then might not a good people graft, where there is ſo diſtinct a knowledge left between Good and Evil? I beſeech God to incline the hearts of all that come into theſe parts, to out-live the knowledge of the Natives, by a fixt Obedience to their *greater* knowledge of the Will of God; for it were miſerable indeed for us to fall under the juſt cenſure of the poor Indian Conſcience, while we make profeſſion of things ſo far tranſcending.

XXVI. For their Original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewiſh race; I mean, of the ſtock of the *Ten Tribes*, and that for the following reaſons; firſt, They were to go to a “ Land not *planted* or *known*,” which, to be ſure, Aſia and Africa were, if not Europe; and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the paſſage not uneaſy to them, as it is not impoſſible in itſelf, from the Eaſtermoſt parts of Aſia, to the Weſtermoſt of America. In the next place, I find them of like Countenance, and their children of ſo lively reſemblance, that a man would think himſelf in Dukes-place or Berry-ſtreet in London, when he ſeeth them. But this is not all; they agree in *Rites*, they reckon by *Moons*; they offer their *Firſt Fruits*, they have a kind of *Feaſt* of *Tabernacles*; they are ſaid to lay their *Altar* upon *Twelve Stones*; their *Mourning* a *Year*, *Cuſtoms* of *Women*, with many things that do not now occur.

So much for the Natives; next the Old Planters will be conſidered in this relation, before I come to our Colony, and the concerns of it.

XXVII. The firſt Planters in theſe parts were the Dutch, and ſoon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themſelves to Traffick, the Swedes and Finns to Huſbandry. There were ſome diſputes between them ſome years, the Dutch looking upon them as Intruders upon their purchaſe and poſſeſſion, which was finally ended in the Surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swediſh Governor, to Peter Styreſant, Governor for the States of Holland, Anno 1655.

XXVIII. The Dutch inhabit moſtly thoſe parts of the Province that lie upon or near to the Bay; and the Swedes the Freſhes of the River Delaware. There is no need of giving any deſcription of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, ſtrong, induſtrious people, yet have made no great progreſs in culture or propagation of Fruit-trees, as if they deſired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffick. But, I preſume, the Indians made them the more careleſs, by furniſhing them with the means of profit, to wit, Skins and Furs, for Rum, and ſuch ſtrong Liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the Engliſh, who were few, before the people concerned with me came among them: I muſt needs commend their Reſpect to Authority, and kind behaviour to the Engliſh; they do not degenerate from the old friendſhip between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and ſtrong of body, ſo they have fine children, and almoſt every houſe full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; ſome ſix, ſeven and eight ſons: And I muſt do them that right, I ſee few young men more ſober and laborious.

XXIX. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worſhip at Newcaſtle; and the Swedes, three, one at Chriſtina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

XXX. There reſts that I ſpeak of the Condition we are in, and what Settlement we have made, in which I will be as ſhort as I can; for I fear, and not without reaſon, that I have tried your patience with this long ſtory. The country lieth bounded on the Eaſt by the River and Bay of Delaware, and Eaſtern Sea; it hath the advantage of many Creeks, or Rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay; ſome navigable for great ſhips, ſome for ſmall craft: Thoſe of moſt eminency are Chriſtina, Brandywine, Skilpot and Skulkill; any one of which have room to lay up the Royal Navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

XXXI. The leſſer creeks or rivers, yet convenient for ſloops and ketches of good burthen, are Lewis, Meſpilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feverſham, and Georges below, and Chicheſter, Cheſter, Toacawny, Pemmapecka, Portqueſſin, Neſhimenck and Pennberry in the Freſhes; many leſſer that admit boats and ſhallops. Our people are moſtly ſettled upon the upper rivers, which are pleaſant and ſweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is caſt into ſix counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Cheſter, Newcaſtle, Kent and Suſſex, containing about four thouſand ſouls. Two general aſſemblies have been held, and with ſuch concord and diſpatch, that they ſat but three weeks, and at leaſt ſeventy laws were paſſed without one diſſent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being

1683. ing yet raw and new in our geer: However, I cannot forget their ſingular reſpect to me in this infancy of things, who by their own private expences ſo early conſidered mine for the publick, as to preſent me with an Impoſt upon certain goods imported and exported: Which after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the Province and the Traders to it. And for the well-government of the ſaid counties, Courts of Juſtice are eſtabliſhed in every county, with proper officers, as Juſtices, Sheriffs, Clerks, Conſtables, &c. which courts are held every two months: But to prevent law-ſuits, there are three Peace-makers choſen by every County-court, in the nature of common Arbitrators, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man; and Spring and Fall there is an Orphan's Court in each county, to inſpect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

XXXII. Philadelphia, the expectation of thoſe that are concerned in this Province, is at laſt laid out, to the great content of thoſe here, that are any ways intereſted therein: The ſituation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Skulkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river, but the Skulkill being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its courſe North-Eaſt toward the fountain of Suſquahannah (that tends to the heart of the province, and both ſides our own) it is like to be a great part of the ſettlement of this age. I ſay little of the town itſelf, becauſe a platform will be ſhewn you by my agent, in which thoſe who are purchaſers of me, will find their names and intereſts: But this I will ſay for the good Providence of God, that of all the many places I have ſeen in the world, I remember not one better ſeated; ſo that it ſeems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, ſprings, the loftineſs and ſoundneſs of the land and the air, held by the people of theſe parts to be very good. It is advanced within leſs than a year to about fourſcore houſes and cottages, ſuch as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as faſt as they can, while the countrymen are cloſe at their farms: Some of them got a little winter-corn in the ground laſt ſeaſon, and the generality have had an handſome ſummer-crop, and are preparing for their winter-corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; ſo that there is time in theſe parts for another crop of divers things before the winter-ſeaſon. We are daily in hopes of ſhipping to add to our number; for, bleſſed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them; the ſtories of our neceſſity being either the fear of our friends, or the ſcare-crows of our enemies; for the greateſt hardſhip we have ſuffered, hath been ſalt meat, which by fowl in winter, and fiſh in ſummer, together with ſome poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of veniſon the beſt part of the year, hath been made very paſſable. I bleſs God, I am fully ſatisfied with the country and entertainment I can get in it; for I find that particular content which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and ſervice to reſide. You cannot imagine my ſtation can be at preſent free of more than ordinary buſineſs, and as ſuch, I may ſay, it is a troubleſome work; but the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an eaſier motion to the adminiſtration of affairs. However, as it is ſome mens duty to plow, ſome to ſow, ſome to water, and ſome to reap; ſo it is the wiſdom as well as the duty of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and chearfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

XXXIII. For your particular concern, I might entirely refer you to the letters of the preſident of the ſociety; but this I will venture to ſay, your Provincial Settlements both within and without the town, for ſituation and ſoil, are without exception; Your City-Lot is an whole ſtreet, and one ſide of a ſtreet, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres, not eaſily valued, which is, beſides your four hundred acres in the City-Liberties, part of your twenty thouſand acres in the country. Your Tannery hath ſuch plenty of bark, the Saw-mill for timber, and the place of the Glaſs-houſe are ſo conveniently poſted for Water-carriage, the City-lot for a Dock, and the Whalery for a ſound and fruitful Bank, and the Town Lewis by it to help your people, that by God's bleſſing the affairs of the ſociety will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am ſure I have not turned my back upon any offer that tended to its proſperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have ſometimes put in for a ſhare with her officers, to countenance and advance her intereſt. You are already informed what is fit for you farther to do, whatſoever tends to the promotion of Wine, and to the manufacture of Linnen in theſe parts, I cannot but wiſh you to promote it; and the French people are moſt likely in both reſpects to anſwer that deſign: To that end, I would adviſe you to ſend for ſome thouſands of plants out of France, with ſome able Vinerons, and people of the other vocation: But becauſe I believe you have been entertained with this and ſome other profitable ſubjects by your preſident, I ſhall add no more, but to aſſure you, that I am heartily inclined to advance your juſt intereſt, and that you will always find me,

Your kind cordial friend,

Philadelphia, the 16th of the 6th month, called Auguſt, 1683.

W. PENN.

A
PERSUASIVE TO MODERATION
TO
CHURCH DISSENTERS,
IN
PRUDENCE and CONSCIENCE.

Humbly ſubmitted to the KING, and his Great COUNCIL.

THE EPISTLE.

HAVING of late time obſerved the heat, averſion and ſcorn with which ſome men have treated all thoughts of eaſe to Church-Diſſenters, I confeſs I had a more than ordinary curioſity to examine the grounds thoſe gentlemen went upon: For I could not tell how to think Moderation ſhould be a Vice, where Chriſtianity was a Virtue, when the great doctor of that religion commands, that "Our moderation be known "unto all men;" and why? "For the Lord is at hand:" And what to do, but to judge our Rancor, and retaliate and puniſh our Bitterneſs of ſpirit. And, to ſay true, it is a ſevere reflection we draw upon ourſelves, that though Pagan Emperors could endure the Addreſſes of Primitive Chriſtians, and Chriſtian Cæſars receive the Apologies of Infidels, for Indulgence, yet it ſhould be thought, of ſome men, an offence to ſeek it, or have it of a Chriſtian Prince, whoſe Intereſt I dare ſay it is, and who himſelf ſo lately wanted it: But the conſideration of the reaſon of this offence will increaſe our admiration; for they tell us, ''Tis dangerous to the Prince to ſuffer it,' while the Prince is himſelf a *Diſſenter;* This difficulty is beyond all ſkill to remove, that it ſhould be againſt the Intereſt of a *Diſſenting* Prince to indulge *Diſſent.* For though it will be granted there are Diſſenters on *differing* principles from thoſe of the Prince, yet they are *ſtill* Diſſenters; and Diſſent being the Prince's Intereſt, it will naturally follow, that thoſe Diſſenters are in the Intereſt of the Prince, whether they think on it or no, 1686.

Intereſt will not lye: Men embarked in the ſame veſſel, ſeek the ſafety of the Whole in their Own, whatever other differences they may have. And Self-Safety is the higheſt worldly ſecurity a Prince can have; for though all parties would rejoice their own principles prevailed, yet every one is more ſolicitous about its own Safety, than the others Verity. Wherefore it cannot be unwiſe, by the Security of All, to make it the Intereſt as well as Duty of All, to advance that of the Publick.

Angry things, then, ſet aſide, as matters now are, What is *beſt* to be done? This I take to be the wiſe man's queſtion, as to conſider and anſwer it will be his buſineſs. *Moderation* is a Chriſtian duty, and it has ever been the prudent man's practice. For thoſe governments that have uſed it in their conduct, have ſucceeded beſt in all ages.

I remember it is made in Livy the Wiſdom of the Romans, *that* they relaxed their hand to the *Privernates,* and thereby made them moſt faithful to their intereſt. And it prevailed ſo much with the *Petilians,* that they would endure any extremity from Hannibal, rather than deſert their friendſhip, even then when the Romans diſcharged their fidelity, and ſent them the deſpair of knowing they could not relieve them. So did one act of *Humanity* overcome the *Faliſci* above *Arms:* Which confirms that noble ſaying of Seneca, *Mitius imperanti melius paretur;* the mildeſt conduct is beſt obeyed:

A truth celebrated by Grotius and Campanella; practiſed, doubtleſs, by the braveſt princes: For CYRUS exceeded, when he built the Jews a Temple, and himſelf no Jew: ALEXANDER aſtoniſhed the princes of his train with the profound veneration he paid the High Prieſt of that people: And AUGUSTUS was ſo far from ſuppreſſing the *Jewiſh Worſhip*, that he ſent *Hecatombs* to *Jeruſalem* to increaſe their Devotion. *Moderation* filled the reigns of the moſt renowned *Cæſars:* And ſtory ſays, they were *Neros* and *Caligulas* that loved *Cruelty*.

But others tell us that Diſſenters are moſtly *Antimonarchical*, and ſo not to be indulged; and that the agreement of the Church of England and Rome in Monarchy and Hierarchy, with their nearneſs in other things, ſhould oblige her to grant the Roman Catholicks a ſpecial eaſe, excluſive of the other Diſſenters. But, with the leave of thoſe worthy gentlemen, I would ſay, nobody is againſt that which is for him: And that the averſion apprehended to be in ſome againſt the Monarchy, rather comes from Intereſt than Principle: For Governments were never *deſtroyed* by the Intereſts they *preſerve*.

In the next place, it is as plain that there is a fundamental difference between thoſe Churches in Religion and Intereſt. In *Religion*, it appears by a compariſon of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* with the doctrine of the *Council* of *Trent*. In *Intereſt* they differ fundamentally, becauſe one Church is in the actual poſſeſſion of the churches and livings that the other Church claims. What better mixture then can theſe two Churches make than that of Iron and Clay? Nor do I think it well judged, or wiſe, in any that pretend to be ſons of the Church of England, to ſeek an accommodation from the topick of Affinity, ſince it is that ſome of her Diſſenters have always objected, and ſhe as conſtantly denied to be true.

I ſay, this way of reconciling or indulging Roman Catholicks ſtumbles far greater numbers of people of nearer creeds, and gives the Church of England the lye. But ſuppoſe the trick took, and they only of all Diſſenters had indulgence, yet their Paucity conſidered, I am ſure, a pair of Sir Kenelm Digby's Breeches would ſit with as good a grace upon the late Lord Rocheſter's Dwarf. Upon the whole matter, let men have *Eaſe*, and they will keep it; for thoſe that might plot to *get* it, would not plot to *loſe* it. Men love the bridge they need and paſs: And that prince who has his people faſt by Intereſt, holds them by the ſtrongeſt human tie; for other courſes have failed as often as they have been tried. Let us then once try a True Liberty: Never did the circumſtances of any kingdom lie more open and fair to ſo bleſſed an accommodation than we do at this time.

But we are told, ‘The king has promiſed to maintain the Church of England? I grant it: But if the Church of England claims the king's promiſe of *Protection*, her Diſſenters cannot forget that of his *Clemency:* And as they were both great, and admirably diſtinguiſhed, ſo by no means are they inconſiſtent or impracticable.

Will not his Juſtice let him be wanting in the one? And can his Greatneſs of Mind let him leave the other behind him in the ſtorm, unpitied and unhelped? Pardon me; we have not to do with an *inſenſible* prince, but one that has been *touched* with our infirmities: More than any body fit to judge our cauſe, by the ſhare he once had in it. Who ſhould give *Eaſe* like the prince that has *wanted* it? To ſuffer for his *own* conſcience, looked great; but to deliver other mens were glorious. It is a ſort of paying the vows of his adverſity, and it cannot therefore be done by any one elſe with ſo much juſtice and example.

Far be it from me to ſolicit any thing in diminution of the juſt rights of the Church of England: Let her reſt protected where ſhe is. But I hope none will be thought to intend her wrong, for refuſing to underſtand the King's Promiſe to *her* in a *ruinous* ſenſe to all *others*; and I am ſure ſhe would underſtand her own intereſt better, if ſhe were of the ſame mind. For it is morally impoſſible that a Conſcientious Prince can be thought to have tied himſelf to *compel* others to a communion, that *himſelf* cannot tell how to be of; or that any thing can oblige him to ſhake the firmneſs of thoſe he has confirmed by his own royal example.

Having then ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of integrity, as the hazard of the loſs of Three Crowns for *Conſcience*, let it at leaſt excuſe Diſſenters Conſtancy, and provoke the friends of the Succeſſion to Moderation, that no man may loſe his Birth-right for his Perſuaſion, and us to live dutifully, and ſo peaceably, under our own vine and under our own fig-tree, with ‘Glory to God on high, to the King Honour, and Good-will to *all* men.’

A PERSUASIVE TO MODERATION.

MOderation, the ſubject of this diſcourſe, is, in plainer Engliſh, ‘ Liberty of Conſcience to Church Diſſenters :’ A cauſe I have, with all humility, undertaken to plead, againſt the prejudices of the times. 1686.

That there is ſuch a thing as Conſcience, and the Liberty of it, in reference to Faith and Worſhip towards God, muſt not be denied, even by thoſe that are moſt ſcandalized at the ill uſe ſome ſeem to have made of ſuch pretences. But to ſettle the terms: By *Conſcience*, I underſtand, ‘ The *Apprehenſion* and *Perſuaſion* a Man has of his *Duty* to *God:*’ By *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, I mean, ‘ A *Free* and *Open Profeſſion* and *Exerciſe* of that *Duty* ; eſpecially in *Worſhip :*’ But I always premiſe this Conſcience to keep within the bounds of Morality, and that it be neither *frantick* nor *miſchievous*, but a *Good Subject*, a *Good Child*, a *Good Servant*, in all the affairs of life ; as exact to yield to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, as jealous of withholding from God the thing that is God's.--- In brief, he that acknowledges the Civil Government under which he lives, and that maintains no principle hurtful to his neighbour in his Civil Property.

For he that in any thing violates his duty to theſe relations, cannot be ſaid to obſerve it to God, who ought to have his tribute out of it. Such do not reject their Prince, Parent, Maſter or Neighbour, but *God*, who enjoins that duty to them. Thoſe pathetick words of Chriſt will naturally enough reach the caſe, “ In that ye did it not to them, ye did it not to me :” For duty to ſuch relations hath a divine ſtamp ; and divine right runs through more things of the world, and acts of our lives, than we are aware of ; and ſacrilege may be committed againſt more than the Church. Nor will a dedication to God, of the robbery from man, expiate the guilt of diſobedience : For though zeal could turn goſſip to theft, his altars would renounce the ſacrifice.

The Conſcience then that I ſtate, and the Liberty I pray, carrying ſo great a ſalvo and deference to publick and private relations, no ill deſign can, with any juſtice, be fixed upon the author, or reflection upon the ſubject, which by this time, I think, I may venture to call a *Toleration*.

But to this ſo much craved, as well as needed, Toleration, I meet with two objections of weight, the ſolving of which will make way for it in this kingdom. And the firſt is a diſbelief of the poſſibility of the thing. “ Toleration of Diſſenting Worſhips from that eſtabliſhed, is not practicable,’ ſay ſome, ‘ without danger to the State, with which it is interwoven.’ This is Political. The other objection is, ‘ That admitting Diſſenters to be in the wrong, (which is always premiſed by the National Church) ſuch Latitude were the way to keep up the diſ-union, and inſtead of compelling them into a better way, leave them in the poſſeſſion and purſuit of their old errors.’ This is Religious. I think I have given the objections fairly ; it will be my next buſineſs to anſwer them as fully.

The ſtrength of the firſt objection againſt this Liberty, is the Danger ſuggeſted to the State ; the reaſon is, ‘ The national Form being *interwoven* with the Frame of the Government.’ But this ſeems to me only ſaid, and not only (with ſubmiſſion) not proved, but not true : For the eſtabliſhed religion and worſhip are no other ways interwoven with the government, than that the government makes profeſſion of them, and by divers

1686. vers laws has made them the Current Religion, and required all the members of the ſtate to conform to it.

This is nothing but what may as well be done by the government for any other perſuaſion, as that. It is true, it is not eaſy to change an eſtabliſhed religion, nor is that the queſtion we are upon; but State *Religions* have been changed without the change of the *States*. We ſee this in the governments of Germany and Denmark upon the Reformation: But more clearly and near ourſelves, in the caſe of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary and Elizabeth; for the Monarchy ſtood, the Family remained and ſucceeded, under all the revolutions of State Religion; which could not have been, had the propoſition been generally true.

The change of Religion then, does not neceſſarily change the Government, or alter the State; and if ſo, *à fortiori*, Indulgence of Church-Diſſenters does not neceſſarily hazard a change of the State, where the preſent State-Religion or Church remains the ſame; for that I premiſe.

Some may ſay, ‘ That it were more facile to change from one National Religion to ‘ another, than to maintain the Monarchy and Church, againſt the ambition and faction ‘ of divers Diſſenting Parties.’ But this is improbable at leaſt. For it were to ſay, That it is an eaſier thing to change a whole Kingdom, than, with the ſovereign power, followed with armies, navies, judges, clergy, and all the Conformiſts of the kingdom, to ſecure the government from the ambition and faction of Diſſenters, as differing in their intereſts within themſelves, as in their perſuaſions; and were they united, have neither power to awe, nor rewards to allure to their party. They can only be formidable, when headed by the ſovereign. They may ſtop a gap, or make, by his acceſſion, a balance: Otherwiſe, until it is harder to fight broken and divided troops, than an entire body of an army, it will be always eaſier to maintain the government under a Toleration of Diſſenters, than in a total Change of Religion, and even then itſelf has not failed to have been preſerved. But whether it be more or leſs eaſy, is not our point; if they are many, the danger is of exaſperating, not of making them eaſy; for the force of our queſtion is, ‘ Whether ſuch Indulgence be ſafe to the State?’ And here we have the firſt and laſt, the beſt and greateſt evidence for us, which is Fact and Experience, the journal and reſolves of Time, and treaſure of the Sage.

For, firſt, The Jews, that had moſt to ſay for their Religion, and whoſe Religion was *twin* to their State, (both being joined, and ſent with wonders from heaven) *indulged* ſtrangers in their religious diſſents. They required but the belief of the *Noachical* principles, which were common to the world: No *Idolater*, and but a *Moral Man*, and he had his *Liberty*, aye, and ſome *Privileges* too, for he had an apartment in the Temple, and this without danger to the Government. Thus Maimonides, and others of their own rabbies, and Grotius out of them.

The wiſdom of the Gentiles was very admirable in this, that though they had many ſects of Philoſophers amongſt them, each diſſenting from the other in their principles, as well as diſcipline, and that not only in phyſical things, but points metaphyſical; in which ſome of the Fathers were not free, the School-men deeply engaged, and our preſent Academies but too much perplexed; yet they *indulged* them and the beſt livers with ſingular kindneſs: The greateſt ſtateſmen and captains often becoming patrons of the ſects they beſt affected, honouring their readings with their preſence and applauſe. So far were thoſe ages, which we have made as the original of wiſdom and politeneſs, from thinking Toleration an error of State, or dangerous to the Government. Thus Plutarch, Strabo, Laertius and others.

To theſe inſtances I may add the latitude of Old Rome, that had almoſt as many deities as houſes: For Varro tells us of no leſs than *thirty thouſand* ſeveral *Sacra*, or religious rites, among her people, and yet without a quarrel: Unhappy fate of Chriſtianity! the beſt of religions, and yet her profeſſors maintain leſs Charity than Idolaters, while it ſhould be peculiar to them. I fear, it ſhews us to have but little of it at heart.

But nearer home, and in our own time, we ſee the effects of a diſcreet Indulgence, even to emulation. Holland, that Bog of the world, neither ſea nor dry land, now the rival of talleſt monarchs; not by Conqueſts, Marriages, or acceſſion of Royal Blood, the uſual ways to Empire, but by her own ſuperlative Clemency and Induſtry; for the one was the effect of the other: She cheriſhed her people, whatſoever were their *Opinions*, as the reaſonable ſtock of the country, the heads and hands of her trade and wealth; and making them eaſy in the main point, their Conſcience, ſhe became great by them: This made her fill with People, and they filled her with Riches and Strength.

And if it ſhould be ſaid, ‘ She is upon her declenſion for all that:’ I anſwer, All ſtates muſt know it; nothing is here immortal. Where are the Babylonian, Perſian, and Grecian Empires? And are not Lacedæmon, Athens, Rome and Carthage gone before her? Kingdoms and Commonwealths have their Births and Growths, their Declenſions and Deaths, as well as private families and perſons: But it is owing neither to the Armies of France, nor Navies of England, but her own Domeſtick Troubles.

Seventy-Two ſticks in her bones yet: The growing power of the Prince of Orange, muſt, in ſome degree, be an ebb to that ſtate's ſtrength; for they are not ſo unanimous and vigorous in their intereſt as formerly: But were they ſecure againſt the danger of their own ambition and jealouſy, any body might inſure their glory at five per cent. But ſome of their greateſt men, apprehending they are in their climacterical juncture, give up the ghoſt, and care not, if they muſt fall, by what hand it is.

Others chuſe a Stranger, and think one afar off will give the beſt terms, and leaſt annoy them: Whilſt a conſiderable party have choſen a Domeſtick Prince, kin to their early ſucceſſes by the Fore-father's ſide (the gallantry of his anceſtors) and that his own greatneſs and ſecurity are wrapt up in theirs, and therefore modeſtly hope to find their account in his proſperity. But this is a kind of digreſſion; only before I leave it, I dare venture to add, that if the Prince of Orange changes not the policies of that ſtate, he will not change her fortune, and he will mightily add to his own.

But perhaps I ſhall be told, 'That no body doubts that Toleration is an agreeable 'thing to a Commonwealth, where every one thinks he has a ſhare in the government; 'aye, that the one is the conſequence of the other, and therefore moſt carefully to be 'avoided by all Monarchical States.' This indeed were ſhrewdly to the purpoſe, in England, if it were but true. But I do not ſee how there can be one true reaſon advanced in favour of this objection; Monarchies, as well as Commonwealths, ſubſiſting by the preſervation of the People under them.

But, firſt, If this were true, it would follow, by the rule of contraries, that a Republick could not ſubſiſt with *Unity* and *Hierarchy*, which is Monarchy in the *Church*; but it muſt, from ſuch Monarchy in *Church*, come to Monarchy in *State* too. But Venice, Genoa, Lucca, Seven of the Cantons of Switzerland, (and Rome herſelf, for ſhe is an Ariſtocracy) all under the loftieſt Hierarchy in Church, and where is no Toleration, ſhew, in fact, that the contrary is true.

But, Secondly, This objection makes a Commonwealth the better government of the two, and ſo overthrows the thing it would eſtabliſh. This is effectually done, if I know any thing; ſince a Commonwealth is hereby rendered a more copious, powerful and beneficial government to mankind, and is made better to anſwer contingencies and emergencies of ſtate, becauſe this ſubſiſts either way; but *Monarchy* not, if the objection be true. The one proſpers by Union in Worſhip and Diſcipline, and by Toleration of the Diſſenting Churches from the National. The other only by an Univerſal Conformity to a National Church. I ſay, this makes Monarchy (in itſelf, doubtleſs, an admirable government) leſs *powerful*, leſs *extended*, leſs *propitious*, and finally leſs *ſafe* to the people under it, than a Commonwealth, in that no *ſecurity* is left to Monarchy under diverſity of Worſhips; which yet no man can defend or forbid but it may often arrive, as it hath in England more than five times in the two laſt ages. And truly it is natural for men to chuſe to ſettle where they may be ſafeſt from the power and miſchief of ſuch accidents of State.

Upon the whole matter, it is to reflect the laſt miſchief upon Monarchy, which the worſt enemies it has could hope to diſgrace or endanger it by; ſince it is to tell the people under it, that they muſt either *conform*, or be *deſtroyed*, or, to ſave themſelves, turn *Hypocrites*, or change the Frame of the Government they live under. A perplexity both to Monarch and People, than which nothing can be greater, but the comfort of knowing the objection is falſe. And that which ought to make every reaſonable man of this opinion, is the cloud of witneſſes that almoſt every age of Monarchy affords us.

I will begin with that of Iſrael, the moſt exact and ſacred pattern of Monarchy, begun by a valiant man, tranſlated to the beſt, and improved by the wiſeſt of Kings, whoſe miniſters were neither fools, nor fanaticks: Here we ſhall find proviſion for Diſſenters: Their *Proſelyti Domicilii* were ſo far from being compelled to their national rites, that they were expreſly forbid to obſerve them. Such were the Egyptians that came with them out of Egypt, the Gibeonites and Canaanites, a great people, that, after their ſeveral forms, worſhipped in an Apartment of the ſame Temple. The Jews with a *Liturgy*; they *without* one: The Jews had *Prieſts*, but theſe *none*: The Jews had *Variety* of Oblations; theſe people *Burnt-Offerings* only. All that was required of them was the *Natural Religion* of *Noah*, in which the acknowledgment and worſhip of the *True God* was, and it ſtill ought to be, the main point: Nay, ſo far were they from coercive Conformity, that they did not ſo much as oblige them to obſerve their *Sabbath*, though one of the Ten Commandments: Grotious and Selden ſay more. Certainly this was great Indulgence, ſince ſo unſuitable an uſage looked like profaning their devotion, and a common nuiſance to their National Religion. One would think by this, that their care lay on the ſide of preſerving their Cult from the Touch or Acceſſion of Diſſenters, and not of *forcing* them, by undoing penalties, to conform. This muſt needs be evident: For if *God*'s Religion and Monarchy, (for ſo we are taught to believe it) did not, and would not, at a time when religion lay leſs in the *Mind*, and more in *Ceremony*, compel Conformity from Diſſenters, we hope we have got the beſt precedents on our ſide.

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The king thus incenſed, commands the laws to be put in execution, and decrees the ruin of Mordecai with all the Jews: But the king is timely intreated, his heart ſoftens, the decree is revoked, and Mordecai and his friends ſaved. The conſequence was, as extreme joy to the Jews, ſo peace and bleſſings to the King. And that which heightens the example, is the Greatneſs and Infidelity of the Prince: Had the inſtance been in a *Jew*, it might have been placed to his greater *Light*, or *Piety*: In a petty Prince, to the *Paucity* or *Intireneſs* of his Territories: But that an *Heathen*, and king of one hundred and ſeven and twenty provinces, ſhould, throughout his vaſt dominions, not *fear*, but *practiſe* Toleration with good ſucceſs, has ſomething admirable in it.

If we pleaſe to remember the tranquillity and ſucceſs of thoſe Heathen Roman Emperors, that allowed Indulgence; that Auguſtus ſent Hecatombs to Jeruſalem, and the wiſeſt honoured the Jews, and at leaſt ſpared the divers ſects of Chriſtians, it will certainly oblige us to think, that princes, whoſe religions are nearer of kin to thoſe of the Diſſenters of our times, may not unreaſonably hope for quiet from a diſcreet Toleration, eſpecially when there is nothing peculiar in Chriſtianity to render princes unſafe in ſuch an Indulgence. The admirable prudence of the Emperor Jovianus, in a quite contrary method to thoſe of the reigns of his predeceſſors, ſettled the moſt imbroiled time of the Chriſtian World, almoſt to a *Miracle*; for though he found the heats of the Arians and Orthodox carried to a barbarous height, (to ſay nothing of the Novatians, and other diſſenting intereſts) the Emperor eſteeming thoſe calamities the effect of coercing Conformity to the Prince's or State's Religion, and that this courſe did not only waſte Chriſtians, but expoſe Chriſtians to the ſcorn of Heathens, and ſo ſcandalize thoſe whom they ſhould convert, he reſolutely declared, ‘That he would have none *moleſted* for the ‘*different* exerciſe of their *Religious Worſhip*:’ Which (and that in a trice, for he reigned but ſeven months) calmed the impetuous ſtorms of diſſention, and reduced the empire, before agitated with the moſt uncharitable conteſts, to a wonderful ſecurity and peace: Thus a kindly *Amity*, brought a Civil Unity to the State; which endeavours for a Forced Unity never did to the Church, but had formerly filled the government with incomparable miſeries, as well as the Church with incharity: And which is ſad, I muſt needs ſay, that thoſe Leaders of the Church that ſhould have been the Teachers and Examples of Peace, in ſo ſingular a juncture of the Church's ferment, did, more than any, blow the trumpet, and kindle the fire, of *Diviſion*. So dangerous is it to *ſuperfine* upon the text, and then impoſe it, upon penalty, for *Faith*.

‘Valentinian the emperor,’ we are told by Socrates Scholaſticus, ‘was a great honourer of thoſe that favoured his own faith; but ſo, as he moleſted not the Arians ‘at all.’ And Marcellinus farther adds to his honour, ‘That he was much renowned ‘for his moderate carriage during his reign; inſomuch, that amongſt ſundry ſects of ‘religion, he troubled no man for his Conſcience, impoſing neither this nor that to be ‘obſerved; much leſs, with menacing edicts and injunctions, did he *compel* others, his ‘ſubjects, to bow the neck, or conform to that which *himſelf* worſhipped, but left ſuch ‘points as clear and untouched as he found them.’

Gratianus, and Theodoſius the Great, indulged divers ſorts of Chriſtians; but the Novatians of all the diſſenters were preferred: Which was ſo far from inſecuring, that it preſerved, the tranquillity of the Empire. Nor till the time of Celeſtine, Biſhop of Rome, were the Novatians diſturbed; and the Perſecution of them, and the aſſumption of the Secular Power, began much at the ſame time. But the Novatians at Conſtantinople were not dealt withal; for the Greek Biſhops continued to permit them the quiet enjoyment of their diſſenting aſſemblies; as Socrates tells us, in his fifth and ſeventh books of the Eccleſiaſtical Story.

I ſhall deſcend nearer our own times; for notwithſtanding no age has been more furiouſly moved, than that which Jovianus found, and therefore the experiment of indulgence was never better made; yet to ſpeak more in view of this time of day, we find our contemporaries, of remoter judgments in religion, under no manner of difficulty in this point. The Grand Seignior, Great Mogul, Czars of Muſcovia, King of Perſia, the Great Monarchs of the Eaſt, have long allowed and proſpered with a Toleration: And who does not know that this gave Great Tamerlane his mighty victories? In theſe Weſtern Countries we ſee the ſame thing.

Cardinal d'Oſſat, in his 92d Letter to Villeroy, ſecretary to Henry the Fourth of France, gives us doctrine and example for the ſubject in hand; ‘Beſides,’ ſays he, ‘that ‘neceſſity has no law, be it in what caſe it will; our Lord Jeſus Chriſt inſtructs us by ‘his goſpel, “To let the tares alone, leſt removing them may endanger the wheat:

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‘That other Catholick Princes have allowed it without rebuke: That particularly the Duke of Savoy, who (as great a zealot as he would be thought for the Catholick Religion) tolerates the Hereticks in three of his provinces, namely, Angroyne, Lucerne, and Perone: That the King of Poland does as much, not only in Sweedland, but in Poland itſelf: That all the Princes of the Auſtrian family, that are celebrated as Pillars of the Catholick Church, do the like, not only in the towns of the Empire, but in their proper territories, as in Auſtria itſelf, from whence they take the name of their honour; in Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Luſatia, Stirria, Camiolia and Croatia the like: That Charles the Fifth, father of the King of Spain, was the perſon that taught the King of France, and other Princes, how to yield to ſuch emergencies: That his ſon, the preſent King of Spain, who is eſteemed Arch-Catholick, and that is, as the Atlas of the Catholick Church, *tolerates* notwithſtanding, at this day, in his kingdoms of Valentia and Granada, the Moors themſelves in their Mahometiſm, and has offered to thoſe of Zealand, Holland, and other Hereticks of the Low Countries, the *free Exerciſe* of their pretended religion, ſo that they will but acknowledge and obey him in *civil* matters.’ It was of thoſe Letters of this extraordinary man, (for ſo he was, whether we regard him in his eccleſiaſtical dignity, or his greater chriſtian and civil prudence) that the great Lord Falkland ſaid, ‘A Miniſter of State ſhould no more be without Cardinal d'Oſſat's Letters, than a Parſon without his Bible.’ And indeed, if we look into France, we ſhall find the Indulgence of thoſe Proteſtants hath been a flouriſhing to that kingdom, as their Arms a ſuccour to their king. It is true, that ſince they helped the miniſters of his greatneſs to ſucceſs, that haughty monarch has changed his meaſures, and reſolves their conformity to his own religion, or their ruin: But no man can give another reaſon for it, than that he thinks it for his turn to pleaſe that part of his own Church, which are the preſent neceſſary and unwearied inſtruments of his abſolute glory. But let us ſee the end of this conduct; it will require more time to approve the experiment.

As it was the royal ſaying of Stephen, King of Poland, ‘That he was a king of *Men*, and not of *Conſcience*; a commander of *Bodies*, and not of *Souls*;’ ſo we ſee a Toleration has been practiſed in that country of a long time, with no ill ſucceſs to the ſtate; the cities of Cracovia, Racovia, and many other towns of note, almoſt wholly diſſenting from the common religion of the kingdom, which is Roman Catholick, as the others are Socinian and Calviniſt, mighty oppoſite to that, as well as to themſelves.

The king of Denmark, in his large town of Altona, but about a mile from Hamburgh, and therefore called ſo, that is, *All-to-near*, is a pregnant proof to our point. For though his ſeat be ſo remote from that place, another ſtrong and inſinuating ſtate ſo near, yet under his Indulgence of divers Perſuaſions, they enjoy their peace, and he that ſecurity, that he is not upon better terms in any of his more immediate and uniform dominions. I leave it to the thinking reader, if it be not much owing to this Freedom, and if a contrary courſe were not the way for him to furniſh his neighbours with means to depopulate that place, or make it uneaſy and chargeable to him to keep?

If we look into other parts of Germany, where we find a ſtout and warlike people, fierce for the thing they opine, or believe, we ſhall find the Prince Palatine of the Rhine has been ſafe, and more potent by his Indulgence; witneſs his Improvements at Manheim: And as (believe me) he acted the Prince to his People in *other* things, ſo in *this* to the *Empire*; for he made bold with the Conſtitution of it, in the latitude he gave his ſubjects in this affair.

The Elector of Brandenburgh is himſelf a Calviniſt, his people moſtly Lutheran; yet in part of his dominions, the Roman Catholicks enjoy their Churches quietly.

The Duke of Newburg, and a ſtrict Roman Catholick, brother-in-law to the preſent Emperor, in his province of Juliers, has not only at Dewſburg, Mulheim, and other places, but in Duſſeldorff itſelf, where the court reſides, Lutheran and Calviniſt, as well as Roman Catholick aſſemblies.

The Elector of Saxony, by religion a Lutheran, in his city of Budiſſin, has both Lutherans and Roman Catholicks in the ſame Church parted only by a Grate.

In Augſburg, they have two chief magiſtrates, as their Duumvirate; one muſt always be a Roman Catholick, and the other a Lutheran.

The Biſhop of Oſnabrug is himſelf a Lutheran; and in the town of his title, the Roman Catholicks, as well as Lutherans, have their Churches: And, which is more, the next Biſhop muſt be a Catholick too; for, like the buckets in the well, they take turns: *One* way, to be ſure, ſo that one be but in the *right*.

From hence we will go to Sultzbach, a ſmall territory, but has a great prince, I mean in his own extraordinary qualities; for, among other things, we ſhall find him act the Moderator among his people. By profeſſion he is a Roman Catholick, but has *ſimultaneum religionis exercitium*; not only Lutherans and Roman Catholicks enjoy their different worſhips, but *alternatively* in one and the ſame *place*, the ſame *day*; ſo ballancing his affection by his wiſdom, that there appears neither partiality in him, nor envy in them, though of ſuch oppoſite perſuaſions.

I will end theſe foreign inſtances with a Prince and Biſhop all in one, and he a Roman Catholick too, and that is the Biſhop of Mentz; who admits, with a very peaceable ſucceſs, ſuch Lutherans, with his Catholicks, to enjoy their Churches, as live in his town of Erford. Thus doth practice tells us, that neither Monarchy nor Hierarchy are in danger from a Toleration. On the contrary, the Laws of the Empire, which are the Acts of the Emperor and the Sovereign Princes of it, have tolerated theſe three religious perſuaſions, viz. The Roman Catholick, Lutheran, and Calviniſt; and they may as well tolerate three more, for the ſame reaſons, and with the ſame ſucceſs. For it is not their greater nearneſs or conſiſtency in doctrine, or in worſhip; on the contrary, they differ much, and by that, and other circumſtances, are ſometimes engaged in great controverſies, yet is a Toleration practicable, and the way of peace with them.

And, which is cloſeſt to our point, at home itſelf, we ſee that a Toleration of the Jews, French and Dutch in England, all diſſenters from the national way; and the Connivance that has been in Ireland, and the downright Toleration in moſt of the king's Plantations abroad, prove the aſſertion, 'That Toleration is not dangerous to 'Monarchy.' For experience tells us, where it is in any degree admitted, the king's affairs proſper moſt; People, Wealth and Strength being ſure to follow ſuch Indulgence.

But after all that I have ſaid, in reaſon and fact, why Toleration is ſafe to Monarchy, Story tells us that worſe things have befallen princes in countries under Eccleſiaſtical Union, than in places under Divided Forms of Worſhip; and ſo *tolerating* countries ſtand to the prince upon more than equal terms with *conforming* ones. And where princes have been expoſed to hardſhip in tolerating countries, they have as often come from the conforming, as non-conforming party; and ſo the Diſſenter is upon equal terms, to the Prince or State, with the Conformiſt.

The firſt is evident in the Jews, under the conduct of Moſes; their Diſſention came from the men of their own tribes, ſuch as Corah, Dathan and Abiram, with their partakers. To ſay nothing of the Gentiles.

The miſeries and ſlaughters of Mauritius the Emperor prove my point, who by the greateſt *Church-men* of his time was withſtood; and his Servant, that perpetrated the wickedneſs, by *them* ſubſtituted in his room, becauſe more officious to their grandeur. What power, but that of the *Church*, dethroned Childerick, king of France, and ſet Pepin in his place? The miſeries of the emperors Henry the Fourth and Fifth, father and ſon, from their rebellious ſubjects, raiſed and animated by the power of Conformiſts, dethroning both, as much as they could, are notorious. It is alleged, that Sigiſmund, king of Sweedland, was rejected by that Lutheran country, becauſe he was a Roman Catholick.

If we come nearer home, which is moſt ſuitable to the reaſons of the Diſcourſe, we find the *Church-men* take part with William Rufus and Henry the Firſt, againſt Robert their elder brother; and after that, we ſee ſome of the greateſt of them made head againſt their king, namely Anſelm archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his party, as did his ſucceſſor Thomas à Becket to the Second Henry. Stephen uſurped the crown when there was a *Church Union:* And king John lived miſerable for all that, and at laſt died by one of his own religion too. The diſſentions that agitated the reign of his ſon Henry the Third, and the Barons War, with Biſhop Groſteed's bleſſing to Mumford their general; the depoſition and murther of the Second Edward and Richard, and Sixth Henry, and his ſon the prince; the uſurpation of Richard the Third, and the murther of the ſons of Edward the Fourth, in the Tower of London; the Civil War that followed between him and the Earl of Richmond, afterwards our wiſe Henry the Seventh; were all perpetrated in a country of *One Religion,* and by the hands of Conformiſts. In ſhort, if we will but look upon the Civil War that ſo long raged in this kingdom between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and conſider that they profeſſed but *one* and the *ſame* religion, and both backed with numbers of Church-men too (to ſay nothing of the miſerable end of many of our king's princely anceſtors in Scotland, eſpecially the Firſt and Third James) we ſhall find cauſe to ſay, 'That Church-Uniformity is not a Security for princes to 'depend upon.'

If we will look next into countries where Diſſenters from the National Church are tolerated, we ſhall find the Conformiſt not leſs culpable than the Diſſenter.

The diſorders among the Jews, after they were ſettled in the land that God had given them, came not from thoſe they tolerated, but themſelves. They caſt off Samuel, and the government of the Judges. It was the children of the National Church, that fell in with the ambition of Abſalom, and animated the Rebellion againſt their father David. They were the ſame that revolted from Solomon's ſon, and cried in behalf of Jeroboam, "To your tents, O Iſrael!"

Not two ages ago, the Church of France too generally fell in with the family of Guiſe, againſt their lawful ſovereign Henry the Fourth: Nor were they without countenance of the greateſt of their belief, who ſtiled it an *Holy War*; at that time, fearing, not without a cauſe, the Defection of that kingdom from the Roman See. In this conjuncture, the Diſſenters made up the beſt part of that king's armies, and by their Loyalty and Blood preſerved the Blood Royal of France, and ſet the crown on the head of that prince. That king was twice aſſaſſinated, and the laſt time murdered, as was Henry the Third, his predeceſſor; but they fell, one by the hand of a *Churchman*, the other at leaſt by a *Conformiſt*.

It is true, that the next civil war was between the Catholicks and the Huguenots, under the conduct of Cardinal Richlieu, and the Duke of Rohan: But as I will not juſtify the action, ſo their Liberties and Cautions, ſo ſolemnly ſettled by Henry the Fourth, as the reward of their ſingular merit, being by the miniſtry of that Cardinal invaded, they ſay they did but defend their *Security*, and that rather againſt the *Cardinal*, than the *King*, whoſe ſoftneſs ſuffered him to become a property to the great wit and ambition of that perſon: And there is this reaſon to believe them, that if it had been otherwiſe, we are ſure that King Charles the Firſt would not in the leaſt have countenanced the quarrel.

However, the Cardinal, like himſelf, wiſely knew when to ſtop: For though he thought it the intereſt of the crown, to moderate their greatneſs, and check their growth, yet having freſh in memory the ſtory of the foregoing age, he ſaw it was wiſe to have a Ballance upon occaſion. But this was more than recompenſed in their fixed adherence to the crown of France, under the miniſtry and direction of the ſucceeding Cardinal, when their Perſuaſion had not only number, and many good officers, to value itſelf upon, but yielded their king the ableſt captain of the age, namely, Turenne: It was an Huguenot then, at the head of almoſt an Huguenot army, that fell in with a Cardinal himſelf (ſee the union Intereſt makes) to maintain the imperial crown of France, and that on a Roman-Catholick's Head: And, together with their own Indulgence, that Religion, as *National* too, againſt the pretences of a Roman-Catholick Army, headed by a prince brave and learned, of the ſame religion.

I mention not this to prefer one party to another; for contrary inſtances may be given elſewhere, as intereſts have varied. In Sweedland a prince was rejected by Proteſtants; and in England and Holland, and many of the Principalities of Germany, Roman-Catholicks have approved themſelves loyal to their Kings, Princes and States. But this ſuffices to us that we gain the point; for it is evident in countries where Diſſenters are tolerated, the inſecurity of the prince and government may as well come from the conforming as diſſenting party, and that it comes not from Diſſenters becauſe *ſuch*.

But how happy and admirable was this civil union between the Cardinal and Turenne! Two moſt oppoſite religions, both followed by people of their own perſuaſion: One ſays his *Maſs*, the other his *Directory*: Both invoke *One Deity*, by ſeveral *Ways*, for *One Succeſs*; and it followed with glory, and a peace to this day. O why ſhould it be otherwiſe now! What has been, may be: Methinks Wiſdom and Charity are on that ſide ſtill.

It will doubtleſs be objected, ‘ That the Diſſenting Party of England fell in with the ‘ State-Diſſenter in our late Civil, but Unnatural War:’ And this ſeems to be againſt us, yet three things muſt be confeſſed: Firſt, that the War rather made the Diſſenters, than the Diſſenters made the *war*. Secondly, That thoſe that were then in being, were not *tolerated*, as in France, but *proſecuted*. And, laſtly, That they did not *lead*, but *follow*, great numbers of Church-goers, of all qualities, in that unhappy controverſy; and which began upon other topicks than Liberty for Church-Diſſenters: And though they were herein blameable, Reaſon is *Reaſon*, in all climates and latitudes. This does not affect the queſtion: Such calamities are no *neceſſary* conſequences of Church-Diſſent, becauſe they would then follow in *all* places where Diſſenters are tolerated, which we ſee they do not: But theſe may ſometimes indeed be the effects of a violent endeavour at *Uniformity*, and that under *all* forms of government, as I fear they were partly here under our Monarchy. But then, this teaches us to conclude, that a Toleration of thoſe, that a contrary courſe makes uneaſy and deſperate, may prevent or cure inteſtine troubles; as *anno* Forty-eight it ended the ſtrife, and ſettled the peace of Germany. For it is not now the queſtion, ‘ How far men may be provoked, or ought to reſent it’; but, ‘ Whether Government is ſafe in a Toleration, eſpecially Monarchy?’ And to this iſſue we come in fact, ‘ That it is ſafe, and that Conformiſts (generally ſpeaking) have, for their ‘ Intereſts, as rarely known their duty to their Prince, as Diſſenters for their Conſciences.’ So that the danger ſeems to lie on this ſide, of forcing *Uniformity* againſt *Faith*, upon ſevere penalties, rather than of a diſcreet *Toleration*.

In the next place, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew the prudence and reaſonableneſs of a Toleration, by the great benefits that follow it.

Toleration, which is an ‘ Admiſſion of Diſſenting Worſhips, with impunity to the ‘ Diſſenters,’ ſecures *Property*, which is *Civil Right*; and that eminently the *Line* and *Power* of the *Monarchy*: For if no man ſuffer in his Civil Right for the ſake of ſuch Diſſent, the point of *ſucceſſion* is ſettled without a civil war, or a Recantation; ſince it were an abſurd thing to imagine, that a man born to *Five Pounds a Year*, ſhould not be liable to forfeit his inheritance for *Non-Conformity*, and yet a *Prince* of the *Blood*, and an *Heir* to the *Imperial Crown*, ſhould be made incapable of Inheritance for his *Church-Diſſent*.

The ſecurity then of Property, or Civil Right, from being forfeitable for religious Diſſent, becomes a ſecurity to the Royal Family, againſt the difficulties lately laboured under in the buſineſs of the Succeſſion. And though I have no commiſſion for it, beſides the great reaſon and equity of the thing itſelf, I dare ſay, there can hardly be a Diſſenter at this time of day ſo void of ſenſe and juſtice, as well as duty and loyalty, as not be of the ſame mind. Elſe it were to deny that to the *Prince*, which he needs, and prays for, *from* him. Let us not forget the ſtory of Sigiſmund of Sweedland, of Henry the Fourth of France, and eſpecially of our own Queen Mary. Had Property been fixed, the line of thoſe royal families could not have met with any let or interruption. It was this conſideration that prevailed with Judge Hales, though a ſtrong Proteſtant, after King Edward's death, to give his opinion for Queen Mary's ſucceſſion, againſt that of all the reſt of the judges to the contrary: Which noble precedent was recompenſed in the loyalty of Archbiſhop Heath, a Roman Catholick, in favour of the ſucceſſion of Queen Elizabeth: And the ſame thing would be done again, in the like caſe, by men of the ſame integrity.

I know it may be ſaid, 'That there is little reaſon now for the Prince to regard this 'argument in favour of Diſſenters, when it was ſo little heeded in the caſe of the Pre'ſumptive Heir to the Crown.' But as this was the act and heat of Conforming men within-doors, ſo if it were, in counſel or deſire, the folly and injuſtice of any Diſſenters without-doors, ſhall many intire parties pay the reckoning of the few buſy offenders? They would humbly hope, that the ſingular mildneſs and clemency, which make up ſo great a part of the king's publick aſſurances, will not leave him in his reflection here.

It is the Mercies of princes, that, above all their works, give them the neareſt reſemblance to Divinity in their Adminiſtration. Beſides, it is their glory to meaſure their actions by the reaſon and conſequence of things, and not by the paſſions that poſſeſs and animate private breaſts: For it were fatal to the intereſt of a prince, that the Folly or Undutifulneſs of any of his ſubjects ſhould put him out of the way, or tempt him to be unſteady to his Principle and Intereſt: And yet, with ſubmiſſion, I muſt ſay, it would be the conſequence of Coercion: For, by expoſing *Property* for *Opinion*, the prince expoſes the conſciences and property of his own Family, and plainly *diſarms* them of all defence, upon any *Alteration* of *Judgment*. Let us remember, That ſeveral of the ſame gentlemen, who at firſt ſacrificed *Civil Rights* for *Non-Conformity* in common Diſſenters, fell at laſt to make the *Succeſſion* of the *Crown* the price of Diſſent in the next *Heir* of the *Royal Blood*. So dangerous a thing it is to hazard property to ſerve a turn for any party, or ſuffer ſuch examples in the caſe of the meaneſt perſon in a kingdom.

Nor is this all the benefit that attends the *Crown* by the Preſervation of *Civil Rights*; for the *Power* of the *Monarchy* is kept more *intire* by it. The king has the benefit of his whole People; and the Reaſon of their Safety is owing to their *Civil*, and not *Eccleſiaſtical* Obedience: Their Loyalty to *Cæſar*, and not Conformity to the *Church*. Whereas the other opinion would have it, 'That no Conformity to the *Church*, no 'Property in the *State*:' Which is to clog and narrow the civil power; for at this rate, *No Church-man*, *No Engliſhman*; and, No *Conformiſt*, *No Subject*. A way to *alien* the King's People, and practiſe an *Excluſion* upon him, from, it may be, a Fourth Part of his Dominions. Thus it may happen, that the ableſt Stateſman, the braveſt Captain, and the beſt Citizen, may be diſabled, and the Prince forbid their employment to his ſervice.

Some inſtances of this we have had ſince the late king's reſtoration: For upon the firſt Dutch War, Sir William Penn being commanded to give in a liſt of the ableſt ſea-officers in the kingdom, to ſerve in that expedition, I do very well remember he preſented our preſent king with a catalogue of the knowingeſt and braveſt officers the age had bred, with this ſubſcribed, 'Theſe men, if his Majeſty will pleaſe to admit of their *Per'ſuaſions*, I will anſwer for their ſkill, courage and integrity.' He picked them by their Ability, not their Opinions; and he was in the right; for that was the beſt way of doing the king's buſineſs. And of my own knowledge, *Conformity* robbed the king at that time of *Ten Men*, whoſe greater knowledge and valour, than any other *Ten* of that fleet, had, in their room, been able to have ſaved a battle, or perfected a victory. I will name three of them: The firſt was old Vice Admiral Goodſon, than whom nobody was more ſtout, or a ſeaman. The ſecond, Captain Hill, that in the Sapphire beat Admiral Everſon hand to hand, who came to the relief of Old Trump. The third, was Captain Potter, who in the Conſtant Warwick took captain Beach, after eight hours ſmart diſpute. And as evident it is, that if a war had proceeded between this kingdom and France ſeven years ago, the buſineſs of *Conformity* had deprived the king of many land-officers, whom their ſhare in the late wars of Europe had made knowing and able.

But, which is worſt of all, ſuch are not ſafe, with their Diſſent, under their own extraordinary prince. For, though a man were a great honourer of his King, a lover of his Country, an admirer of the Government; in the courſe of his life, ſober, wiſe, induſtrious and uſeful; if a Diſſenter from the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, in that condition there is no Liberty for his Perſon, nor Security to his Eſtate: As uſeleſs to the publick, ſo ruined in himſelf. For this net catches the *beſt*; men true to their Conſcience, and who, indulged, are moſt like to be ſo to their Prince; whilſt the reſt are left to *cozen* him by their change; for that is the unhappy end of *forced* conformity in the poor-ſpirited compliers. And this muſt always be the conſequence of neceſſitating the prince to put *more* and *other* teſts upon his people, than are requiſite to ſecure him of their *Loyalty*.

And when we ſhall be ſo happy in our meaſures, as to conſider this miſchief to the Monarchy, it is to be hoped it will be thought expedient to diſintangle *Property* from *Opinion*, and cut the untoward knot ſome men have tied, that hath ſo long hampered and galled the prince as well as the people. It will be then, when civil puniſhments ſhall no more follow church faults, that the civil tenure will be recovered to the government, and the natures of acts, rewards and puniſhments, ſo diſtinguiſhed, as *Loyalty* ſhall be the ſafety of *Diſſent*, and the whole People made *uſeful* to the Government.

It will, perhaps, be objected, 'That Diſſenters can hardly be obliged to be true to the Crown, and ſo the Crown unſafe in their very ſervices; for they may eaſily turn the power given them to ſerve it, *againſt* it, to greaten themſelves.' I am willing to obviate every thing, that may with any pretence be offered againſt our intreated Indulgence. I ſay, *No*; and appeal to the King himſelf (againſt whom the prejudices of our late times ran higheſt, and who therefore has moſt reaſon to reſent) if ever he was better loved or ſerved, than by the *Old Round-headed Seamen*, the Earl of Sandwich, Sir William Penn, Sir J. Lawſon, Sir G. Aſcue, Sir R. Stanier, Sir J. Smith, Sir J. Jordan, Sir J. Harmon, Sir Chriſtopher Minns, Captains Sanſum, Cuttins, Clark, Robinſon, Molton, Wager, Tern, Parker, Haward, Hubbard, Fen, Langhorn, Daws, Earl, White; to ſay nothing of many yet living, of real merit, and many inferior officers expert and brave. And to do our Prince juſtice, he *deſerved* it from them, by his humility, plainneſs and courage, and the care and affection that he always ſhewed them.

If any ſay, 'That moſt of theſe men were *Conformiſts*;' I preſume to tell them, I know, as well as any man, they ſerved the king never the better for *that*: On the contrary, it was all the ſtrife that ſome of them had in themſelves, in the doing that ſervice, that they muſt not ſerve the king *without* it; and if in that they could have been indulged, they had performed it with the greateſt alacrity. *Intereſt* will not *lye*. Where people find their reckoning, they are ſure to be true. For it is want of wit that makes any man falſe to himſelf. It was he that knew all mens hearts, that ſaid, "Where the *Treaſure* is, there will the *Heart* be alſo." Let men be eaſy, ſafe, and upon their preferment with the prince, and they will be dutiful, loyal, and moſt affectionate.

Mankind by nature fears Power, and melts at Goodneſs. Pardon my zeal; I would not be thought to plead for Diſſenters Preferment; it is enough they keep what they have, and may live at their own charges. Only I am for having the *Prince* have *Room* for his *Choice*, and not be cramped and ſtinted by *Opinion*; but employ thoſe who are beſt able to ſerve him: And, I think, out of *Six* Parties, it is better picking than out of *One*, and therefore the prince's intereſt is to be head of all of them, which a *Toleration* effects in a moment, ſince thoſe *Six* (divided intereſts within *themſelves)* having but *One Civil Head*, become *One intire Civil Body* to the *Prince*. And, I am ſure, I have Monarchy on my ſide, if Solomon and his Wiſdom may ſtand for it, who tells us, "That the glory of a king is in the multitude of his people."

Nor is this all; for the conſequences of ſuch an univerſal Content would be of infinite moment to the ſecurity of the Monarchy, both at home and abroad. At *home*; for it would *behead* the Factions without *Blood*, and *baniſh* the Ringleaders without going *abroad*. When the Great Bodies of Diſſenters ſee the care of the Government for their Safety, they have no need of their Captains, nor theſe any ground for their pretences: For as they uſed the People to value *themſelves*, and raiſe their fortunes with the *Prince*, ſo the people followed their Leaders to get that eaſe they ſee their Heads promiſed, but *could* not, and the Government *can* and does give them.

Multitudes cannot *plot*; they are too many, and have not conduct for it; they move by another ſpring. *Safety* is the pretence of their *Leaders*: If once they ſee they enjoy it, they have yet wit enough not to hazard it for any body: For the endeavours of buſy men are then diſcernible; but a ſtate of ſeverity gives them a pretence, by which the multitude is eaſily taken. Men may indiſcreetly plot to *get*, what they would never plot to *loſe*. So that *Eaſe* is not only *their Content*, but the *Prince's Security*.

This I ſay, upon a ſuppoſition, 'That the Diſſenters could *agree* againſt the Government;' which is a begging of the queſtion: For it is improbable, if not impoſſible, without *Conformiſts*; ſince, beſides the *Diſtance* they are at in their *Perſuaſions* and *Affections*, they dare not hope for ſo good terms from *one another*, as the *government* gives: And that fear, with emulation, would draw them into that duty, that they muſt all

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1686. fall into a natural dependance, which I call, Holding of the Prince, as the Great Head of the State.

From *abroad*, we are as ſafe as from within ourſelves: For if Leading Men at home are thus diſappointed of their *Intereſt* in the *People*, Foreigners will find here no Interpreters of their *dividing Language*, nor Matter (if they could) to work upon. For the point is gained; the People they would deal in, are at their eaſe, and cannot be bribed; and thoſe that would, cannot deſerve it.

It is this that makes princes live independent of their neighbours: And, to be loved at home, is be feared abroad: One follows neceſſarily the other. Where princes are driven to ſeek a foreign aſſiſtance, the iſſue either muſt be the ruin of the prince, or the abſolute ſubjection of the people; not without the hazard of becoming a province to the power of that neighbour that turns the ſcale. Theſe conſequences have on either hand an ill look, and ſhould rebate extremes.

The Greatneſs of France carries thoſe threats to all her neighbours, that, politically ſpeaking, it is the melancholieſt proſpect England has had to make ſince *Eighty-Eight*: The Spaniard at that time being ſhorter in all things but his *Pride* and *Hope*, than the French king is now of the ſame *Univerſal Monarchy*. This Greatneſs, which began with the Eleventh Lewis, ſome will have it, has not been ſo much advanced by the Wiſdom of Richlieu, and Craft of Mazarine, no, nor the Arms of the preſent Monarch, as by the Aſſiſtance or Connivance of England, that has moſt to loſe by him.

O. Cromwell began, and gave him the ſcale againſt the Spaniard. The reaſon of ſtate he went upon, was the 'Support of uſurped Dominion:' And he was not out in it; for the Exile of the Royal Family was a great part of the price of that aid: In which we ſee how much Intereſt prevails above Nature. It was not *Royal Kindred* could ſhelter a King againſt the ſolicitations of an *Uſurper*, with the *Son* of his *Mother's Brother*.

But it will be told us by ſome people, 'We have not degenerated, but exactly followed the ſame ſteps ever ſince; which has given ſuch an increaſe to thoſe beginnings, that the French Monarchy is almoſt above our reach.' But ſuppoſe it were true, what is the cauſe of it? It has not been old friendſhip, or nearneſs of blood, or neighbourhood. Nor could it be from an inclination in our miniſters to bring things here to a like iſſue, as ſome have ſuggeſted; for then we ſhould have clogged his ſucceſſes, inſtead of helping them in any kind, leſt in ſo doing we ſhould have put it into his power to hinder our own.

But perhaps our croſs accidents of ſtate may ſometimes have compelled us into his friendſhip, and his councils have carefully improved the one, and huſbanded the other to great advantages, and that this was more than made for our Engliſh intereſt: And yet it is but too true, that the extreme heats of ſome men, that moſt inveighed againſt it, went too far to ſtrengthen that underſtanding, by not taking what would have been granted, and creating an intereſt at home, that might naturally have diſſolved that correſpondence abroad.

I love not to revive things that are uneaſily remembered; but in points moſt tender to the late king, he thought himſelf ſometimes too cloſely preſſed, and hardly held; and we are all wiſe enough now to ſay, a milder conduct has ſucceeded better: For if reaſonable things may be reaſonably preſſed, and with ſuch private intentions as induce a denial, heats about things doubtful, unwiſe or unjuſt, muſt needs harden and prejudice.

Let us then create an intereſt for the Prince at *home*; and *foreign* friendſhips (at beſt uncertain and dangerous) will fall of courſe: For if it be allowed to *Private Men*, ſhall it be forbid to *Princes* only, to know and to be true to their own ſupport?

It is no more than what every age makes us to ſee in all parties of men. The *Parliaments* of England, ſince the *Reformation*, giving no quarter to *Roman Catholicks*, have forced them to the *Crown* for ſhelter. And to induce the *Monarchy* to yield them the Protection they have needed, they have, with mighty addreſs and ſkill, recommended themſelves as the Great Friends of the *Prerogative*; and ſo ſucceſsfully too, that it were not below the wiſdom of that Conſtitution, to reflect what they have loſt by that Coſtiveneſs of theirs to *Catholicks*. On the other hand, the *Crown* having treated the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* with the ſeverity of the laws that affected them, ſuffering the ſharpeſt of them to fall upon their perſons and eſtates, they have been driven ſucceſſively to *Parliaments* for ſuccour, whoſe privileges, with equal ſkill and zeal, they have abetted: And our late unhappy wars are too plain a proof, how much their acceſſion gave the ſcale againſt the power and courage of both *Conformiſts* and *Catholicks*, that adhered to the *Crown*.

Nor muſt this contrary adheſion be imputed to Love or Hatred, but neceſſary *Intereſt*: Refuſal in one place, makes way for Addreſs in another. If the Scene be changed, the Parts muſt follow: For as well before, as after Cromwell's Uſurpation, the Roman Catholicks did not only promiſe the moſt ready *Obedience* to *that* Government, in their Printed Apologies for Liberty of Conſcience; but actually *treated*, by ſome of their greateſt men, with the *Miniſters* of thoſe times, for *Indulgence*, upon the aſſurances they offered to give of their *Good Behaviour* to the Government, as then eſtabliſhed.

On the other hand, we ſee the *Preſbyterians*, that in Scotland began the war, and in England promoted and upheld it to *Forty-ſeven*, when ready to be ſupplanted by the *Independents*,

dependents, wheel to the *King*. In Scotland they *crown* him, and come into England with an army to *reſtore* him, where their brethren join them; but being defeated, they help, by *Private Collections*, to ſupport him *abroad*; and after the overthrow of Sir George Booth's attempt, to almoſt a miracle, *reſtore* him. And, which is more, a great part of that Army too, whoſe Victories came from the Ruin of the Prince they *reſtored*.

But to give the laſt proofs our age has of the power of Intereſt, againſt the notion oppoſed by this Diſcourſe. Firſt, the *Independents* themſelves, held the Greateſt Republicans of all parties, were the moſt laviſh and ſuperſtitious adorers of Monarchy in Oliver Cromwell, becauſe of the regard he had to them; allowing him, and his ſon after him, to be *Cuſtos utriuſque tabulæ*; over all cauſes, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil, Supreme Governor. And next, the *Conformiſts* in Parliament, reputed the moſt Loyal and Monarchical Men, did, more than any body, queſtion and oppoſe the late King's Declaration of Indulgence; even they themſelves would not allow ſo much Prerogative to the Crown, but pleaded and oppoſed his Political Capacity.

This proves the Power of Intereſt, and that *All Perſuaſions* center with it: And when they ſee the Government engaging them with a *Fixed Liberty* of *Conſcience*, they muſt, for their own ſakes, ſeek the ſupport of it, by which it is maintained. This Union, directed under the Prince's conduct, would awe the greatneſs of our neighbours, and ſoon reſtore Europe to its ancient ballance, and that into his hand too: So that he may be the Great Arbiter of the Chriſtian World. But if the policy of the government places the ſecurity of its intereſt in the *Deſtruction* of the *Civil Intereſt* of the *Diſſenters*, it is not to be wondered at, if they are leſs found in the praiſes of its conduct, than others, to whom they are offered up a ſacrifice by it.

I know it will be inſinuated, 'That there is danger in building upon the Union of 'divers Intereſts;' and this will be aggravated to the Prince, by ſuch as would *engroſs* his bounty, and intercept his grace from a great part of his people. But I will only oppoſe to that mere ſuggeſtion three examples to the contrary, with this challenge, That if after rummaging the records of all time, they find one inſtance to contradict me, I ſhall ſubmit the queſtion to their authority.

The firſt is given by thoſe Chriſtian Emperors, who admitted all ſorts of Diſſenters into their Armies, Courts and Senates. This, the Eccleſiaſtical Story of thoſe times aſſures us, and particularly Socrates, Evagrius, and Onuphrius.

The next inſtance is that of Prince William of Orange, who, by a timely Indulgence, united the ſcattered ſtrength of Holland; and, all animated by the Clemency, as well as valour of their captain, crowned his attempts with an extraordinary glory; and what makes, continues, great.

The laſt is given us by Livy, in his account of Hannibal's Army; 'That they conſiſted of divers nations, languages, cuſtoms and religions: That under all their ſucceſſes of war and peace, for thirteen years together, they never mutinied againſt their 'general, not fell out among themſelves.' What Livy relates for a wonder, the Marquis Virgilio Malvetzy gives the reaſon of, to wit, their variety and difference, well managed by their General; 'For,' ſaid he, 'It was impoſſible for ſo many nations, 'cuſtoms and religions to combine, eſpecially when the General's equal hand gave 'him more reverence with them, than they had of affection for one another. This,' ſays he, 'ſome would wholly impute to Hannibal; but however great he was, I attribute it to the variety of people in the army: For,' adds he, 'Rome's army was 'ever leſs given to mutiny, when ballanced with Auxiliary Legions, than when intirely 'Roman.' Thus much in his diſcourſe upon Cornelius Tacitus.

And they are neither few, nor of the weakeſt ſort of men, that have thought the concord of diſcords a firm baſis for government to be built upon. The buſineſs is to tune them well, and that muſt be the ſkill of the muſician.

In Nature we ſee all Heat conſumes, all Cold kills: That three degrees of cold to two of heat, allay the heat, but introduce the contrary quality, and overcool by one degree; but two degrees of cold to two of heat, make a poize in elements, and a ballance in nature. And in thoſe families where the eveneſt hand is carried, the work is beſt done, and the maſter is moſt reverenced.

This brings me to another benefit which accrues to the Monarchy by a Toleration, and that is a Ballance at Home: For though it be improbable, it may ſo happen, that either the conforming or non-conforming party may be undutiful; the one is then a ballance of the other. This might have prevented much miſchief to our Second and Third Henry, King John, the Second Edward, and Richard, and unhappy Henry the Sixth, as it undeniably ſaved the Royal Family of France, and ſecured Holland, and kept it from truckling under the Spaniſh Monarchy. While all hold of the government, it is that which gives the ſcale to the moſt dutiful; but ſtill no farther than to ſhew its power, and awe the diſorderly into obedience; not to deſtroy the Ballance, leſt it ſhould afterwards want the means of overpoizing Faction.

That

1686. That this is more than fancy, plain it is that the Diſſenter muſt firmly adhere to the government for his Being, while the Church-man is provided for. The one ſubſiſts by its Mercy, the other by its Bounty. This is tied by Plenty, but that by Neceſſity; which being the laſt of tyes, and ſtrongeſt obligation, the ſecurity is greateſt from him, that it is fancied moſt unſafe to tolerate.

But beſides this, the tranquillity which it gives at home will both oblige thoſe that are upon the wing for foreign parts, to pitch here again; and, at a time when our neighbouring monarch is waſting his people, excite thoſe ſufferers into the King's dominions, whoſe number will increaſe that of his ſubjects, and their Labour and Conſumption, the trade and wealth of his territories.

For what are all Conqueſts, but of People? And if the government may by Indulgence add the inhabitants of ten cities to thoſe of its own, it obtains a Victory without charge. The ancient perſecution of France and the Low Countries, has furniſhed us with an invincible inſtance; for of thoſe that came hither on that account, we were inſtructed in moſt uſeful Manufactures; as, by courſes of the like nature, we loſt a great part of our Woollen Trade. And as men, in times of danger, draw in their ſtock, and either tranſmit it to other banks, or bury their talent at home for ſecurity (that, being out of ſight, it may be out of reach too, and either is fatal to a kingdom); ſo this mildneſs obtained, ſetting every man's heart at reſt, every man will be at work, and the ſtock of the kingdom employed; which, like the blood, that hath its due paſſage, will give life and vigour to every member in the publick body.

And here give me leave to mention the Experiment made at home by the late King, in his Declaration of Indulgence. No matter how well or ill built that act of ſtate was, it is no part of the buſineſs in hand; but what effect the Liberty of it had upon the peace and wealth of the kindom, may have inſtruction in it to our preſent condition. It was evident that all men laboured cheerfully, and traded boldly, when they had the Royal Word to keep what they got, and the King himſelf became the Univerſal Inſurer of Diſſenters Eſtates. Whitehall, then, and St. James's, were as much viſited and courted by their reſpective agents, as if they had been of the Family: For that which eclipſed the Royal Goodneſs, being by his own hand thus removed, his benign Influences drew the returns of ſweetneſs and duty from that part of his ſubjects, that the want of thoſe influences had made barren before. Then it was that we looked like the members of one family, and children of one parent. Nor did we envy our eldeſt brother, Epiſcopacy, his inheritance, ſo that we had but a Child's portion: For not only diſcontents vaniſhed, but no matter was left for ill ſpirits, foreign or domeſtick, to brood upon, or hatch to miſchief. Which was a plain proof, that it is the *Union* of *Intereſts*, and not of *Opinions*, that gives peace to kingdoms.

And, with all deference to authority I would ſpeak it, the Liberty of the declaration ſeems to be our Engliſh *Amomum* at laſt; the ſovereign remedy to our Engliſh Conſtitution. And, to ſay true, we ſhifted luck (as they call it) as ſoon as we had loſt it; like thoſe that loſe their Royal Gold, their Evil returns. For all Diſſenters ſeemed then united in their affection to the Government, and followed their affairs without fear or diſtraction. Projects, then, were ſtale and unmerchantable, and nobody cared for them, becauſe no body wanted any: That gentle opiate, at the Prince's hand, laid the moſt buſy and turbulent to ſleep: But when the loſs of that Indulgence made them uncertain, and that uneaſy, their perſons and eſtates being again expoſed to pay the reckoning of their Diſſent, no doubt but every party ſhifted then as they could: Moſt grew ſelfiſh, at leaſt jealous, fearing one ſhould make bargains apart, or excluſive of the other. This was the fatal part Diſſenters acted to their common ruin: And I take this partiality to have had too great a ſhare in our late animoſities; which, by freſh accidents falling in, have ſwelled to a mighty deluge, ſuch an one as hath overwhelmed our former civil concord and ſerenity. And pardon me, if I ſay, I cannot ſee that thoſe *Waters* are like to *aſſuage*, 'till this *Olive-branch* of Indulgence be ſome way or other reſtored: The *Waves* will ſtill cover our Earth, and a ſpot of ground will hardly be found in this glorious iſle, for a great number of uſeful people to ſet a quiet foot upon. And, to purſue the allegory, What was the *Ark* itſelf, but the moſt apt and lively Emblem of *Toleration?* A kind of Natural Temple of Indulgence. In which we find two of every living creature dwelling together, of both ſexes too, that they might propagate; and that as well of the unclean as clean kind: So that the baſer and leſs uſeful ſort were ſaved; creatures never like to change their nature; and ſo far from being whipped and puniſhed to the altar, that they were expreſly forbid. Theſe were ſaved, theſe were fed and reſtored to their ancient paſtures. Shall we be ſo mannerly as to compliment the Conformiſts with the ſtile of Clean, and ſo humble as to take the Unclean kind to ourſelves, who are the leſs noble, and more clowniſh ſort of people? I think verily we may do it, if we may but be ſaved too by the Commander of our Engliſh Ark. And this the peaceable and virtuous Diſſenter has the leſs reaſon to fear, ſince Sacred Text tells us, it was *Vice*, and *not Opinion*, that brought the deluge upon the reſt. And here (to drop our allegory) I muſt take leave to hope, that though the Declaration be gone, if the Reaſon of it remain, I mean the Intereſt of the Monarchy, the King and his Great Council will graciouſly pleaſe to think a Toleration no dangerous nor obſolete thing.

But as it has many arguments for it, that are drawn from the advantages that have and would come to the publick by it, ſo there are divers miſchiefs that muſt unavoidably follow the Perſecution of Diſſenters, that may reaſonably diſſuade from ſuch ſeverity. For they muſt either be ruined, fly, or conform; and perhaps the laſt is not the ſafeſt. If they are ruined in their eſtates, and their perſons impriſoned, modeſtly computing, a Fourth of the Trade and Manufactory of the kingdom ſinks; and thoſe that have helped to maintain the poor, muſt come upon the Poor's Book for Maintenance. This ſeems to be an impoveriſhing of the publick. But if, to avoid this, they tranſport themſelves, with their eſtates, into other governments; nay, though it were to any of the King's plantations, the number were far too great to be ſpared from home. So much principal ſtock wanting to turn the yearly traffick, and ſo many people too, to conſume our yearly growth, muſt iſſue fatally to the Trade one way, and to the Lands and Rents of the kingdom the other way.

And laſtly, if they ſhould reſolve neither to ſuffer nor fly, but conform, to prevent both; it is to be enquired, if this cure of Church-diviſion be ſafe to the State; or not rather a raking up coals under aſhes, for a future miſchief? He whom fear or policy hath made treacherous to his own Conſcience, ought not to be held true to any thing, but his own Safety, and Revenge. His Conformity gives him the firſt, and his reſentment of the force that compels it will on no occaſion let him want the laſt. So that Conformity cozens nobody but the Government: For the State Fanatick (which is the *unſafe* thing to the State) being chriſtened by Conformity, he is eligible every where, with perſons the moſt devoted to the prince: And all men will hold themſelves protected in their votes by it.---A receipt to make Faction keep, and preſerve Diſloyalty againſt all weathers. For whereas the nature of Teſts is to *diſcover*, this is the way to *conceal*, the inclinations of men from the government. *Plain Diſſent*, is the *Prince* with a *Candle* in his hand: He ſees the Where and What of perſons and things: He diſcriminates, and makes that a rule of conduct: But forced *Conformity*, is the *Prince* in the *Dark*: It blows out his candle, and leaves him without diſtinction. Such ſubjects are like figures in ſand; when water is flapt upon them they run together, and are indiſcernible: Or, *written Tradition* made *illegible*, by writing the *Oaths* and *Canons* upon it: The ſafeſt way of blotting out danger.

I know not how to forbear ſaying, that this *neceſſary Conformity* makes the Church dangerous to the State: For even the Hypocriſy that follows, makes the Church both *conceal* and *protect* the Hypocrites; which, together with their Liberality to the Parſon, Charity to the Poor, and Hoſpitality to their Neighbours, recommends them to the firſt favour they have to beſtow. That Fort is unſafe, where a party of the Garriſon conſiſts of diſguiſed Enemies; for when they take their turns at the Watch, the Danger is hardly evitable. It would then certainly be for the Safety of the Fort, that ſuch friends in maſquerade were induſtriouſly *kept out*, inſtead of being *whipt in*.

And it was ſomething of this, I remember, that was made an argument for the Declaration of Indulgence, in the preamble; to wit, 'The greater ſafety of the government, from *open* and *publick*, than private, diſſenting meetings of worſhip;' as indeed the reſt bear the ſame reſemblance. For theſe were the topicks, 'Quieting the people: Encouraging Strangers to come and live among us, and Trade by it; and laſtly, 'Preventing the danger that might ariſe to the Government by *private* meetings:' Of greater reaſon then from *Private Men*, not leſs diſcontented, but more concealed and ſecure by the great brake of Church Conformity. It is this will make a Comprehenſion of the next Diſſenters to the Church dangerous, though it were practicable, of which ſide ſoever it be. For, in an age, the preſent Frame of Government ſhall feel the art and induſtry of the Comprehended. So that a Toleration is in reaſon of State to be preferred. And if the reaſons of the Declaration were ever good, they are ſo ſtill; becauſe the Emergencies of State, that made them ſo, remain; and our neighbours are not leſs powerful to improve them to our detriment.

But it will be now ſaid, 'Though the Government ſhould find its account in what 'has been laſt alledged, this were the way to overthrow the Church, and encourage 'Diſſenters to continue in their Errors.' Which is that ſecond main objection I propoſed at firſt to anſwer in its proper place, and that I think is this:

I humbly ſay, if it prove the intereſt of the Three conſiderable Church-Intereſts in this kingdom, a Relaxation, at leaſt, can hardly fail us. The three Church Intereſts are, That of the Church of England; That of the Roman Catholick Diſſenter; and, That of the Proteſtant Diſſenter.

1686. That the Church of England ought, in conſcience and prudence, to conſent to the eaſe deſired:

I pray, firſt, that it be conſidered, how great a reflection it will be upon her honour, that from a *Perſecuted*, ſhe ſhould be accounted a *Perſecuting Church:* An overthrow none of her Enemies have been able to give to her many excellent Apologies. Nor will it be excuſed, by her ſaying, ‘She is in the Right, which her Perſecutors were not;’ ſince this is a confidence not wanting in any of them, or her Diſſenters: And the truth is, it is but the begging of a queſtion, that will by no means be granted.

No body ought to know more than *Churchmen*, that Conſcience cannot be *forced:* That offerings *againſt* Conſcience, are as odious to God, as uneaſy to them that make them: That God loves a *free* ſacrifice. That Chriſt *forbad* fire, though from heaven itſelf, to puniſh Diſſenters; and commanded that the *Tares* ſhould grow with the *Wheat* till *Harveſt.* In fine, that we ſhould *love enemies* themſelves: And, to exclude worldly ſtrife for religion, That his kingdom is not of *this* world. This was the doctrine of the Bleſſed Saviour of the World.

Saint Paul purſues the ſame courſe: Is glad Chriſt is preached, be it of *Envy:* The worſt ground for Diſſent that can be. It was he that aſked that hard, but juſt queſtion, “Who art thou that judgeſt another man's ſervant? To his own Lord he ſtandeth or “falleth.” He allows the Church a warfare, and weapons to perform it; but they are not carnal, but ſpiritual. Therefore it was ſo adviſed, that every man, in matters of religion, ſhould be “*fully perſuaded* in his *own* mind;” and if any were ſhort, or miſtaken, God would, in his time, inform them better.

He tells us of *Schiſmaticks*, and *Hereticks* too, and their puniſhment, which is to the point in hand: He directs to a *firſt* and *ſecond* Admonition; and if that prevail not, *reject* them: That is, *refuſe* them Church Fellowſhip, *diſown* their relation, and *deny* them Communion. But in all this there is not a word of *Fines* or *Impriſonments:* Nor is it an excuſe to any Church, that the *Civil Magiſtrate* executes the ſeverity, while *they* are Members of *her* Communion that *make* or *execute* the *Laws*.

But if the Church could gain her point, I mean *Conformity*, unleſs ſhe could gain *Conſent* too, it were but *Conſtraint* at laſt: A *Rape* upon the Mind, which may increaſe her Number, not her Devotion. On the contrary, the reſt of her ſons are in danger by their hypocriſy: The moſt cloſe, but watchful and revengeful thing in the world. Beſides the ſcandal can hardly be removed: To *overvalue* Coin, and rate Braſs to *Silver*, beggars any country; and to own them for *Sons* ſhe never *begat*, debaſes and deſtroys any Church. It were better to indulge *foreign* coin of *intrinſick value*, and let it paſs for its *weight*. It is not Number, but *Quality*; two or three ſincere Chriſtians, that *form* an Evangelical Church: And though the Church were *leſs*, more Charity on the one hand, and Piety on the other, with exact Church-cenſure, and leſs Civil Coercion, would give her credit with Conſcience in all Sects; without which, their acceſſion itſelf would be no benefit, but diſgrace and hazard, to her conſtitution.

And to ſpeak prudently in this affair, it is the Intereſt of the Church of England not to ſuffer the Extinction of *Diſſenters*, that ſhe may have a Counter-ballance to the *Roman Catholicks*; who, though few in Number, are great in Quality, and greater in their foreign friendſhips and aſſiſtance. On the other hand, it is her intereſt to indulge the *Roman Catholick*, that, by his acceſſion, ſhe may at all times have the Ballance in her own hand againſt the *Proteſtant Diſſenter* leaning to either, as ſhe finds her *Doctrine* undermined by the one, or her *Diſcipline* by the other; or, laſtly, her *Civil Intereſt* endangered from either of them.

And it is certainly the Intereſt of *both thoſe* Extremes of Diſſent, that *ſhe*, rather than either of *them*, ſhould hold the ſcale. For as the Proteſtant Diſſenter cannot hope for any tenderneſs, excluſive of Roman Catholicks, but almoſt the *ſame* reaſons may be advanced againſt *him*; ſo, on the other hand, it would look imprudent, as well as unjuſt, in the Roman Catholicks, to ſolicit any indulgence excluſive of Proteſtant Diſſenters. For beſides that it keeps up the animoſity, which it is their intereſt to bury, the conſequence will be, to take the advantage of time to ſnatch it from one another; when an united Requeſt for Liberty, once granted, will oblige both parties, in all times, for example-ſake, to have it equally preſerved. Thus are all Church Intereſts of Conformiſts and Diſſenters rendered conſiſtent and ſafe in their Civil Intereſt one with the other.

But it will laſt of all, doubtleſs, be objected, ‘That though a Toleration were ever ‘ſo deſirable in itſelf, and in its conſequence beneficial to the publick, yet the Government cannot allow it, without Ruin to the Church of England, which it is obliged to ‘maintain.’

But I think this will not affect the queſtion at all; unleſs, by maintaining the Church of England, it is underſtood that ſhe ſhould force whole parties to be of her communion, or knock them on the head: Let us call to mind, that the Religion that is *true*, allows no man to do *wrong*, that *right* may *come* of it: And that nothing has leſſened the credit of any religion more than declining to ſupport itſelf by its own *Charity* and *Piety*, and taking ſanctuary in the *Arms*, rather than the *Underſtandings*, of men. Violences are ill pillars for truth to reſt upon. The Church of England muſt be maintained: Right; but cannot that be done without the Diſſenter be deſtroyed? In vain then did Chriſt command Peter to put up his ſword, with this rebuke, "They that take the ſword, "ſhall periſh with the ſword," if his followers are to draw it again. He makes *Killing* for Religion, *Murder*, and deſerving *Death*: Was *he* then in the *right*, not to call Legions to his aſſiſtance? And are not his followers of theſe times in the *wrong*, to ſeek to uphold their religion by any methods of *force*. The Church of England muſt be maintained; therefore the Diſſenters, that hold almoſt the ſame doctrine, muſt be ruined. A conſequence moſt unnatural, as it is almoſt impoſſible. For beſides that the drudgery would unbecome the Civil Magiſtrate, who is the Image of divine Juſtice and Clemency, and that it would faſten the character of a *falſe* Church, upon one that deſires to be eſteemed a *true* one; ſhe puts the government upon a taſk that is hard to be performed. Kings can no more make brick without ſtraw, than Slaves: The condition of our affairs is much changed, and the circumſtances our government are under differ mightily from thoſe of our anceſtors. They had not the ſame diſſents to deal with, nor thoſe diſſents the like bodies of people to render them formidable, and their proſecution miſchievous to the ſtate. Nor did this come of the Prince's Neglect or Indulgence; There are other reaſons to be aſſigned; of which, the opportunities domeſtick troubles gave to their increaſe and power, and the ſeverities uſed to ſuppreſs them, may go for none of the leaſt. So that it was as involuntary in the Prince, as to the Church anxious. And under this neceſſity to tie the magiſtrate to old meaſures, is to be regardleſs of Time, whoſe *freſh* circumſtances give aim to the conduct of wiſe men in their preſent actions. Governments, as well as Courts, change their faſhions: The ſame clothes will not always ſerve: And politicks made obſolete by new accidents, are as unſafe to follow, as antiquated dreſſes are ridiculous to wear.

Thus *Seamen* know, and teach us in their daily practice: They humour the winds; though they will lie as near as they can, and trim their ſails by their compaſs; and by patience under theſe conſtrained and uneven courſes, they gain their port at laſt. This juſtifies the government's change of meaſures from the change of things; for *res nolunt malè adminiſtrari.*

And to be free, it looks more than partial, to elect and reprobate too. That the church of England is preferred, and has the fat of the earth, the authority of the Magiſtrate, and the power of the ſword in her ſons hands, which comprehend all the honours, places, profits, and powers of the kingdom, muſt not be repined at: Let her have it, and keep it all, and let none dare ſeek or accept an office that is not of her. But to ruin Diſſenters to compleat her happineſs, (pardon the alluſion) is Calviniſm in the worſt ſenſe; for this is that *horrendum decretum* reduced to practice: And to purſue that ill-natured principle, 'Men are *civilly damned* for that they cannot *help*;' ſince *Faith* is not in *Man*'s *Power*, though it ſometimes *expoſes* one to it.

It is a ſevere dilemma, that a man muſt either renounce *that* of which he makes conſcience in the ſight of God, or be civilly and eccleſiaſtically *reprobated*: There was a time, when the Church of England herſelf ſtood in need of Indulgence, and made up a great part of the *Non-conformiſts* of this kingdom; and what ſhe then wanted, ſhe pleaded for, I mean a Toleration, and that in a general ſtile, as divers of the writings of her doctors tell us: Of which let it be enough but to mention that excellent diſcourſe of Dr. Taylor, Biſhop of Down, intitled, 'Liberty of Prophecy.'

And that which makes Severity look the worſe in the members of the Church of England, is the modeſty ſhe profeſſes about the *truth* of the things ſhe believes: For though, perhaps, it were indefenſible in any church to *compel* a man to that which ſhe were infallibly aſſured to be *true*, unleſs ſhe ſuperſeded his ignorance by Conviction, rather than Authority, it muſt, doubtleſs, look rude, to puniſh men into conformity to that, of the truth of which the Church herſelf pretends *no Certainty*.

Not that I would *leſs* believe a Church ſo cautious, than one more confident; but I know not how to help thinking Perſecution harſh, when they ruin people for *not* believing that, which they have not in themſelves the *power* of believing, and which *ſhe* cannot *give* them, and of which herſelf is not *infallibly* aſſured. The drift of this is *Moderation*, which well becomes us poor mortals, That "for every idle word we ſpeak, "muſt give an account at the day of judgment," if our Saviour's doctrine have any credit with us.

It would much mitigate the ſeverity, if the diſſent were ſullen, or in contempt: But if men cannot help or hinder their belief, they are rather unhappy than guilty, and more to be pitied than blamed. However they are of the reaſonable ſtock of the country; and though they were unworthy of *favour*, they may not be unfit to *live*. It is capital, at law, to deſtroy Baſtards; and Bye-blows are laid to the Pariſh to keep: They muſt maintain them at laſt: And ſhall not theſe natural ſons, at leaſt, be laid at the door of the kingdom? Unhappy fate of Diſſenters! to be leſs heeded, and more deſtitute than any body. If this ſhould ever happen to be the effect of their own folly, with ſubmiſſion, it can never be the conſequence of the Government's Engagements.

1686. *Election* does not neceſſarily imply a *Reprobation* of the *reſt*. If God hath elected *ſome* to ſalvation, it will not follow of courſe that he hath abſolutely rejected all the *reſt*. For though he was God of the *Jews*, he was God of the *Gentiles* too, and *they* were his People, though the Jews were his *peculiar* people. "God reſpects not *perſons*," ſays St. Peter; the Good of all nations are accepted. The difference at laſt, will not be of *Opinion*, but *Works*: Sheep or goats, all, of all judgments, will be found: And "Come, well done;" or, "Go, ye workers of iniquity," will conclude their eternal ſtate: Let us be careful therefore of an *Opinion-reprobation* of one another.

We ſee the God of Nature hath taught us ſofter doctrine in his great Book of the World: His *Sun ſhines*, and his *Rain falls*, upon *all*. All the productions of Nature are by *Love*; and ſhall it be proper to Religion *only* to propagate by *Force*? The poor *Hen* inſtructs us in Humanity; who, to defend her feeble young, refuſes no danger. All the Seeds and Plants that grow for the uſe of man, are produced by the kind and warm influences of the Sun. It is *Kindneſs* that upholds human race. People do not *multiply* in *ſpight*: And if it be by *gentle* and *friendly* ways, that Nature produces and matures the creatures of the world, certainly *Religion* ſhould teach us to be *mild* and *bearing*.

"Let your Moderation be known to all men," was the ſaying of a great Doctor of the Chriſtian Faith; and his reaſon for that command cogent, "For the Lord is at hand." As if he had ſaid, 'Have a care what you do; be not bitter nor violent; for the Judge is at the door: Do as you would be done to; leſt what you deny to others, God ſhould refuſe to *you*.'

And after all this, ſhall the Church of England be leſs tender of mens Conſciences, than our Common Law is of their Lives; which had rather a Thouſand Criminals ſhould eſcape, than that One Innocent ſhould periſh? Give me leave to ſay, that there are many Innocents (Conſcience excepted) now expoſed; men honeſt, peaceable and uſeful; free of ill deſigns; that pray for Cæſar, and pay their tribute to Cæſar.

If any tell us, 'They have, or may, ill uſe their Toleration;' I ſay, this muſt be looked to, and not Liberty therefore refuſed: For the Engliſh Church cannot ſo much forget her own maxim to Diſſenters, That *Propter abuſum non eſt tollendus uſus*. It ſuffices to our argument it is no *neceſſary* conſequence, and that *Fact* and *Time* are for us. And if any miſuſe ſuch freedom, and intitle Conſcience to Miſbehaviour, we have other laws enough to catch and puniſh the offenders, without treating *One* party with the ſpoils of *Six*. And when religion becomes no man's intereſt, it will hardly ever be any man's hypocriſy. Men will chuſe by conſcience, which at leaſt preſerves integrity, though it were miſtaken: And if not in the wrong, truth recompenſes inquiry, and light makes amends for diſſent.

And ſince a plain method offers itſelf, from the circumſtances of our caſe, I take the freedom to preſent it for the Model of the intreated Toleration.

Much has been deſired, ſaid and preſſed, in reference to the late King's being Head of a *Proteſtant* League, which takes in but a Part of the Chriſtian World; the Roman and Grecian Chriſtians being excluded. But I moſt humbly offer, that our wiſe men would pleaſe to think of another title for our King, and that is Head of a *Chriſtian* League, and give the experiment here at home in his own dominions.

The Chriſtian Religion is admired of All in the *Text*, and by All acknowledged in the *Apoſtle's Creed*. Here every party of Chriſtians meet, and center as in a general. The ſeveral Species of Chriſtians, that this Genus divideth itſelf into, are thoſe divers perſuaſions we have within this kingdom; the Church of England, Roman-Catholicks, Grecians, Lutherans, Preſbyterians, Independents, Anabaptiſts, Quakers, Socinians: Theſe I call ſo many Orders of Chriſtians, that unite in the *Text*, and differ only in the *Comment*; all owning *One Deity*, *Saviour* and *Judge*, *Good Works*, *Rewards* and *Puniſhments*: Which bodies once regulated, and holding of the Prince as Head of the Government, maintaining Charity, and preſſing Piety, will be an Honour to Chriſtianity, a Strength to the Prince, and a Benefit to the Publick: For in lieu of an unattainable, (at beſt an unſincere) Uniformity, we ſhall have in Civils Unity, and Amity in Faith.

The Jews before, and in the time of Herod, were divided into divers Sects. There were Phariſees, Sadducees, Herodians, and Eſſenes: They maintained their diſſent without ruin to the Government; and the magiſtrates fell under no cenſure from Chriſt for that Toleration.

The Gentiles, as already has been obſerved, had their divers Orders of Philoſophers, as diſagreeing as ever Chriſtians were, and that without danger to the peace of the ſtate.

The Turks themſelves ſhow us, that both other religions, and divers ſects of their own, are very tolerable with ſecurity to their government.

The Roman Church is a conſiderable inſtance to our point; for ſhe is made up of divers Orders of both ſexes, of very differing principles, fomented ſometimes to great feuds and controverſies; as between Franciſcans, Dominicans, Jeſuits, and Sorboniſts; yet without danger to the Political ſtate of the Church. On the contrary, ſhe therefore caſt herſelf into that method, that ſhe might ſafely give vent to Opinion and Zeal, and ſuffer both without danger of Schiſm. And theſe Regulars are, by the Pope's grants, privileged with an exemption from epiſcopal viſitation and juriſdiction.

God Almighty inſpire the King's heart, and the hearts of his Great Council, to be the glorious inſtruments of this bleſſing to the kingdom.

I ſhall conclude this Perſuaſive, with the judgment of ſome Pious Fathers, and Renowned Princes.

QUadratus and Ariſtides wrote Two Apologies to Adrian, for the Chriſtian Faith, and againſt the Perſecution of it.

Juſtin Martyr, an excellent Philoſopher and Chriſtian, wrote Two learned Diſſuaſives againſt Perſecution, which he dedicated (as I take it) to Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

Melito, Biſhop of Sardis, a good and learned man, wrote a ſmart defence for the Chriſtian Religion, and a Toleration, dedicated to Verus.

Tertullian, in his moſt ſharp and excellent Apology for the Chriſtians, faſtens Perſecution upon the Gentiles, as an inſeparable mark of Superſtition and Error; as he makes the Chriſtian Patience a ſign of Truth. In his diſcourſe to Scapula, he ſays, 'It is not 'the property of Religion to *perſecute* for Religion: She ſhould be received for *herſelf*, 'not force.'

Hilary, an early and learned Father, againſt Auxentius, ſaith, 'The Chriſtian Church 'does not *perſecute*, but is *perſecuted*.'

Atticus, Biſhop of Conſtantinople, would by no means have the Miniſter of Nice to reſpect any Opinion or Sect whatſoever, in the diſtribution of the money ſent by him for the relief of Chriſtians; and by no means to prejudice thoſe that practiſe a contrary doctrine and faith to theirs: That he ſhould be ſure to relieve thoſe that hunger and thirſt, and have not wherewith to help themſelves, and make that the rule of his conſideration. In ſhort, he made the hereticks to have his wiſdom in admiration, in that he would by no means trouble or moleſt them.

Proclus, another Biſhop of Conſtantinople, was of this opinion, 'That it was far eaſier 'by fair means to allure unto the Church, than by Force to compel.' He determined to vex no Sect whatever, but reſtored to the Church the renowned virtue of Meekneſs, required in Chriſtian Miniſters.

If we will next hear the Hiſtorian's own judgment upon the Toleration, 'I am of 'opinion,' ſays he, 'that he is a Perſecutor, that in any kind of way moleſteth ſuch 'men as lead a quiet and peaceable life.' Thus Socrates, in his third book: In his ſeventh he tells us, 'That the Biſhop of Sinada, indeed, did baniſh the Hereticks; but 'neither did he this,' ſays he, 'according to the rule of the Catholick Church, which 'is not accuſtomed to *perſecute*.' Lib. 7.

Lactantius tells the angry men of his time thus, 'If you will with blood, evil and 'torments, defend your worſhip, it ſhall not thereby be defended, but polluted.'

Chryſoſtom ſaith expreſly, 'That it is not the manner of the Children of God, to *perſecute* about their religion, but an evident token of Antichriſt.'

Thus the Fathers and Doctors of the firſt ages. That Emperors and Princes have thus believed, let us hear ſome of greateſt note, and moſt preſſing to us.

Jerom, a good and learned Father, ſaith, 'That Hereſy muſt be cut off with the 'Sword of the Spirit.'

Conſtantius, the Father of Conſtantine the Great, laid this down for a principle, 'That thoſe that were diſloyal to God, would never be truſty to their Prince.' And, which is more, he lived thus, and ſo died, as his great ſpeech to his great ſon, on his death-bed, amply evidences.

Conſtantine the Great, in his ſpeech to the Roman Senate, tells them, 'There is 'this difference between Human and Divine homage and ſervice, that the one is *compelled*, and the other ought to be *free*.'

Euſebius Pamphilus, in the Life of Conſtantine, tells us, that in his prayer to God, he ſaid, 'Let thy people, I beſeech thee, deſire and maintain peace, living free from ſedition, to the common good and benefit of all the world; and thoſe that are led away 'with error, let them deſire to live in peace and tranquillity with the faithful: For 'friendly humane ſociety and commerce with them, will very much avail to bring them 'to the right way. Let no man moleſt another, but let every one follow the perſuaſion of their own Conſcience: But let thoſe that have a *true* opinion concerning God, 'be perſuaded, that ſuch as regulate their lives by God's holy laws, do lead an holy and 'upright life: But thoſe that will not conform thereunto, may have *Liberty* to erect and 'ſet up *Altars*. But we will *maintain* the *Church* and *True Religion*, which thou haſt 'committed to our defence. Moreover, we deſire that they may joyfully receive and 'welcome this general offer of peace and concord.'

This was the judgment of the moſt celebrated Emperor that ever profeſſed the Chriſtian Faith. I have cited other emperors in the body of this diſcourſe; but becauſe

1686. the *worſt* are to be commended when they do *well*, Valens himſelf, charmed with the ſweetneſs and ſtrength of the philoſopher Themiſtius, in his elegant Oration, grew moderate towards the Orthodox, whom a little before he had ſeverely treated: Of which theſe were the heads; 'That he perſecuted without reaſon people of good lives: That 'it was no crime to think or believe otherwiſe than the Prince believed: That he ought 'not to be troubled at the diverſity of opinions: That the *Gentiles* were much more 'divided in their judgment than the *Chriſtians*: That it ſufficeth that every Sect aimed 'at the Truth, and lived virtuouſly.' We have had modern royal examples too.

Stephen, king of Poland, declared his mind in the point controverted, thus, 'I am 'king of *men*, and not of *conſcience*; a commander of *bodies*, and not of *ſouls*.'

The king of Bohemia was of opinion, 'That mens conſciences ought in no ſort to 'be violated, urged, or conſtrained.'

And laſtly, let me add (as what is, or ſhould be, of more force) the ſenſe of King James and King Charles the Firſt, men, as of ſupreme dignity, ſo famed for their great natural abilities and acquired learning; 'It is a ſure rule in divinity,' ſaid King James, 'that God never loves to plant his Church by Violence and Bloodſhed.' And in his Expoſition on the Twentieth of the Revelations, he ſaith, 'That Perſecution is the Note 'of a Falſe Church.'

And in the advice of King Charles the Firſt to the late king, he ſays, 'Take heed of 'abetting any Factions; your partial adhering to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great 'advantages in ſome mens hearts, (who are prone to be of their King's religion) as it 'loſeth you in others, who think themſelves, and their profeſſion, firſt deſpiſed, then 'perſecuted by you.'

Again, 'Beware of exaſperating any factions, by the croſſneſs and aſperity of ſome 'mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon 'their difference in leſſer matters, which are but the ſkirts and ſuburbs of religion; 'wherein a Charitable Connivance, and Chriſtian Toleration, often diſſipates their 'ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies, and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed party 'into ſuch combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they 'count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that Vulgar Commiſeration that 'attends all that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.'

'Always keep up *Solid Piety*, and thoſe *Fundamental Truths* which mend both Hearts 'and Lives of Men, with *impartial* favour and juſtice. Your prerogative is beſt ſhown 'and exerciſed in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of laws; there being nothing 'worſe than Legal Tyranny.'

GOOD ADVICE
TO THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
ROMAN CATHOLICK,
AND
PROTESTANT DISSENTER:

IN WHICH

It is endeavoured to be made appear, that it is their Duty, Principle, and Interest to abolish the

PENAL LAWS and TESTS.

Beati Pacifici.

TO THE
READER.

Reader,

NO matter Who, but What: And yet if thou wouldst know the author, he is an Englishman, and therefore obliged to this Country, and the Laws that made him Free.

That single consideration were enough to command this undertaking; for it is to persuade his countrymen to be delivered of the greatest yoke a nation can well suffer under; *Penal Laws* for *Religion*, I mean.

And now thou hast both the Who, and What. If thou art wise and good, Thou art above my Epithets, and more my Flatteries: If not, I am in the right to let them alone. Read, think, and judge. Liberty, English and Christian, is all that is sought in the ensuing discourse.

Adieu.

GOOD ADVICE

TO THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND, &c.

PART I.

1687. I Muſt own it is my averſion at this time, to meddle with publick matters; and yet my duty to the publick will not let me be ſilent. They that move by principles, muſt not regard times nor factions, but what is juſt, and what is honourable; and that no man ought to ſcruple, nor no time or intereſt to conteſt.

The ſingle queſtion I go upon, and which does immediately concern and exerciſe the minds of the thinking, as well as talking men of this kingdom, is, 'Whether it be fit 'to repeal the penal laws and teſts in matters of religion, or not?' I take the affirmative of the queſtion, and humbly ſubmit my reaſons to every reaſonable conſcience. I ſay reaſonable, becauſe that which knows not its own duty, principle and intereſt, is not ſo; and that which is not willing to do to others as it would be done by, leſs deſerves to be thought ſo.

Now there are three ſorts of people that will find themſelves concerned in this queſtion, The *Church of England*, the *Roman Catholick*, and the *Proteſtant Diſſenter*, and theſe make up the whole body of the kingdom. If it appear to be their duty, principle and intereſt, the queſtion is gained, and no-body is left to complain; and if I am miſtaken, it is with ſo great an inclination to ſerve them all, that their good nature cannot but plead my excuſe, eſpecially when they conſider I am neither moved by hopes nor fears: Private loſs or gain being farther from my thought, than I hope they are from a good underſtanding.

I ſay, Firſt, then, it is the duty of all of them, becauſe they all profeſs that religion which makes it their common duty to do it; Chriſtianity I mean: For no Chriſtian ought to deprive any man of his native right, for matters of faith and worſhip towards God, in the way that he thinks moſt agreeable to the will of God; becauſe it is neceſſary to a Chriſtian to believe, 'That Faith is the gift of God alone, and that He 'only is Lord of Conſcience, and is able truly to enlighten, perſuade, and eſtabliſh it;' and conſequently that prejudicing men in their perſons or eſtates, or depriving them of any ſtation in the government, they might otherwiſe, in their turn, be capable to ſerve the publick in, is contrary to the *Tenderneſs* and *Equity* of that Religion; which will yet farther appear, if we conſider that '*Chriſtianity* is the *Sole Religion* of the *World* that 'is built on the principles of *Love*; which brought with it the greateſt Evidences of 'Truth; equally convincing our Underſtandings with its *Light*, and bearing down our 'Senſes with its *Miracles*; which ſilenced the *Oracles* of the *Heathens* by the *Divine* '*Power* preſent with it, and vanquiſhed their Hearts, that had left nothing elſe to con'quer, leading Kings and Emperors with their Courts and Armies in triumph, after 'the *Deſpiſed Croſs* of Him who was the Holy and Bleſſed Author of it.'

It was he that laid not his religion in worldly empire, nor uſed the methods of worldly princes to propagate it; as it came from Heaven, ſo *that* only ſhould have the honour of protecting and promoting it. His whole buſineſs to mankind from firſt to laſt, was *Love*. It was firſt Love in his Father to ſend Him (as Saint John teaches) "God ſo loved the world, that he ſent his Son," &c. It was Love in Jeſus Chriſt to come on that errand; that He, 'who thought it no robbery to be equal with God,

‘ ſhould take the form of a Servant to adopt us Children, and make himſelf of no reputation with the world, that he might make us of reputation with God his Father.’

And he did not only *come* in much Love, but *preached* it and preſſed it both to friends and foes; “ Love one another; Love Enemies; Do Good to them that hate you; Forgive them that treſpaſs againſt you; What ye would that other men ſhould do unto you, do that unto them: By theſe things ſhall all men know you are my Diſciples; for I came not to deſtroy mens lives,” no, not for Religion itſelf; “ for my kingdom, power, force, weapons, and victory, are not of this world.” In all this, *Love* prevails: It was his great, his new, his laſt commandment; of all his diſciples, the moſt purſued by his *beloved* one, that in his Boſom had learned his *Heart*, as his divine doctrine of Love, in his Epiſtles, tells us.

As he lived in Love, ſo he died in Love, with us, and for us, and that while we were *rebellious* too; ay, he *prayed* and *died* for them who put him to *death*, “ ſhewing us,” ſays St. Peter, “ an Example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps.” And what are they? Doubtleſs the ſteps of Love, the path he trod; “ To do Good to Mankind, Enemies as well as Friends, that we may be like our Heavenly Father, that cauſes his Sun to ſhine, and his Rain to fall upon the Juſt and Unjuſt.” This muſt be the Apoſtle's meaning, for the reſt of his paſſion was inimitable.

Now if this be the doctrine of Chriſt, the Nature of Chriſtianity, the Practice of the Primitive Church, that, like Adam, was created in full Strength, Beauty and Wiſdom, and ſo an example to ſucceeding ages of religion, and to which we ſo often refer as our original; with what pretence to a Chriſtian conſcience, can any one ſtickle to keep impriſoning, baniſhing, impoveriſhing, hanging and quartering laws on foot for religion's ſake, but eſpecially againſt ſuch as are, by Creed, Profeſſors of Chriſtianity as well as themſelves.

I know the caſe is put hard by thoſe that have the laws on their ſide; ‘ We do this to ſave ourſelves;’ but an harder caſe than Chriſt's can never be put, whoſe anſwer in his, ought to reſolve theirs fully.

Chriſt is ſent by his Father for the ſalvation of the world: He introduces and proves his miſſion by miracles, and the great authority of his word and doctrine: His followers, fully ſatiſfied who he was, whence he came, what he taught, and how eminently confirmed, grew impatient at contradiction; they could not bear the leaſt Diſſent; for when ſome of the Samaritans refuſed to entertain their Lord, becauſe they thought he was going for Jeruſalem, (the place of their greateſt averſion) theſe diſciples were for having but the word from his mouth, and they would, in imitation of Elijah, have called for fire from heaven to have deſtroyed them. But he turned and rebuked them, and ſaid, “ Ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of, for the Son of man is not come to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.” This anſwer is to purpoſe, and for all times, to be ſure Chriſtian ones; and the higher the pretenſions of any party are to Chriſtianity, the more inexcuſable if they practiſe the contrary. Would not Chriſt then hurt them that refuſed him, and can we hurt our neighbours for not receiving us? He *condemned* that ſpirit in his diſciples, and ſhall we *uphold* the ſame ſpirit, and that by *Law* too, which he condemned by his *Goſpel?* This is killing for *God*'s ſake, expreſly charged by “ Chriſt with *Impiety*. “ They ſhall think,” ſays he to his diſciples, “ they do God good ſervice to kill you:” Who ſhould think ſo? Why the *Chriſtian-Perſecutors*. Is it their property to do ſo? Yes: What ſhould one think then of thoſe Chriſtians that profeſs it.

The Jews were grievouſly puniſhed of God, for that abomination of ſacrificing their children to Moloch; but theſe laws, though they change the object, they have not leſſened the ſin; for they offer up *Man*, *Woman* and *Child*, and though they ſay, *It is to God*, no matter for that, ſince it makes their caſe worſe; for it is to imagine that ſo good, ſo juſt, ſo ſenſible, ſo merciful a Being, can take pleaſure in ſo much cruelty. ‘ Well, but if we muſt not knock folks on the head, what muſt we do with them?’ Take an anſwer at the mouth of Truth and Wiſdom: “ Let the Tares and Wheat grow together till the Harveſt:” What is that? He tells you, “ It is the End of the World:” So that whatever the Church of England is, it is certain Chriſt is for a Toleration, and his doctrine is always in faſhion: What he *was*, he is, and will be: He went not by reaſons of ſtate, or cuſtoms of countries; his judgment was better built, who came to *give* law, and not to receive it, and it is a *Light* and *Rule* to *all Times*. “ And he that loves father, or mother, or wife, or children, or houſe, or land, better than HIM,” that is, *His Doctrine* (of which this is ſo great a part) “ is not worthy of him;” and I fear no other reaſon induced the Church of England to decline it.

To confirm what has been ſaid, though I deſign brevity, let me not loſe another paſſage very pregnant to our purpoſe: When his diſciples had accompliſhed their firſt miſſion, at their return they gave him the Hiſtory of their Travels: Among the reſt, they tell him of one they met with, “ That in his name caſt out devils;” but becauſe he would not follow with them, they *forbad* him: Here is at leaſt a *Diſſenting* Chriſtian, though a *Believer*; yet, it ſeems, not one of that *cloſer* congregation; we alſo ſee their zeal and

1687. ſentence. But what ſays the Maſter, yet alive and with them, the *Infallible Doctor*, in whoſe mouth was no guile, who had not the Spirit by Meaſure, and was the Great Wiſdom of *God* to his People, was he of the ſame mind, or did he leave them without rule in the point? His anſwer is this: "And Jeſus ſaid to them, *Forbid him not*, for "he that is not againſt us is for us." The prohibition is taken off, and their judgment reverſed; and from his, to be ſure, there lies no appeal. For though a power of deciſion were allowed to ſome one or more on earth; in matters obſcure and undetermined, 'Yet in Caſes already adjudged by the Son of God Himſelf, who had 'the Chair, and could not Err, there can be no room for another judge.'

Now to apply it, I muſt firſt ſay, I find no ſuch diſciples among thoſe that are on the ſide of keeping up the Penal Laws; God knows, the diſparity is but too unequal. But next, if they were all Twelve in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and ſhould be on the ſide of upholding the Penal Laws (which is the wrong ſide they were of before) I ſhould beg their pardon, if I were of their Maſter's mind, and objected his Wiſdom to their Zeal, and his gentle rule to their harſh and narrow judgment. And I beſeech the Church of England to conſider, that no pretence can excuſe her diſſent, and leſs her croſs practice, to the judgment of her Saviour: 'A judgment that ſeems given and ſettled for the conduct of the Church on the like occaſions, in ſucceeding times:' And it is pity any worldly thing ſhould have place with her to divert her obedience. Did Chriſt then come to *ſave* mens lives, and not to deſtroy them? And ſhould ſhe (ſhe, I ſay, that pretends to be a Reformed Church) uphold thoſe laws that do deſtroy them? HE, alas! went to another village, inſtead of burning them, or theirs, for refuſing him. And SHE forbids any, that belongs to any other, to lodge in her's, upon pain of loſing life or eſtate: This may make her a *Samaritan* indeed, but not the *Good One*, whoſe example would have taught her, inſtead of theſe ſharp and ruder remedies, to have poured the oil of peace and gladneſs into thoſe chops and wounds, that time, and heats on all hands, had made in every religious party of men. Nor does ſhe loſe any thing by repealing thoſe laws, but the power of perſecuting; and a Good Church would never have the temptation. Come; Somebody muſt begin to forgive; let her not leave that honour to another, nor draw upon herſelf the guilt and miſchief of refuſing it. She pretends to fear the ſtrokes of the *Romaniſts*; but I would fain know of her, if following their example will convert them, or ſecure her? Does ſhe hope to keep them out by the weapons that have failed in their hands, or can ſhe honourably cenſure perſecution in them, and yet uſe it herſelf?

'But ſhe is extremely ſcandaled and ſcared at the ſeverity upon Proteſtants in France.' It is certainly very ill; but do not the laws ſhe is ſo fond of point at the ſame work, *Conformity*, or *Ruin*? And do not we know, that in ſome places, and upon ſome parties, her magiſtrates have plowed as deep furrows, eſpecially within theſe ſix and twenty years? Huſbands ſeparated from their wives, parents from their children; the widow's bed and the orphan's milk made a prize for Religion; houſes ſtript, barns and fields ſwept clean, priſons crowded, without regard to ſex or age, and ſome of both ſorts dungeoned to death, and all for Religion. If ſhe ſays, 'They were peeviſh men, Bigots, or 'moved by private intereſt,' ſhe ſtill made the laws; and ſays no more for herſelf than the French ſay for their King, which yet ſhe refuſes to take for an anſwer. Perhaps I could parallel ſome of the ſevereſt paſſages in that kingdom out of the actions of ſome members of the Church of England in *cool blood*, that are even yet for continuing the Penal Laws upon their plundered neighbours; ſo that this reflection of hers upon France, is more popular than juſt from her. But I beſeech her to look upon a country four times bigger than France, *Germany* I mean, and ſhe will there ſee *both* religions practiſed with great eaſe and amity; yet of this we muſt not hear one word: I hope it is not for fear of imitating it. However, it is diſingenuous to object the miſchiefs of Popery to a general eaſe, when we ſee it is the way to prevent them. This is but, in the name of Popery, to keep all to *herſelf*, as well from Proteſtant Diſſenters as Roman Catholicks. How Chriſtian, how equal, how ſafe, that narrow method is, becomes her well to conſider, and methinks ſhe ought not to be long about it.

I know ſhe flatters herſelf, and others too believe, ſhe is a *Bulwark* againſt Popery; and with that, without any farther ſecurity to other Proteſtants, wipes her mouth of all old ſcores, and makes her preſent court for aſſiſtance. But when that word Bulwark is examined, I fear it appears to mean no more than this, 'That ſhe would keep out Popery for *that* reaſon, for which ſhe apprehends Popery would turn *her* out, viz. *Temporal Intereſt*. But may I without offence aſk her, when ſhe kept Perſecution out? Or if ſhe keeps out Popery for any body's ſake but her own? Nay, if it be not to hold the power ſhe has in her hands, that ſhe would frighten other parties (now ſhe has done her worſt) with what miſchief Popery would do them when it has power? But to ſpeak freely, can ſhe be a bulwark in the caſe, that has been bringing the *worſt* part of Popery in theſe ſix and twenty years, if *perſecution* be ſo, as ſhe ſays it is? This would be called Canting to the World, in others. But I hear ſhe begins to ſee her fault, is heartily ſorry for it, and promiſes to do ſo no more: And why may not Popery be as wiſe, that has alſo burnt her fingers with the ſame work? Their praying for eaſe by Law, looks 1687. as if they choſe That, rather than Power, for ſecurity; and if ſo, Why may not the Papiſts live, as well as ſhe reign? I am none of their advocate, I am no Papiſt; but I would be juſt and merciful too. However, I muſt tell her, that keeping the laws on foot by which ſhe did the miſchief, is none of the plaineſt evidences of her repentance: They that can believe it, have little reaſon to quarrel at the unaccountableneſs of tranſubſtantiation. It is unjuſt in Popery to invade her Privileges; and can it be juſt in her to provoke it by denying a Chriſtian Liberty? Or can ſhe expect what ſhe will not give? Or not do as ſhe would be done by, becauſe ſhe fears others will not obſerve the ſame rule to her? Is not this "doing evil that good may come of it," and that uncertain too, againſt an expreſs command, as well as common Charity? But to ſpeak freely, whether we regard the circumſtances of the king, the religion of his children, the inequality of the number and ſtrength of thoſe of each of their communions, we muſt conclude, that the averſion of the Church of England to this intreated Liberty, cannot reaſonably be thought to come from the fear ſhe has of the prevalency of Popery, but the loſs of that power the law gives her to domineer over all Diſſenters. And is not this a rare motive for a Chriſtian Church to continue Penal Laws for Religion? If her Piety be not able to maintain her upon equal terms, methinks her having ſo much the whip-hand and ſtart of all others, ſhould ſatisfy her ambition, and quiet her fears; for it is poſſible for her to keep the Churches, if the Laws were aboliſhed; all the difference is, ſhe could not *force*; ſhe might *perſuade* and *convince* what ſhe could; and pray, is not that enough for a true Church, without goals, whips, halters and gibbets? O what corruption is this that has prevailed over men of ſuch pretenſions to Light and Conſcience, that they do not, or will not, ſee nor feel their own Principles one remove from *themſelves*; but ſacrifice the nobleſt part of the Reformation to Ambition, and compel men to truckle their tender Conſciences to the grandeur and dominion of their Doctors!

But becauſe the ſons of the Church of England keep, at this time, ſuch a ſtir in her favour, and fix her excellency in her oppoſition to Popery, it is worth while to conſider a little farther, if really the moſt feared and diſagreeable part of Popery, in her own opinion, does not belong to her; and if it does, ſhould we not be in a fine condition, to be in love with our fetters, and to court our miſery?

That part of Popery which the Church of England with moſt ſucceſs objects againſt, is her *Violence*. This is that only ſhe can pretend to fear: Her *Doctrines* ſhe partly profeſſes, or thinks ſhe can eaſily refute. Nobody counts her Doctors *Conjurers* for their *Tranſubſtantiation*; or dangerous to the *State* for their *Beads*, or their *Purgatory*: But *forcing* others to their *Faith*, or *ruining* them for *refuſing* it, is the terrible thing we are taught by her to apprehend. Now granting this to be the caſe, in reference to the Roman Religion, where it is in the chair, I aſk, if the Church of England, with her better doctrines, has not been guilty of this impiety; and for that cauſe more blameable than the Church ſhe oppoſes ſo much. If we look into her Acts of State, we find them many and bitter, againſt all ſorts of Diſſenters. There is nigh twenty laws made, and yet in force, to conſtrain Conformity; and they have been executed too, as far and as often as ſhe thought it fit for her intereſt to let them. Some have been *hanged*, many *baniſhed*, more *impriſoned*, and ſome to Death; and abundance *impoveriſhed*; and all this merely for *Religion*: Though, by a baſe and barbarous uſe of words, it has been called Treaſon, Sedition, Routs, and Riots; the worſt of aggravations; ſince they are not contented to make people unhappy for their Diſſent, but rob them of all they had left, their *Innocency*. This has been her State Act, to coin guilt, and make men dangerous, to have her ends upon them. But that way of palliating Perſecution, by rendering a thing that it is not, and puniſhing men for crimes they never committed, ſhews but little Conſcience in the projectors. The Church of England cries out againſt tranſubſtantiation, becauſe of the Inviſibility of the Change. She does not ſee Chriſt there, and therefore he is not there; and yet her Sons do the ſame thing. For though all the Tokens of a Riot are as inviſible in a Diſſenters Meeting, as that in the Tranſubſtantiation, yet it *muſt* be a Riot without any more to do: The Engliſh of which is, 'It is a Riot to pray to God in the humbleſt and peaceableſt manner in a Conventicle.'

I know it is ſaid, 'The blood ſhed in the foregoing reign, and the plots of the Papiſts againſt Queen Elizabeth, drew thoſe Laws from the Church of England.' But this was no reaſon why *ſhe* ſhould do ill becauſe *they* had done ſo: Beſides, it may be anſwered, that that religion having ſo long intermixed itſelf with worldly power, it gave way to take the revenges of it. And certainly the great men of the Church of England endeavouring to intercept Queen *Mary*, by proclaiming the Lady *Jane Gray*, and the apprehenſion the Papiſts had of the better Title of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, together with a long Poſſeſſion, were ſcurvy temptations to kindle ill deſigns againſt that extraordinary Queen. But though nothing can excuſe and leſs juſtify thoſe cruel proceedings, yet if there were any reaſon for the laws, it is plainly removed, for the intereſts are joined, and have been ſince King James the firſt came to the crown. However, it is certain there were laws enough, or they might have had them, to puniſh all civil enormities, without the ne-

1687. ceſſity of making any againſt them as Papiſts. And ſo the civil government had ſtood upon its own legs, and vices only againſt it had been puniſhable by it. In ſhort, it was the falſeſt ſtep that was made in all that great Queen's reign, and the moſt diſhonourable to the principles of the firſt Reformers; and therefore I know no better reaſon why *it* ſhould be continued, than that which made the Cardinal, in the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, oppoſe the Reformation at Rome; 'That though it was true 'that they were in the *wrong*, yet the *admitting* of it approved the *judgment* of their 'enemies, and ſo good-night to *infallibility*.' Let not this be the practice of the Church of England, and the rather, becauſe ſhe does not pretend to it: But let her reflect, that ſhe has loſt her *King* from her Religion, and they that have got him, naturally hope for eaſe for theirs by him; that it is the end they laboured, and the great uſe they have for him; and I would fain wonder that ſhe never ſaw it before; but whether ſhe did or no, why ſhould ſhe begrudge it, at leaſt refuſe it now? Since it is plain, that there is nothing we eſteem dangerous in Popery, that other laws are not ſufficient to ſecure us from: Have we not enough of them? Let her think of more, and do the beſt ſhe can to diſcover Plotters, puniſh Traitors, ſuppreſs the Seditious, and keep the Peace better, than thoſe we have can enable us to do. But, for God's ſake, let us never direct laws againſt men for the cauſe of Religion, or puniſh them before they have otherwiſe done amiſs. Let mens Works, not their Opinions, turn the edge of the magiſtrate's ſword againſt them; elſe it is beheading them before they are born.

By the common law of this kingdom there muſt be ſome real and proper *Overt Act*, that proves Treaſon; ſome *Malice*, that proves Sedition; and ſome *violent Action*, that proves a Rout or Riot. If ſo, to call any ſort of *Religious Orders* the one, or *praying to God* in any way out of *Faſhion* the other, is prepoſterous; and puniſhing people for it, downright *murder*, or *breach of the peace*, according to the true uſe of words, and the Old Law of England.

If the Church of England fears the growth of Popery, let her be truer to the religion ſhe owns, and betake herſelf to *Faith*, rather than *Force*, by a pious, humble, and a good example; to *convince* and *perſuade*; which is the higheſt honour to any Church, and the greateſt victory over men. I am for a National Church, as well as ſhe, ſo it be by *Conſent*, and not by *Conſtraint*. But Coercive Churches have the ſame *Principle*, though not the ſame *Intereſt*. A Church by *Law* Eſtabliſhed, is a *State* Church; and that is no argument of Verity, unleſs the State that makes her ſo be *infallible*; and becauſe that will not be aſſerted, the other can never oblige the Conſcience, and conſequently the compulſion ſhe uſes is unreaſonable. This very principle juſtifies the king of France, and the Inquiſition. For Laws being equally of force in all countries where they are made, it muſt be as much a fault, in the Church of England's judgment, to be a Proteſtant at *Rome*, or a Calviniſt at *Paris*, as to be a Papiſt at *London*: Then where is Truth or Conſcience, but in the *Laws* of *Countries!* Which renders her an *Hobbiſt*, notwithſtanding her long and loud clamours againſt the *Leviathan*.

I beg her, for the Love of Chriſt, that ſhe would think of theſe things, and not eſteem me her enemy for performing the part of ſo good a friend. Plain-dealing becomes that character; no matter whether the way be agreeable, ſo it be right: We are all to do our duty, and leave the reſt to God: He can beſt anſwer for our Obedience, that commands it; and our dependance upon his Word will be our ſecurity in our conduct. What weight is it to a Church, that ſhe is the Church by *Law* eſtabliſhed, when no human law can make a *true* Church? A True Church is of *Chriſt*'s making, and is by *Goſpel* eſtabliſhed. It is a reflection to a Church that would be thought true, to ſtoop to *human Laws* for her *Eſtabliſhment*. I have been often ſcandaled at that expreſſion from the Sons of the Church of England, eſpecially thoſe of the robe, 'What do *you* 'talk for? Our Religion is by *Law Eſtabliſhed*;' as if that determined the queſtion of its truth againſt all other Perſuaſions.

The Jews had this to ſay againſt our Saviour, "We have a Law, and by our Law he "ought to die." The Primitive Chriſtians, and ſome of our firſt Reformers, *died* as by *Law Eſtabliſhed*, if that would mend the matter: But does that make it lawful to a Chriſtian conſcience? We muſt ever demur to this plea. No greater argument of a Church's defection from Chriſtianity than turning Perſecutor. It is true, the Scripture ſays, "The Earth ſhall help the Woman;" but that was to *ſave herſelf*, not to *deſtroy others*: For it is the token that is given by the Holy Ghoſt of a *falſe* Church; "That "none muſt buy or ſell in her dominions, that will not receive her mark in their fore-"head, or right hand: That is, 'By going to Church againſt Conſcience, or bribing 'luſtily to ſtay at *home*.'

Things do not change, though men do. Perſecution is ſtill the ſame, let the Hand alter ever ſo often: But the Sin may not; for doubtleſs it is greateſt in thoſe that make the higheſt claim to Reformation. For while they plead their *own* light for doing ſo, they hereby endeavour to *extinguiſh* another's light that cannot concur. What a man *cannot* do, it is not his fault he *does not* do; nor ſhould he be *compelled* to do it, and leaſt of all *puniſhed* for *not* doing it. No Church can *give* Faith, and therefore cannot *force* it: For what is *conſtrained*, is not *believed*; ſince Faith is, in that ſenſe, *free*, and Conſtraint gives no time to *aſſent*: I ſay, What I do not *will*, is not *I*; and what I do not *chuſe*, is none of *mine*; and another's faith cannot ſave *me*, tho' it ſhould ſave *him*. So that this method never obtains the end deſigned, ſince it *ſaves* nobody, becauſe it *converts* nobody; it may breed *Hypocriſy*, but that is quite another thing than *Salvation*.

What, then, is the uſe of Penal Laws? Only to ſhew the Sincerity of them that *ſuffer*, and Cruelty of thoſe that *make* and *execute* them. And all time tells us they have ever failed thoſe that have leaned upon them; they have always been loſers at laſt: Beſides, it is a moſt unaccountable obſtinacy in the Church of England to ſtickle to uphold them: For, after having made it a matter of religion and conſcience to addreſs the *late* king in behalf of *this*, to think he ſhould leave conſcience behind him in Flanders, or when they waited on him to the crown, that he ſhould ſend it thither upon a pilgrimage, is want of wit at beſt; pardon the cenſure. Could they conſcientiouſly oppoſe his *Excluſion* for his Religion, and now his *Religion* becauſe he will not *leave* it? Or can they reaſonably *maintain* thoſe *Teſts* that excluded him when *Duke* of *York*, while they endured *none* to hinder him from the *Crown*? I heartily beg the Church of England's excuſe, if I ſay I cannot apprehend her: Perhaps the fault is mine; but ſure I am ſhe is extremely dark. How could ſhe hope for this king without his Conſcience? Or conceive that his Honour or Conſcience would let him leave the Members of his Communion under the laſh of ſo many Deſtroying Laws? Would ſhe be ſo ſerved by a prince of her *own* religion, and ſhe in the like circumſtances? She would not, let her talk 'till Doom's-day.

To object the King's Promiſe, when he came to the crown, againſt the repeal of the Penal Laws, ſhews not his Inſincerity, but her Uncharitableneſs, or that really ſhe has a very weak place: For it is plain, the King firſt declared his *own* religion, and then promiſed to maintain *her*'s; but was that to be *without*, or together *with*, his own? His words ſhew he intended that his own ſhould *live*, though the other might *reign*. I ſay again, it is not credible that a prince of any ſincerity can refuſe a being to his own religion, when he continues another in its well-being. This were to act upon *State*, not *Conſcience*, and to make more conſcience to uphold a religion he *cannot* be of, than of giving eaſe to one his conſcience *obliges* him to be of. I cannot imagine how this thought could enter into any head that had Brains, or heart that had Honeſty. And, to ſay true, they muſt be a ſort of State-Conſciences, 'Conſciences as by Law eſtabliſhed,' that can follow the Law againſt their Convictions.

But this is not all I have to obſerve from that objection: It implies too evidently, firſt, that ſhe thinks herſelf ſhaken, if the Penal Laws be repealed; then "by *Law* "eſtabliſhed," ſhe muſt mean, "eſtabliſhed by thoſe *Penal Laws*." Secondly, That the king having promiſed to maintain her, as by Law eſtabliſhed, he ought not to endeavour their *repeal*, by which ſhe is *eſtabliſhed*. I confeſs this is very cloſe arguing; but then ſhe muſt not take it ill, if all men think her *ill-founded*; for any thing muſt be ſo, that is eſtabliſhed by *deſtroying* laws! Laws, that Time and Practice have declared enemies to *Property* and *Conſcience*. O let her not hold by that Charter, nor point thither for her eſtabliſhment and defence, if ſhe would be thought a Chriſtian Church.

"Plutarch had rather one ſhould think there never was ſuch a man in the world, "than that Plutarch was an *ill* man." Shall the Church of England, that glories in a greater light, be more concerned for her *power* than her *credit*? To *be*, than to be that which ſhe *ſhould* be? I would ſay, far be it from her, for her own ſake; and, which is of much more moment, for the ſake of the general cauſe of Religion.

Let us ſee, therefore, if there be not another way of underſtanding thoſe words, more decent to the king, and more honourable for her, viz. 'That ſhe is in the National Chair, has the Churches and Revenues, and is Mother of thoſe that do not 'adhere to any *ſeparate* Communion; and that the King has promiſed to maintain her 'in this poſt, from the invaſions of any other Perſuaſion that would wreſt theſe privileges out of her hand:' This he promiſed formerly; this he has very particularly repeated in his gracious declaration: But to ruin men that would not conform, while himſelf was ſo great a Diſſenter, and came ſuch, to her knowledge, to the crown, can be no part of his promiſes, in the opinion of Common-Senſe and Charity. Is there no difference to be obſerved, between not turning her out, and deſtroying all others not of her communion? He will not turn her out; there's his Promiſe: And he has not done it; there's his Performance: Nor will he do it, I am confident, if ſhe pleaſes. But there's no manner of neceſſity, from this engagement, that all parties elſe are to be confounded. Though, if it were ſo, it is ill Divinity to preſs ſuch promiſes upon a Prince's conſcience, that cannot be performed with a good one by any body.

Let us remember how often ſhe has upbraided her diſſenters with this, "Render to "Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's," whilſt they have returned upon her the other half of the text, "and render unto God the things that are God's." It happens now

1687. that God and Cæſar are both of a mind, which perhaps does not always fall out, at leaſt about the point in hand. Will ſhe diſſent from both now? Her caſe, believe me, will be doubtful then. I beg her to be conſiderate. It is the greateſt time of trial ſhe has met with ſince ſhe was a Church. To acquit herſelf like a member of Chriſt's Univerſal One, let her keep nothing that voids her pretenſions. The Babyloniſh garment will undo her. Practices inconſiſtent with her Reformation will ruin her. The Martyrs Blood won the day, and her Severity has almoſt loſt it. They ſuffered by Law, ſhe makes laws for ſuffering. Is this an imitation of their practice, to uphold the weapons of their deſtruction? I muſt tell her, it is being a Martyr for perſecution, and not by it: Another path than that the holy ancients, and our humble anceſtors trod, and which will lead her to be deſerted and contemned of every body that counts it ſafer to follow the bleſſed rule and practice of Chriſt and his inſpired meſſengers, than her narrow and worldly policies. But that which heightens the reproach, is the offer of the Romaniſts themſelves to make a perpetual civil peace with her, and that ſhe refuſes. Would the Martyrs have done this? ſurely no. Let her remember the firſt argument honeſt old Fox advances againſt that Church, is the Church of England's preſent darling, viz. Penal laws for religion; as ſhe may ſee at the beginning of his firſt volume: Doubtleſs he was much in the right, which makes her extremely in the wrong. "Nothing," ſays the Prophet, "muſt harm in God's holy mountain," and that is the Church, ſays Fox, and therefore he ſays, Chriſt's Church never perſecutes. Leave then God with his own work, and Chriſt with his own kingdom. As it is not of the world, let not the world touch it; no, not to *uphold* it, though they that bear it ſhould trip by the way. Remember Uzzah, he would needs ſupport the Ark when the Oxen *ſtumbled*; but was ſtruck dead for his pains. The preſumption is more than parallel. Chriſt promiſed to be "preſent with his Church to the end of the world." He bids them "fear not," and told them, that "ſufficient was the day for the evil thereof." How? with penal laws? no ſuch matter; but his divine preſence. Therefore it was, he called not for legions to fight for him, becauſe his work needed it not. They that want them have another ſort of work to do: And it is too plain, that Empire, and not Religion, has been too much the buſineſs. But, O let it not be ſo any more! To be a *true* Church is better than to be a *national* one; eſpecially as ſo upheld. Preſs Virtue, puniſh Vice, diſpenſe with Opinion; perſuade, but do not impoſe. Are there Tares in Opinion? let them alone; you heard "they are to grow with the wheat 'till "Harveſt," that is, the end of the world." Should they not be plucked up before? No; and it is *Angels* work at laſt too. Chriſt, that knew all men, ſaw no hand on earth fit for that buſineſs. Let us not then uſurp their office. Beſide, we are "to "love enemies;" this is the great law of our religion; by what law then are we to *perſecute* them? And if not Enemies, not Friends and Neighbours certainly.

The Apoſtle rejoiced "that Chriſt was preached out of Envy." If ſo, I am ſure we ought not to envy Chriſtians the enjoyment of the Liberty of their Conſciences. Chriſtianity ſhould be propagated by the Spirit of Chriſtianity, and not by Violence or Perſecution, for that is the ſpirit of Antichriſtianity. Nor, for fear of it, ſhould we, of Chriſtians, become Antichriſtians. Where is faith in God? Where is truſt in Providence? Let us do our duty, and leave the reſt with him; and not "do evil "that good may come of it;" for that ſhews a diſtruſt in God, and a confidence in our own inventions for ſecurity. No reaſon of ſtate can excuſe our diſobedience to his rule; and we deſert the principles of our heavenly Maſter when we decline it. The queſtion is about Conſcience; about this we can none of us be too tender, nor exemplary. It is in right doing that Chriſtians can hope for ſucceſs; and for true victory only through faith and patience. But if to avoid what we fear, we contradict our principles, we may juſtly apprehend that God will deſert us in an unlawful way of maintaining them. Perhaps this may be God's time of trying all parties, what we will do; whether we will rely upon him or our own feeble proviſions; whether we will allow what we ourſelves, in our turn, have all of us deſired; if not, may we not expect to ſuffer the thing we would inflict? for our penal laws cannot ſecure us from the turns of Providence, and leſs ſupport us under them. Let us conſider the true ground of the difficulty that is made, if it be not partial and light in God's ſcale; for to that trial all things muſt come, and his judgment is inevitable as well as infallible. Beſides, if we have not tried all other methods, we are inexcuſable in being ſo tenacious for this. I do therefore, in all humility, beſeech all ſorts of profeſſors of Chriſtianity in theſe kingdoms, to abſtract themſelves from thoſe jealouſies which worldly motives are apt to kindle in their minds, and with an even and undiſturbed ſoul purſue their chriſtian duty in this great conjuncture; conſidering "the race is not to the ſwift, "nor the battle to the ſtrong," and that, for all our Watchmen, it is "God alone "(at laſt) that keeps the city." Not that I would decline a fitting, but an unchriſtian proviſion: For though the foundation were never ſo true, yet if our ſuperſtructure be *hay* and *ſtubble*, (our own narrow devices) the fire will conſume it, and our labour will be worſe than in vain. Let us not therefore *ſow* what we would *not reap*, becauſe we *muſt reap* what we ſow: And remember who told us, "what we meaſure "to others ſhall be meaſured to us again." Let us, therefore, do unto all parties of men, as we would be done unto by them in their turn of power; leſt our fear of their undutifulneſs ſhould tempt us out of our duty, and ſo draw upon ourſelves the miſchiefs we are afraid of. Sacred Writ is full of this, in the doctrine of both Teſtaments; and, as we profeſs to believe it, we are inexcuſable if we do not practiſe it. Let the ſpirit then of chriſtian religion prevail: Let our policies give way to our duty, and our fears will be overcome of our hopes, which will not make us aſhamed at the laſt and great judgment; where, O God! let us all appear with comfort.

I could yet enlarge upon this ſubject; for nothing can be more fruitful. I could ſay, That a Church that denies *Infallibility*, cannot *force*, becauſe ſhe cannot be *certain*; and ſo Penal Laws (tho' it were poſſible that they could be lawful in others) in her, would be unjuſt: That Scripture leaves men to *Conviction* and *Perſuaſion*: That the true Church-weapons are *Light* and *Grace*; and her puniſhments, *Cenſure* and *Excommunication*: That goals and gibbets are inadequate methods for converſion, and that they never ſucceeded: That this forbids all farther Light to come into the world, and ſo limits the Holy One, which in Scripture is made a great ſin. And, laſtly, That ſuch inſnare their own poſterity that may be of another mind, and forfeit by it the eſtates they have ſo carefully tranſmitted to them. Thus far againſt impoſition. And againſt compliance, I could ſay, That it is to betray God's ſovereignty over conſcience; to defy men; gratify preſumption; ſoil and extinguiſh truth in the mind; obey blindfold; make over the ſoul without ſecurity; turn hypocrite, and abundance more; each of which heads might well merit an whole chapter. But this having been well and ſeaſonably conſidered elſewhere, I ſhall now proceed to the Second Part of this Diſcourſe, in which I will be as brief, and yet as full, as I can.

PART II.

That it is the Principle of Men of Note of all Parties.

BUT what need is there of this, may ſome ſay, when all parties profeſs to be of the ſame judgment, 'That Conſcience ought not to be forced, nor Religion impoſed upon men at their civil peril?' I own they are all of that mind, at one time or other; and therefore, that I may purge myſelf of any animoſity to the doctrine of the Church of England, I will ingenuouſly confeſs the ſevere conduct I have argued againſt is not to be imputed to her Principles; but then her evil will be the greater, that in Fact has ſo notoriouſly contradicted them. I know ſome of her defenders will hardly allow that too; tho' the more candid give us their ſilence or confeſſion: For they tell us, 'It is not the Church that has done it;' which, unleſs they mean, the Laws were not made at Church, muſt needs be falſe, ſince thoſe that made and executed them were of her own communion, and are that great body of members that conſtitute her a Church; but, by her ſhifting them off, it is but reaſonable to conclude that ſhe tacitly condemns what ſhe publickly diſowns. One would think, then, it ſhould not be ſo hard to perſuade her to quit them, in the way ſhe made them, or to enjoin her Sons to do it, if that language be too harſh for her. This ſhe muſt hear of ſome way; and I pray God ſhe may endeavour to do her duty in it. She is not alone; for every party in power has too evidently lapſed into this evil; though, under the prevalency and perſecution of another intereſt, they have ever writ againſt Club-Law for Religion. And to the end that I may do the Reformation right, and the Principles of the Church of England juſtice, I muſt ſay, that hardly one perſon of any note died in the time of Queen Mary, that did not paſs ſentence upon perſecution as antichriſtian, particularly Latimer, Philpot, Bradford, Rogers, very eminent Reformers. The Apologies that were written in thoſe times, are of the ſame ſtrain, as may be ſeen in Jewel, Haddon, Reynolds, &c. and the Papiſts were with reaſon thought much in the wrong by thoſe primitive Proteſtants, for the perſecution that they raiſed againſt them, for matters of pure religion. But what need we go ſo far back? Is it not recent in memory, that Biſhop Uſher was employed to O. Cromwell by ſome of the Clergy of the Church of England for Liberty of Conſcience? Dr. Parr, in the Life of Dr. Uſher, Primate of Armagh, fol. 75. has that paſſage thus:

'Cromwell forbidding the Clergy, under great penalties, to teach ſchools, or to 'perform any part of their miniſterial function; ſome of the moſt conſiderable Epiſ'copal Clergy in and about London, deſired my Lord Primate that he would uſe his 'intereſt with Cromwell, (ſince they heard he pretended a great reſpect for him) that 'as he granted Liberty of Conſcience to almoſt all ſorts of religions, ſo the Epiſco'pal Divines might have the ſame freedom of ſerving God in their private Congrega'tions (ſince they were not permitted the publick Churches) according to the Liturgy of the Church of England; and that neither the Miniſters, nor thoſe that frequented that ſervice, might be any more hindered, or diſturbed by his ſoldiers: So according to their deſire, he went and uſed his utmoſt endeavours with Cromwell, for the taking off this reſtraint, which was at laſt promiſed (though with ſome difficulty) and that they ſhould not be moleſted, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government.'

Certainly thoſe gentlemen were of my mind. And to give Dr. Hammond his due, who I underſtand was one of them, he left it to the witneſſes of his end, as his dying counſel to the Church of England, ' That they diſplaced no man out of the Univerſity or preſent Church; but that by Love, and an Holy Life, they ſhould prevail upon thoſe in poſſeſſion to come into their Church.' But this looked ſo little like the policy and ambition of the living, that they reſolved it ſhould be buried with him. This I had from an eminent hand in Oxford, a year or two after his death. An older man out-lived him, and one of the moſt learned and pious of that communion, Biſhop Sanderſon I mean: They were the two great men of their ſort that were of the party. Let us ſee what this reverend man ſays to our point:

' The Word of God doth expreſly forbid us to ſubject our conſciences to the judgment of any other, or to uſurp a dominion over the conſciences of any one.' *Several Caſes of Conſcience diſcuſſed in Ten Lectures in the Divinity School at* Oxford, 3 Lect. 30 Sect. pag. 103. printed 1660.

' He is not worthy to be Chriſt's diſciple, who is not the diſciple of Chriſt *alone.* The ſimplicity and ſincerity of the Chriſtian Faith hath ſuffered a great prejudice ſince we have been divided into parties; neither is there any hope that religion ſhould be reſtored to her former original and purity, until the wounds that were made wider by our daily quarrels and diſſentions, being anointed with the *Oil of Brotherly Love,* as with a balſam, ſhall begin to cloſe again, and to grow entire into the ſame Unity of Faith and Charity.' *Ibid.* Sect. 29.

' The Obligation of Conſcience doth not ſignify any Compulſion; for, to ſpeak properly, the Conſcience can no more be compelled than the Free-will.' *Ibid.* 4 *Lect. Sect.* 5. pag. 109.

' The expreſs commandment of God doth oblige the conſcience properly by itſelf and by its own force; and this obligation is abſolute, becauſe it doth directly and always oblige, and becauſe it obligeth all perſons, and the obligation of it is never to be cancelled. None but *God alone* hath power to impoſe a Law upon the Conſcience of any man, to which it ought to be ſubjected, as obliging by itſelf.---This concluſion is proved by the words of the Apoſtle, " There is but One Law-giver, who can both ſave and deſtroy." In which words two arguments do offer themſelves to our obſervation: In the firſt place, they aſſert there is but One Legiſlator; not one picked out amongſt many; not one above many; but One *excluſively,* that is to ſay, *One,* and *but* One *only.* The Apoſtle otherwiſe had made uſe of a very ineffectual argument to prove what he had propounded; for he rebuketh thoſe who unadviſedly did paſs their judgment either on the perſons, or the deeds of other men, as the invaders of their rights. " Who art thou," ſaith he, " who doſt judge another?" As if he ſhould have ſaid, Doſt thou know thyſelf, what thou art, and what thou doſt? It doth not belong to thee to thruſt thy ſaucy ſickle into the harveſt of another man, much leſs boldly to fling thyſelf into the Throne of Almighty God. If already thou art ignorant of it, then know, that it belongeth to *Him alone* to *judge* of the conſciences of men, to whom alone it doth belong to impoſe *Laws* upon the conſciences of men, which none can do but God alone.' *Ibid. pag.* 111, 112, 113.

' The condition and natural eſtate of the conſcience itſelf is ſo placed, as it were in the middle *betwixt* God and the Will of Man, as that which is uſually and truly ſpoken of kings and emperors, may as truly be verified of the Conſcience of every man, *Solo Deo minores eſſe, nec aliquem in terris ſuperiorem agnoſcere*; " They are leſs than God only, and on earth do acknowledge no ſuperior." That ſpeech of the Emperor Maximilian the Firſt is very memorable, *Conſcientiis dominari velle, eſt Arcem Cæli invadere*; " To exerciſe a domination over Conſciences, is to invade the Tower of Heaven." He is a plunderer of the glory of God, and a nefarious invader of the power that is due unto Him, whoſoever he is that ſhall claim a right to the Conſciences of men, or practiſe an uſurpation over them.' *Ibid.* Sect. 11. pag. 115.

And yet this is the ſad conſequence of impoſing Religion upon Conſcience, and puniſhing Non-conformity with worldly penalties.

Let us now hear what the late Biſhop of Down ſays, in his *L[illegible]. of Propheſy,* to our point, ' I am very much diſpleaſed that ſo many opinions and new doctrines are commenced amongſt us; but more troubled, that every man that hath an Opinion thinks his own and other mens ſalvation is concerned in its maintenance; but moſt of all, that men ſhould be perſecuted and afflicted for diſagreeing in ſuch opinions, which they cannot with ſufficient grounds obtrude upon others neceſſarily, becauſe they cannot propound them infallibly, and becauſe they have no warrant from Scripture ſo to do; for if I ſhall tie other men to believe my Opinion, becauſe I think I have a place of Scripture which ſeems to warrant it to my underſtanding; why may he not ſerve up another diſh to me in the ſame dreſs, and exact the ſame taſk of me to believe the contradictory?' *Liberty of Prophecy*, Epiſt. Dedicat. pag. 8, 9.

'The experience which Chriſtendom hath had in this laſt age, is argument enough, that Toleration of differing Opinions is ſo far from diſturbing the publick peace, or deſtroying the intereſt of princes and commonwealths, that it does advantage to the publick, it ſecures peace, becauſe there is not ſo much as the Pretence of Religion left to ſuch perſons to contend for, it being already indulged to them.' *Ibid.* pag. 21.

'It is a proverbial ſaying, *Quod nimia familiaritas ſervorum eſt conſpiratio adverſus Dominum*; and they who for their ſecurity run into grots and cellars and retirements, think that they being upon the defenſive, thoſe princes and thoſe laws that drive them to it are their enemies; and therefore they cannot be ſecure, unleſs the power of the one, and the obligation of the other, be leſſened and reſcinded; and then the being reſtrained, and made miſerable, endears the diſcontented perſons mutually, and makes more hearty and dangerous confederations.' *Ibid.* page 23.

'No man ſpeaks more unreaſonably, than he that denies to men the *Uſe* of their *Reaſon* in the Choice of their *Religion*.' *Ibid.* pag. 169.

'No Chriſtian is to be put to *death*, *diſmembred*, or otherwiſe directly *perſecuted*, for his *Opinion*, which does not teach Impiety or Blaſphemy.' *Ibid.* pag. 190.

'There is a popular Pity that follows all perſons in Miſery; and that Compaſſion breeds likeneſs of Affections, and that very often produces likeneſs of Perſuaſion; and ſo much the rather, becauſe there ariſes a jealouſy and pregnant ſuſpicion that they who perſecute an Opinion, are deſtitute of ſufficient arguments to confute it, and that the Hangman is the beſt Diſputant.' *Ibid.* page 197, 198.

'If a man cannot change his opinion when he liſts, nor ever does, heartily or reſolutely, but when he cannot do otherwiſe, then to uſe Force, may make him an hypocrite, but never to be a right believer; and ſo, inſtead of erecting a trophy to God and true religion, we build a monument for the Devil.' *Ibid.* p. 200.

'The trick of giving perſons differing in Opinion over to the ſecular Power, at the beſt is no better than Hypocriſy, removing envy from themſelves, and laying it upon others; a refuſing to do that in external Act, which they do in Counſel and Approbation.' *Ibid.* pag. 209.

Thus far Biſhop Taylor, one of the moſt learned men of the Church of England in his time.

Let me add another Biſhop, held learned by all, and in great reputation with the men of his communion; and, among them, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, who have ſufficiently declared againſt this perſecuting ſpirit on the account of religion, by their full approbation of, and thanks returned to the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, for his Sermon preached before them November the 6th, 1680, and their deſire that he would print and publiſh that Sermon. The Biſhop ſays, that 'They who are moſt given to hate and to deſtroy others, eſpecially thoſe others who differ from them in Religion, are not the Church of God, or at leaſt they are ſo far corrupt in that particular.' Pag. 8.

Again he ſays, 'That, of Societies of men, Chriſtians, of all others, are moſt averſe from ways of violence and blood; eſpecially from uſing any ſuch ways upon the account of religion: And among Chriſtian Churches, where they differ among themſelves, if either of them uſe thoſe ways upon the account of religion, they give a ſtrong preſumption againſt themſelves that they are not truly Chriſtians.' *Ibid. pag.* 9.

'There is reaſon for this, becauſe we know that Chriſt gave Love for the character by which his diſciples were to be known. *John* xiii. 35. "By this ſhall all men know that you are my diſciples, if you have love to one another." And leſt men ſhould unchriſten others firſt, that they may hate them, and deſtroy them afterwards, Chriſt enlarged his precept of Love, and extended it even to Enemies, and not only to ours, but to the enemies of our Religion.' *Matt.* v. 43, 44. *Ibid. pag.* 9.

'As our holy religion excels all others in this admirable temper, ſo by this we may uſually judge who they are that excel among Chriſtian Churches, when there happens any difference between them, whether touching the Faith, or the Terms of Communion. They that were the moſt fierce, they generally had the worſt cauſe.' *Ibid. pag.* 12, 13.

'The Council of Nice ſuppreſſed the Arrians by no other force, but putting Arrians out of their biſhopricks; they could not think Hereticks fit to be truſted with cure of ſouls: But otherwiſe, as to *temporal things*, I do not find that they inflicted any kind of puniſhments; but when the Arrians came to have the *Power* in their hands, when theirs was come to be the *Imperial Religion*, then Depriving was nothing, Baniſhment was the leaſt that they inflicted.' *Ibid. pag.* 14.

'Neither our Religion, nor our Church, is of a *perſecuting* ſpirit. I know not how it may be in particular perſons; but I ſay again, it is not in the *Genius* of our Church: She hath no doctrine that teacheth perſecution.' *Ibid. pag.* 20.

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‘ I would have no man puniſhed for his religion, no not them that deſtroy men for religion.’ *Ibid. pag.* 37.

Dr. Stillingfleet comes ſhort of none of them on this ſubject. * ‘ Our Saviour,’ ſays he, ‘ never *preſſed* Followers, as men do *Soldiers*, but ſaid, “ If any man will come after me, let him take up his Croſs (not his ſword) and follow me.” His was ἥμερος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος νομοθεσία, his very Commands ſhewed his Meekneſs; his laws were ſweet and gentle laws, not like *Draco*'s, that were writ in blood, unleſs it were his *own*, that gave them. His deſign was to eaſe men of their former burdens, and not lay on more; the duties he required were no other but ſuch as were neceſſary, and withal very juſt and reaſonable. He that came to take away the unſupportable yoke of Jewiſh Ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the necks of his diſciples with another inſtead of it. And it would be ſtrange the Church ſhould require more than Chriſt himſelf did; and make other conditions of her Communion, than our Saviour did of Diſcipleſhip. What poſſible reaſon can be aſſigned or given why ſuch things ſhould not be ſufficient for Communion with a Church, which are ſufficient for Eternal Salvation? And certainly thoſe things are ſufficient for that, which are laid down as neceſſary duties of Chriſtianity by our Lord and Saviour in his Word. What ground can there be why Chriſtians ſhould not ſtand upon the ſame terms now, which they did in the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles? Was not religion ſufficiently guarded and fenced in them? Was there ever more true and cordial reverence in the Worſhip of God? What Charter hath Chriſt given the Church to bind men up to more than *himſelf* hath done? or to exclude thoſe from her Society, who may be admitted into Heaven? Will Chriſt ever thank men at the great day for keeping ſuch out from Communion with his Church, when he will vouchſafe not only crowns of Glory to them, but it may be *Aureolæ* too, if there be any ſuch things there? The grand commiſſion the apoſtles were ſent out with, was only to *teach* what Chriſt had *commanded* them. Not the leaſt intimation of any power given them to impoſe or require any thing beyond what himſelf had ſpoken to them, or they were directed to by the immediate guidance of the Spirit of God.

* Irenicum, a weapon-ſalve for the Churches wounds, by E. Stillingfleet rector of Sutton in Bedfordſhire, in preface to the reader.

‘ Without all controverſy, the main inlet of all the diſtractions, confuſions and diviſions of the Chriſtian World, hath been by adding other Conditions of Church Communion than Chriſt hath done.

‘ There is nothing the Primitive Church deſerves greater imitation by us in, than in that admirable temper, moderation and condeſcenſion which was uſed in it towards all the members of it.

‘ This admirable temper in the Primitive Church might be largely cleared, from that Liberty they allowed freely to Diſſenters from them in matters of Practice and Opinion; as might be cleared from Cyprian, Auſtin, Jerome, and others.---Leaving the men to be won by obſerving the true decency and order of churches, whereby thoſe who act upon a true principle of Chriſtian ingenuity may be ſooner drawn to a compliance in all lawful things, than by force and rigorous impoſitions, which make men ſuſpect the weight of the thing itſelf, when ſuch force is uſed to make it enter.’ *In the Preface.*

The ſame is in effect declared by the Houſe of Commons, when they returned their thanks to Dr. Tillotſon, Dean of Canterbury, for his Sermon preached before them November the 5th, 1678, deſiring him to print that Sermon, where he ſays, upon our Saviour's words, “ Ye know not what manner of Spirit ye are of,” Ye own yourſelves to be my diſciples, but do you conſider what ſpirit now acts and governs you? Not that, ſurely, which my doctrine deſigns to mould and faſhion you into, which is not a *furious* and *perſecuting* and *deſtructive* ſpirit, but mild and gentle, and ſaving; tender of the lives and intereſts of men, even of thoſe who are our greateſt enemies.’ *Pag.* 6, 7.

‘ No difference of religion, no pretence of zeal for God and Chriſt, can warrant and juſtify this paſſionate and fierce, this vindictive and exterminating ſpirit.’ *Ibid.* pag. 7.

‘ He (*i. e.* Chriſt) came to introduce a religion, which conſults not only the eternal ſalvation of mens ſouls, but their temporal peace and ſecurity, their comfort and happineſs in this world.’ *Ibid.* pag. 8.

‘ It ſeemed good to the Author of this inſtitution, to compel no man to it by temporal puniſhment.’ *Ibid.* pag. 13.

‘ To ſeparate Goodneſs and Mercy from God, Compaſſion and Charity from Religion, is to make the two beſt things in the world, God and Religion, good for nothing.’ *Ibid.* pag. 9.

‘ True Chriſtianity is not only the beſt, but the beſt-natured, inſtitution in the world; and ſo far as any Church is departed from Good-nature, and become cruel and barbarous, ſo far it is degenerated from Chriſtianity.’ *Ibid.* pag. 30.

Thus far Dr. Tillotſon, who, to be ſure, deſerves not to be thought the leaſt eminent in the preſent Church of England. Let us hear what Dr. Burnet ſays to it:

‘ Men are not maſters of their own perſuaſions, and cannot change their thoughts as they pleaſe: He that believes any thing concerning religion, cannot turn as the *Prince* commands him, or accommodate himſelf to the *Law*, or his preſent *Intereſts*, un-

' leſs he arrive at that pitch of Atheiſm, as to look on Religion only as a Matter of ' Policy, and an Engine for Civil Government.' *Dr.* Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes*, &c. in his *Preface*, pag. 49.

It is to this Doctor's pains, ſhe owes the very *Hiſtory of her Reformation*; and as by it he has perpetuated his name with her's, certainly he muſt have credit with her, or ſhe can deſerve none with any body elſe; for no man could well go farther to oblige her.

Let me here bring in a lay-member of the Church of England, Sir Robert Pointz, in his *Vindication of Monarchy*, who yields us an excellent teſtimony to the matter in hand: ' The Sword availeth little with the *Souls* of men, unleſs to *deſtroy* them together ' with their Bodies, and to make men deſperate, or Diſſemblers in Religion, and, when ' they find opportunity, to fall into Rebellion, as there are many examples.' *Pag.* 27.

' In the ancient times of Chriſtianity, ſuch means were not uſed as might make ' Hereticks and Schiſmaticks more obſtinate than docible, through the prepoſterous ' proceedings of the magiſtrates and miniſters of juſtice, in the execution of Penal ' Laws, uſed rather as Snares for gaining of Money, and pecuniary mulcts impoſed, ' rather as Prices ſet upon Offences, than as puniſhments for the Reformation of Man' ners.' *Ibid. pag.* 28.

' The Ancient Chriſtians were forbidden by the Imperial Law, as alſo by the laws ' of other Chriſtian nations, under a great penalty, *To meddle with the Goods of* Jews, ' *or* Pagans, *living peaceably*.' Ibid. pag. 29.

' For the goods of the *Jews*, although Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion, cannot, ' for the Cauſe of religion, come by *Eſcheat* unto *Chriſtian Princes*, under whom they ' live.' *Ibid.* pag. 29.

' It is truly ſaid, that *Peace*, a meſſenger whereof an *Angel* hath been choſen to be, ' is ſcarce eſtabliſhed by the *Sword*; and the *Goſpel*, the *Bleſſed Peace*, cannot be pub' liſhed by the Sound of *Cannon*; neither the *Sacred Word* be conveyed unto us by ' the impious hands of *Soldiers*; neither *Tranquillity* be brought to the Perſons and ' Conſciences of Men, by that which bringeth *Ruin* unto *Nations*.' Ibid. pag. 70.

He has ſaid much in a little; the talent and honour of men truly great. I give this ſtill to the Church of England's Principles, which yet makes it harder for her to juſtify her Practice in her uſe of Power. But let us hear a King ſpeak, and One the Church of England is bound to hear by many obligations:

King Charles the Firſt, out of his tender and princely ſenſe of the ſad and bleeding condition of the Kingdom, and his unwearied deſires to apply ſuch remedies, as, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, might ſettle it in peace, by the advice of his Lords and Commons of Parliament, aſſembled at Oxford, propounded and deſired, ' That ' all the Members of Both Houſes might ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention ' of Parliament, there to treat, conſult, and agree upon ſuch things, as may conduce ' to the maintenance and defence of the Reformed Proteſtant Religion, with due con' ſideration to all juſt and reaſonable Eaſe to Tender Conſciences.' The King's Meſſage of a Treaty, March 3, 1643, from Oxford, ſuperſcribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter.

In the King's Twentieth Meſſage for Peace, January 29, 1645, he has theſe Words, ' That by the Liberty offered in his Meſſage of the 15th preſent, for the Eaſe of their ' Conſciences who will not communicate in the ſervice already eſtabliſhed by Act of ' Parliament in this kingdom, He intends that all other Proteſtants, behaving them' ſelves peaceable in and towards the Civil Government, ſhall have the Free Exerciſe ' of their Religion, according to their own Way.'

In the Thirty-Third Meſſage for Peace, November 14, 1647, there are theſe words, ' His Majeſty conſidering the great preſent diſtempers concerning Church-Diſcipline, ' and that the Preſbyterian Government is now in practice, His Majeſty, to eſchew ' Confuſion as much as may be, and for the ſatisfaction of his Two Houſes, is content ' that the ſaid Government be legally permitted to ſtand in the ſame condition it now ' is, for Three Years; provided, that his Majeſty, and thoſe of his judgment (or any ' other who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with ' the Preſbyterian Government, but have Free Practice of their own Profeſſion, with' out receiving any prejudice thereby.' From the Iſle of Wight.

In his Declaration to all his People, January 18, 1645, from Cariſbrook Caſtle, after the Votes of no Addreſs, he ſays, ' I have ſacrificed to my Two Houſes of Par' liament, for the Peace of the kingdom; All but, what is much more dear to me than ' my Life, my Conſcience and my Honour.'

In his Letter to the Lords, Gentlemen and Committee of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army, July 3, 1648, from Cariſbrook Caſtle.---- ' As the beſt foundation of Loyalty is Chriſtianity, ſo True Chriſtianity is Perfect ' Loyalty.'

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. Ch. 6. Upon his Majeſty's Retirement from Weſtminſter.---- ' Sure it ceaſes to be Counſel, when not *Reaſon* is uſed, as to Men, to *perſuade*, but

'*Force* and *Terror*, as to Beaſts, to drive and compel men to whatever tumultuary patrons ſhall project. He deſerves to be a *Slave*, without pity or redemption, that is content to have his *Rational Sovereignty* of his *Soul*, and Liberty of his Will and Words, ſo captivated.'----Again, Ibid. 'Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the *Beſt Reaſon* of Things, and faithfully follows what he takes for *Reaſon*; the Uprightneſs of his *Intentions* will excuſe the poſſible Failing of his *Underſtanding*.'----Again, Ibid. 'I know no Reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, than to prefer his Conſcience before his Kingdoms.'

Chap. 12. Upon the Rebellion and Troubles in Ireland.---'Some Kind of Zeal counts all merciful *Moderation* Lukewarmneſs, and had rather be *cruel*, than accounted *cold*, and is not ſeldom more greedy to kill the bear for his Skin, than for any Harm he hath done.'---Ibid. 'O! my God! Thou ſeeſt how much Cruelty among Chriſtians is acted, under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſs we crucify one another.'

Chap. 13. Upon the calling the Scots, and their coming---'Sure, in matters of Religion, thoſe Truths gain moſt on Mens Judgments and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with Secular Violence; which weakens Truth with Prejudices, and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rational Conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemns mens obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.---Violent motions are neither manly, chriſtian, nor loyal.----The proper engine of Faction is Force; the arbitrator of Beaſts, not of Reaſonable Men, much leſs of Humble Chriſtians and Loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.'

Chap. 14. Upon the Covenant.---'Religion requires Charity and Candor to others of different Opinions.---Nothing violent and injurious can be Religious.'

Chap. 15. Upon the many Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the King, to ſtir up the People againſt him.----'In point of true conſcientious Tenderneſs (attended with humility and meekneſs, not with proud or arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egg of indifferent Opinion to Faction or Schiſm) I have oft declared how little I deſire my Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench over God's Sovereignty, who is the *Only King* of Mens Conſciences.'

Chap. 27. To the Prince of Wales.---'Take heed of abetting any Factions; your partial adhering to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts, (who are prone to be of their King's religion) as it loſeth you in others, who think themſelves, and their profeſſion, firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you.---My counſel and charge to you is, That you ſeriouſly conſider the former real or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion my troubles, that you may avoid them.---A charitable Connivance, and Chriſtian Toleration, often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies.---Always keep up ſound Piety, and thoſe Fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favour and juſtice.---Your prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of the law, there being nothing worſe than legal tyranny.'

And as this was the ſenſe and judgment of a King, that time and the greateſt troubles had informed with a ſuperior judgment, (and which, to be ſure, highly juſtifies the meaſures that are now taken) ſo Dr. Hudſon, his *Plain-dealing* Chaplain, muſt not be forgotten by us on this occaſion, who took the freedom to tell his royal maſter, 'That he looked upon the calamities he laboured under, to be the hand of God upon him, for not having given God his due over Conſcience.'

One can eaſily imagine this to be Reformation Language; and then it is not hard to think how low that Church muſt be fallen, that from ſo free and excellent a principle, is come to make, execute, and uphold, Penal Laws for Religion, againſt her conſcientious neighbours: But it is to be hoped, that, like Nebuchadnezzar's Image, whoſe feet were a mixture of *Iron* and *Clay*, and therefore could not ſtand for ever, Perſecution will not be able to mix ſo with the ſeed of men, but that Humanity will overcome it, and mankind one day be delivered from that iron, hard, and fierce nature.

I have done with my Church of England's Evidences againſt Perſecution: And for the judgment of all ſorts of Diſſenters in that point, let their practice have been what it will, nothing is clearer, than that they diſallow of Perſecution, of which their daily addreſſes of thanks to the KING, for his general Eaſe, by his excellent Declaration, are an undoubted proof.

Thus, then, we ſee it is evident, that it is not only the Duty of all Parties, as they would be thought Chriſtians, to repeal Penal Laws for Religion, but, upon a fair enquiry, we ſee it is the avowed Principle of every Party, at one time or other, that Conſcience ought not to be compelled, nor Religion impoſed upon worldly penalties. And ſo I come to the Third and Laſt Part of this Diſcourſe.

PART

PART III.

It is the Intereſt of all Parties, and eſpecially the Church of England.

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AS I take all men to be unwillingly ſeparated from their Intereſts, and conſequently ought only to be ſought and diſcourſed in them, ſo it muſt be granted me on all hands, That Intereſts change as well as Times; and it is the wiſdom of a man to obſerve the courſes, and humour the motions, of his Intereſt, as the beſt way to preſerve it. And leſt any ill-natured, or miſtaken perſon, ſhould call it Temporizing, I make this early proviſion; 'That I mean, no immoral, or corrupt Compliance;' A Temporizing deſervedly baſe with men of virtue, and which in all times, my practice, as well as judgment, hath ſhewn the laſt averſion to. For upon the principle I now go, and which I lay down, as common and granted in reaſon and fact, with all parties concerned in this diſcourſe, That man does not change, that *morally* follows his Intereſt under all its revolutions; becauſe to be true to his Intereſt, is his firſt civil principle. I premiſe this, to introduce what I have to offer with reſpect to the intereſts to be now treated upon.

And firſt, I ſay, 'I take it to be the Intereſt of the Church of England to *aboliſh* the 'Penal Laws, becauſe it never was her intereſt to make them.' My reaſons for that opinion are theſe; Firſt, They have been an argument to invalidate the ſufferings of the Reformers, becauſe if it be unlawful to diſobey Government about Matters of Religion, they were in the wrong. And if they ſay, 'O but they were in Error that puniſhed their 'Non-conformity;' I anſwer, How can ſhe prove that ſhe is infallibly in the Right? And if this cannot be done, ſhe compels to an Uncertainty upon the ſame terms. Secondly, She has overthrown the principles upon which ſhe ſeparated from Rome: For if it be unlawful to plead Scripture and Conſcience, to vindicate diſſent from her Communion, it was unlawful for her, upon the ſame plea, to diſſent from the Church of Rome; unleſs ſhe will ſay again, 'That ſhe was in the right, but the other in the wrong;' and ſhe knows this is no anſwer, but a begging of the queſtion; For they that ſeparate from *her*, think themſelves as ſerious, devout, and as much in the right as *ſhe* could do. If then Conſcience and Scripture, interpreted with the beſt light ſhe had, were the ground of her Reformation, ſhe muſt allow the liberty ſhe takes, or ſhe eats her words, and ſubverts her foundation; than which nothing can be more deſtructive to the intereſt of any being civil or eccleſiaſtical. Thirdly, The Penal Laws have been the great makebate in the kingdom from the beginning: For if I ſhould grant that ſhe had been once truly the Church of England, I mean conſiſting of *all the People* of England, (which ſhe was not, for there were divers parties diſſenting from the firſt of her eſtabliſhment) yet ſince it afterwards appeared ſhe was but One party, though the biggeſt, ſhe ought not to have made her Power more national than her Faith, nor her Faith ſo by the force of temporal authority. It is true, ſhe got the magiſtrate on her ſide, but ſhe engaged him too far: For ſhe knew, Chriſt did not leave Cæſar executor to his Laſt Will and Teſtament; and that *that* ſhould be the reaſon why *ſhe* did ſo, was none of the beſt ornaments to her Reformation. That ſhe was but a Party, though the biggeſt, by the advantages that temporal power brought her, I ſhall eaſily prove; but I will introduce it with a ſhort account of our State-reformation here in England.

Henry the *Eighth* was a kind of Hermaphrodite in religion, or, in the language of the times, a *Trimmer*; being a Medley of *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant*, and that part he acted to the life, or to the death rather; ſacrificing on the ſame day men of both religions, becauſe one was not *Proteſtant enough*, and the other not *Papiſt enough* for him. In this time were ſome *Anabaptiſts*; for the diſtinction of *Church of England*, and *Calviniſt*, was not then known.

Edward the *Sixth* ſucceeded; a prince that promiſed virtues, that might more than ballance the exceſſes of his father; and yet, by Archbiſhop Cranmer, was compelled to ſign a warrant to burn poor *Joan of Kent*, a famous woman, but counted an *Enthuſiaſt*: But to prove what I ſaid of him, it was not without frequent denials and tears, and the biſhop's taking upon him to anſwer for it at God's judgment; of which I hope his Soul was diſcharged, though his Body, by the ſame law, ſuffered the ſame puniſhment in the ſucceeding reign. Thus even the *Proteſtants* began with *blood* for meer *religion*, and taught the *Romaniſts*, in ſucceeding times, how to deal with them.

At this time the controverſy grew warm between the *Church of England* and the *Calviniſts*, that were the abler preachers, and the better livers: The biſhops being moſtly men of ſtate, and ſome of them looking rather backward than forward; witneſs the difficulty the king had to get Hooper conſecrated biſhop, without conformity to the reſerved ceremonies.

Queen Mary came in, and ended the quarrel at the ſtake. Now Ridley and Hooper hug, and are the deareſt brethren, and beſt friends in the world. Hooper keeps his

ground,

1687. ground, and Ridley ſtoops with his ceremonies to the other's farther reformation. But this light and union flowed from their Perſecution: For thoſe abroad at Franckfort, and other places, were not upon ſo good terms: Their feuds grew ſo great, that the one refuſed communion with the other; many endeavours were uſed to quench the fire, but they were ineffectual; at beſt it lay under the aſhes of their Affliction for another time; for no ſooner was *Queen Elizabeth* upon her throne, than they returned, and their difference with them. They managed it civilly for a while; but ambition in ſome, and covetouſneſs in others on the one hand, and diſcretion giving way to reſentment on the other, they firſt ply the Queen and her Miniſters, and when that ended in favour of the *Men* of *Ceremony*, the others arraigned them before the Firſt Reformers abroad, at Geneva, Baſil, Zurich, &c. The leading Prelates by their letters, as Dr. Burnet lately tells us, in his printed relation of his Travels, clear themſelves to thoſe firſt doctors of any ſuch imputation, and lay all upon the Queen, who, for reaſons of ſtate, would not be brought to ſo inceremonious a way of worſhip, as that of the *Calviniſts*.

At this time there were Papiſts, Proteſtants, Evangeliſts, Præciſians, Ubiquitiſts, Familiſts or Enthuſiaſts, and Anabaptiſts in England; when, the very firſt year of her reign, "A Law for Uniformity in Worſhip and Diſcipline," was enacted, and more followed of the ſevereſt nature, and ſometimes executed. Thus, then, we ſee that there never was ſuch thing as a *Church of England* ſince the days of *Popery*, that is, A *Church*, or *Communion, containing all the People of the Kingdom*, and ſo cannot be ſaid to be ſo much as a *Twin* of the *Reformation:* Nevertheleſs, ſhe got the bleſſing of the Civil Magiſtrate; ſhe made him *great*, to be great *by* him: If SHE might be the *Church*, HE ſhould be the *Head*. Much good may the bargain do her. Now is the time for her to ſtand to her principle. I never knew any body exceed their bounds, that were not met with at laſt. If we could eſcape Men, God we cannot; his Providence will overtake us, and find us out.

By all this then it appearing, that the *Church* of *England* was not the *Nation*, the caſe is plain, 'That the Penal Laws were a make-bate,' for they ſacrificed every ſort of people whoſe conſciences differed from the Church of England; which firſt put the Romaniſts upon flattering Prerogative, and courting its ſhelter from the wrath of thoſe laws. The addreſs could not be unpleaſant to princes; and we ſee it was not; for *King James*, that came in with invectives againſt *Popery*, entering the liſts with the Learned of that Church, and charging her with all the marks the *Revelation* gives to that of Antichriſt, grew at laſt ſo tame and eaſy towards the *Romaniſts*, that our own ſtory tells us of the fears of the increaſe of *Popery* in the latter parliament of his reign.

In *King Charles* the Firſt's time, no body can doubt of the complaint, becauſe that was in great meaſure the drift of every parliament, and at laſt one reaſon of the war. On the other hand, the *Severity* of the *Biſhops* againſt men of their own principles, and, in the main, of their own communion, either becauſe they were more zealous in preaching, more followed of the people, or could not wear ſome odd garment, and leſs lead the dance on a *Lord's Day* at a Maypole, (the relick of *Flora*, the *Roman Strumpet)* or perhaps for rubbing upon the ambition, covetouſneſs, and lazineſs of the Dignified, and ignorance and looſeneſs of the Ordinary Clergy of the Church, (of which I could produce five hundred groſs inſtances) I ſay theſe things bred bad blood, and, in part, gave beginning to thoſe animoſities, that at laſt broke forth, with ſome other pretences, into all thoſe national troubles that agitated this poor kingdom for ten years together; in which the Church of England became the greateſt loſer, her Clergy turned out, her Nobility and Gentry ſequeſtered, decimated, impriſoned, &c. And whatever ſhe is pleaſed to think, nothing is truer, than that her '*Penal Laws*, and Conduct in the '*Star-chamber*, and *High Commiſſion Court*, in Matters of *Religion*,' was her overthrow.

It is as evident, the ſame humour, ſince the Reſtoration of the late King, has had almoſt the ſame effect. For nothing was grown ſo little and contemptible, as the Church of England in this Kingdom, which ſhe now intitles herſelf '*The Church* of: Witneſs the Elections of the laſt three Parliaments before this. I know it may be ſaid, 'The Perſons 'choſen were Church-goers;' I confeſs it, for the Law would have them ſo. But nobody was more averſe to the Politicks of the Clergy; inſomuch that the Parſon and the Pariſh almoſt every-where divided upon the queſtion of their Election. In truth, it has been the 'Favour and Countenance of the Crown,' and not her intrinſick Intereſt or Value, that has kept her up to this day; elſe her Penal Laws, the Bulwark of the Church of England, by the ſame figure that ſhe is one againſt Popery, had ſunk her long ſince.

I hope I may, by this time, conclude, without offence, that the Penal Laws have been a Make-bate in the great family of the Kingdom, ſetting the father againſt his children, and brethren againſt brethren; not only giving the empire to one, but endeavouring to extinguiſh the reſt, and that for this the Church of England has once paid a ſevere reckoning. I apply it thus: Is it not her intereſt to be careful ſhe does it not a ſecond time? She has a fair opportunity to prevent it, and keep herſelf where ſhe is; that is, 'The

'Publick Religion of the Country, with the Real Maintenance of it;' which is a plain preference to all the reſt. 1687.

Violence and Tyranny are no *natural* conſequences of Popery; for then they would follow every-where, and in all places and times alike. But we ſee in twenty governments in Germany, there is none for religion, nor was for an age in France: And in Poland, the Popiſh Cantons of Switzerland, Venice, Lucca, Colonia, &c. where that religion is dominant, the people enjoy their ancient and civil rights, a little more ſteadily than they have of late times done in ſome Proteſtant Countries nearer home, almoſt ever ſince the Reformation. Is this againſt *Proteſtancy*? No; but very much againſt *Proteſtants*. For had they been true to their principles, we had been upon better terms. So that the *Reformation* was not the fault, but not *keeping to it* better than ſome have done: For whereas they were *Papiſts* that both obtained the *Great Charter*, and *Charter* of *Foreſts*, and, in the ſucceſſive reigns of the kings of their religion, induſtriouſly laboured the confirmation of them, as the Great Text of their *Liberties* and *Properties*, by above Thirty other laws; we find almoſt an equal number to deſtroy them, and but *One* made in their favour, ſince the Reformation, and that ſhrewdly againſt the Will of the *High Church-men* too; I mean, *The Petition of Right*, in the third year of Charles the Firſt. In ſhort, they deſire a legal Security with us, and we are afraid of it, leſt it ſhould inſecure us; when nothing can do it ſo certainly as their Inſecurity; for *Safety* makes no man *deſperate*. And he that ſeeks eaſe by Law, therefore does it, becauſe he would not attempt it by Force. Are we afraid of their power, and yet provoke it? If this jealouſy and averſion prevail, it may drive her to a bargain with the kingdom for ſuch general redemption of property, as may diſſolve our great corporation of Conſcience, and then ſhe will think, that half a loaf had been better than no bread; and that it had been more adviſeable to have parted with Penal Laws, that only ſerved to dreſs her in ſatire, than have loſt *all* for keeping *them*; eſpecially when it was but parting with Spurs, Claws and Bills, that made her look more like a *Vultur* than a *Dove*, and a *Lion* than a *Lamb*.

But I proceed to my next reaſon, why it is her intereſt to repeal thoſe Penal Laws, (though a greater cannot be advanced to men than ſelf-preſervation) and that is, 'That 'ſhe elſe breaks with a King heartily inclined to preſerve her by any way that is not 'perſecuting, and whoſe intereſt ſhe once purſued at all adventures, when more than 'ſhe ſees was ſuggeſted to her by the men of the intereſt ſhe oppoſed, in favour of 'his claim.' What then has befallen her, that ſhe changes the courſe ſhe took with ſuch reſolutions of perſeverance? For bringing him to the Crown with this *Religion*, could not be more her duty to his Title, or her intereſt to ſupport her own, than it is ſtill to be fair with him. If ſhe owed the one to him, and to Chriſtianity, ſhe is not leſs indebted to herſelf the other. Does he ſeek to impoſe his own Religion upon her? By no means. There is no body would abhor the attempt, or, at all adventures, condemn it, more than myſelf. What then is the matter? Why, he deſires *Eaſe* for his *Religion*: She does not think fit to conſider him in this, (No, not the King ſhe brought with *this* objection to the Crown). Certainly ſhe is much in the wrong, and ſhows herſelf an ill courtier, (tho' it was become her calling) firſt, to give him roaſt-meat, then beat him with the ſpit. Is not this to quit thoſe high principles of Loyalty and Chriſtianity ſhe valued herſelf once upon, and, what ſhe can, provoke the miſchiefs ſhe fears? Certainly this is dividing in judgment from him, that ſhe has acknowledged to be her Eccleſiaſtical Head.

My fifth reaſon is, That as the Making and Executing the Penal Laws for Religion affects all the ſeveral parties of Proteſtant Diſſenters as well as the Papiſts (the judges in Vaughan's time, and he at the head of them, giving it as their opinion, they were equally expoſed to thoſe laws) and that they are thereby naturally driven into an intereſt with them; ſo it is at this time greatly the prudence of the Church of England to repeal them; for by ſo doing ſhe divides that *Intereſt* that Self-preſervation allows all men to purſue, that are united by Danger: And ſince ſhe is aſſured the Papiſts ſhall not have the leſs eaſe in this King's time, than if the Laws were repealed, and that her fears are not of the ſucceeding Reigns, how is their repeal a greater inſecurity, eſpecially when by that ſhe draws into her intereſt all the Proteſtant Diſſenters, that are abundantly more conſiderable than the Papiſts, and that are as unwilling that Popery ſhould be *national* as herſelf. For if this be not granted, ſee what reputation follows the Church of England. She tells the King ſhe does not deſire his friends ſhould be perſecuted; yet the forbearance muſt not be by *Declaration*, to ſave the Government, nor by *Law*, to ſave Her; and without one of theſe warrants, every Civil Magiſtrate and Officer in England is perjured, that ſuffers them in that *Liberty againſt Law*. How can ſhe be ſincerely willing that ſhould be done, that ſhe is not willing ſhould be done *legally*?

But, ſixthly, The Church of England does not know but they, or ſome other party, may at one time or other prevail. It ſeems to me her Intereſt to ſet a good example, and ſo to beſpeak eaſy terms for herſelf. I know of none intended, and believe no body but herſelf can place her ſo low; yet if it were her unhappineſs, I think to have

1687. Civil Property ſecured out of the queſtion of Religion, and Conſtraint upon Conſcience prevented by a glorious *Magna Charta* for the *Liberty* of it, were not a thing of ill conſequence to her Intereſt. Let us but conſider what other princes did for their own Religion, within the laſt Seven Reigns, when they came to the crown, and we cannot think ſo ſoft and equal a thing as an *Impartial Liberty* of *Conſcience*, after all that has been ſaid of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, an ordinary Character of a Prince, or a mean Aſſurance to us: This ought not ſlip her reflection. Beſides, there is ſome care due to poſterity: Though the preſent members of her Communion may eſcape the temptation, their children may not: They may *change* the religion of their education, and conſcientiouſly chuſe ſome *other* communion. Would they ſubmit the fortunes they leave them to the rape of hungry courtiers, bigots and indigent informers, or have their poſterity impoveriſhed, baniſhed, or executed, for ſober and religious *Diſſent?* God knows into whoſe hands theſe Laws at laſt may fall, what miſchief they may do, and to whom. Believe me, a King of the humour of Sir *J. K.* of the *Weſt*, or Sir *W. A.* of *Reading*, or Sir *R. B.* or Sir *S. S.* of *London*, would, with ſuch Vouchers, quickly make a *Golgotha* of the *Kingdom*. If ſhe thinks herſelf conſiderable in Number or Eſtate, ſhe will have the more to loſe. Let her not therefore eſtabliſh that in the prejudice of others, that may in the hands of others turn to her prejudice.

Laſtly, I would not have her miſs the advantage that is deſigned her by thoſe that perhaps ſhe thinks worſt of. I dare ſay nobody would willingly ſee the *Preſbyterian* in her *Chair*; and yet that may happen to be the conſequence of her tenaciouſneſs in a little time. For if the averſion her ſons promote by wholeſale againſt *Popery* ſhould prevail, the remains of it in herſelf are not like to eſcape that Reformation. I mean, her *Epiſcopal Government*, and the *Ceremonies* of her Worſhip, for which ſhe has vexed the moſt conſcientious people of this kingdom above an age paſt. And the Preſbyterian being a rich, induſtrious and numerous party, as well among the nobility and gentry, as trading and country people, I cannot ſee but the next motion, naturally ſpeaking, is like to tend that way; for other parties, however well eſteemed, may ſeem too great a ſtep of reformation at once; and methinks ſhe has taſted enough of that Regiment, to be once wiſe, and keep the Ballance in her own hands. And certain it is, that nothing will ſo effectually do this, as the intreated Liberty of Conſcience; for then there will be Four parties of Diſſenters, beſides herſelf, to ballance againſt any deſigns that may warp or biaſs things to their Advancement. And that which ought to induce the Church of England not a little to haſten as well as do the thing, is this; She is now a ſort of National Church by *Power*, ſhe will then be the Publick Church by Concurrence of *all* Parties. Inſtead of enemies to invade or undermine her, they that ſhould do it are made the friends of her ſafety, by the happineſs they enjoy through her Complacency: And if any ſhould be ſo unnatural or ungrateful to her, the intereſt of the reſt will oblige them to be her Spies and Security againſt the ambition of any ſuch Party. I do heartily pray to God that he would enlighten the Eyes of her Leaders, and give them good Hearts too, that *Faction* may not prevail againſt *Charity*, in the name of *Religion:* And, above all, that ſhe would not be proud of her Numbers, or ſtand off upon that reflection; for that alone will quickly leſſen them, in a nation loving Freedom as much as this we live in: And what appears in the Town, is an ill glaſs to take a proſpect of the Country by: There are pariſhes that have Fifteen thouſand ſouls in them, and if *Two* come to Church, it is a matter of brag; tho' Half the reſt be ſown among the ſeveral Diſſenting Congregations of their judgment. I would not have her miſtaken; though Popery be an unpopular thing, it is as certain She, of a long time, has not been popular, and on that principle never can be: And if ſhe ſhould plow with that heifer now, and gain a little by the averſion to Popery; when it is diſcerned that Popery does return to the civil intereſt of the kingdom, they will quickly be friends. For beſides that we are the eaſieſt and beſt natured people in the world to be appeaſed, there are thoſe charms in Liberty and Property to *Engliſh* Nature, that no endeavours can reſiſt or diſappoint. And can we reaſonably think the Romaniſts will be wanting in that, when they ſee it is their own (and perhaps their only) intereſt to do ſo? Theſe are the arguments which, I confeſs, have prevailed with me to importune the Church of England to yield to the 'Repeal 'of all the Penal Statutes,' and I ſhould be glad to ſee them either well refuted, or ſubmitted to.

I ſhall now addreſs myſelf to thoſe of the Roman Church, and hope to make it appear it is their Intereſt to ſit down thankfully with the Liberty of Conſcience herein deſired, and that a *Toleration*, and *no more*, is that which all Romaniſts ought to be ſatisfied with. My Reaſons are theſe: Firſt, The *Oppoſition* that *Popery* every-where finds: For in Nothing is the kingdom ſo much of a mind as in this *Averſion:* It is no news, and ſo may be the better ſaid and taken. I ſay then, this *Unity*, this *Univerſality*, and this *Viſibility*, againſt *Popery*, make the Attempt for *more* than Liberty of Conſcience too great and dangerous. I believe there may be ſome poor ſilly Bigots that hope bigger, and talk farther; but who can help that? There are weak people of all ſides, and they will be making a pudder: But what is the language of their true Intereſt, the infallible guide of the wiſer men? *Safety*, certainly; and that in ſucceeding reigns, to chuſe: And if ſo, their ſteps muſt be modeſt, for they are watched and numbered. And though their Prudence ſhould ſubmit to their Zeal, both muſt yield to Neceſſity, whether they like it or no. What they convert upon the ſquare, (*Perſuaſion*, I mean) is their own, and much good may it do them. But the fear is not of this; and for compelling the averſe Genius of the kingdom, they have not the Means, whatever they would do if they had them: Which is my ſecond Reaſon. I ſay they have not the Power, and that is what we apprehend moſt. There are three things that prove this in my opinion. Firſt, their Want of *Hands*; next, Want of *Time*; and laſtly, their Inteſtine *Diviſion*; which, whatever we think, is not inconſiderable. They are few, we muſt all agree, to the kingdom, upon the beſt computation that could be made: Out of *Eighty Millions* of *People*, they are not *Thirty Thouſand*, and thoſe but thinly ſown up and down the nation; by which it appears that the diſproportion of the *natural Strength* is not leſs than *Two hundred and ſeventy* Perſons to *One*. So that Popery in England is like a *Spirit* without a *Body*, or, a *General* without an *Army*. It can hurt no more, than *Bullets* without *Powder*, or, a *Sword* and no *Hand* to uſe it. I dare ſay, there is not of that Communion, enough at once, to make all the Coal-Fires in *London*; and yet we are apprehenſive they are able to conſume the whole *Kingdom*. I am ſtill more afraid of *her fears* than of *them*; for though they ſeem high, ſhe thinks their Religion in no reign has appeared much lower.

‘O, but they have the King of their ſide, and he has the executive power in his hands!’ True, and this I call the *Artificial Strength* of the Kingdom. But, I ſay, firſt we have his Word to bind him. And though ſome may think our Kings cannot be tied by their People, certainly they may be tied by *themſelves*. What if I do not look upon the Act of both *Houſes* to oblige the King, his own *Conceſſion* muſt; and that may be given in an *Act* of *State*. I take the King to be as well obliged in *Honour* and *Conſcience* to what he promiſes his People in another method, as if it had been by his *Royal Aſſent* in *Parliament*; for an honeſt man's Word is good everywhere, and why a King's ſhould not, I cannot tell. It is true, the Place differs, and the Voice comes with greater Solemnity; but why it ſhould with greater Truth, I know not. And if the Church of England will but be adviſed to give him the opportunity of keeping his repeated Word with her, and not deprive herſelf of that advantage by Jealouſies and Diſtances that make her ſuſpected, and may force him into another conduct, I cannot help believing that the King will to a tittle let her feel the aſſurance and benefit of his Promiſes.

But next, we have his *Age* for our ſecurity; which is the ſecond proof, of the ſecond reaſon, why the Papiſts ſhould look no farther than a Toleration. This is the Want of *Time* I mentioned. They have but *One Life in the Leaſe*, and it is out of their power to *renew*; and this Life has lived faſt too, and is got within Seven of Threeſcore; a greater age than moſt of his anceſtors ever attained. ‘Well, but he has an Army, and many Officers, of his own Religion.’ And if it be ſo, What can it *do*? It may ſuppreſs an *Inſurrection*; but upon the attempts we fooliſhly fear, they were hardly a breakfaſt to the quarters they live in. For if they were together, all the confines or remote parts of the nation would riſe like graſs upon them; and if diſperſed, to be ſure they have not ſtrength for ſuch an attempt.

‘But if they are not ſufficient, there is a potent Prince not far off can help the deſign, who is not angry with Proteſtancy at home *only*.’ Suppoſe this, is there not as potent *Naval Powers* to aſſiſt the Conſtitution of the Kingdom from ſuch invaſions? Yes, and *Land ones too*. And as the Proteſtant Governments have more Ships than the other, ſo an equal *Land Force*, when by ſuch attempts to make *Popery* Univerſal, they are awakened to the uſe of them: But certainly we muſt be very ſilly to think the King ſhould ſuffer ſo great a ſhock to his own intereſt, as admitting an army of Foreigners to enter his kingdom on any pretence, muſt neceſſarily occaſion. Theſe Bull-beggars, and Raw-heads and Bloody-bones, are the malice of ſome, and the weakneſs of others. But Time, that informs Children, will tell the World the Meaning of the Fright.

The Third Proof of my Second Reaſon, is, ‘The inteſtine Diviſion among themſelves.’ That Diviſion weakens a *great* Body, and renders a ſmall one *harmleſs*, all will agree. Now, that there is ſuch a thing as *Diviſion* among them, is town-talk. The *Seculars* and *Regulars* have ever been two *Intereſts* all the *Roman Church over*; and they are not only ſo here, but the *Regulars* differ among themſelves. There is not a Coffee-houſe in Town that does not freely tell us that the *Jeſuits* and *Benedictines* are at variance, that Count *Da*, the Pope's Nuncio, and Biſhop *Lyborn*, diſſent mightily from the Politicks of the Firſt; nay, the other day the ſtory was, that they had prevailed *entirely* over them. The *Lords* and *Gentlemen* of her Communion have as warmly conteſted about the *Lengths* they ought to go; *Moderation* ſeems to be the Concluſion. Together they are little, and can do little; and, divided, they are contemptible, inſtead of terrible.

1687. Laſtly, The Roman Church ought to be diſcreet, and think of nothing farther than the intreated general eaſe, becauſe it would be an extreme that muſt beget another in the ſucceeding reign. For as I can never think her ſo weak as well as baſe, that after all her arguments for the *jus divinum* of Succeſſion, ſhe ſhould, in the face of the world, attempt to violate it in the wrong of one of another *perſuaſion*, (for that were an eternal loſs of her with mankind); ſo, if ſhe does not, and yet is extravagant, ſhe only riſes higher to fall lower than all others in another reign. This were provoking their own ruin. And, to ſay true, either way would, as the Second Letter has it, "Diſcredit her for ever, and make true Prophets of thoſe they had taken "ſuch pains to prove falſe witneſſes." And ſuppoſing her to reckon upon the Juſt Succeſſion, nothing can recommend her, or continue her happineſs, in a reign of another judgment, but this "Liberty equally maintained," that other Perſuaſions, more numerous, for that reaſon, as well as for their own ſakes, are obliged to inſure her. Here the foundation is broad and ſtrong, and what is built upon it has the looks of long life. The Indenture will at leaſt be *quinque-partite*, and Parties are not ſo mortal as Men. And as this joins, ſo it preſerves intereſt intire, which amounts to a 'Religious Amity and a Civil Unity,' at the worſt.

Upon the whole matter, I adviſe the members of the Roman Communion in this kingdom, to be moderate; it is their duty, and it belongs to all men to ſee it and feel it from them, and it behoves them mightily they ſhould; for the firſt part of this Diſcourſe belongs to their Hopes, as well as to the Church of England's Fears, viz. *The Duty and Spirit of Chriſtianity*. Next, let them do good Offices between the King and his excellent Children; for as that will be well taken by ſo affectionate a Father, ſo it gives the lye to their enemies ſuggeſtions, and recommends them to the grace and favour of the ſucceſſors. And having ſaid this, I have ſaid all that belongs to them in particular. There is left only my addreſs to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and a general Concluſion, to finiſh this Diſcourſe.

Your caſe, that are called Proteſtant Diſſenters, differs mightily from that of the Church of England, and Rome. For the firſt hath the *Laws* for her, the laſt the *Prince*. Thoſe laws are *againſt* you, and ſhe is not willing they ſhould be repealed: The Prince offers to be kind to you, if you pleaſe: Your *Intereſt*, in this Conjuncture, is the Queſtion. I think none ought to be made, that it is the *Liberty* of *Conſcience* deſired, becauſe you have much more need of it, having neither *Laws* nor *Prince* of your ſide, nor a Succeſſor of any of your Perſuaſions. The Fears of Popery I know reach you; but it is to be remembered alſo, that if the laws are not repealed, there wants no new ones to deſtroy you, of the *Papiſts* making; ſo that every fear you are taught to have of their repeal, is againſt yourſelves. Suppoſe your apprehenſions well grounded, you can but be deſtroyed: Which is moſt comfortable for you to ſuffer, by law, or without it? The Church of England, by her Penal Laws, and the doctrine of Headſhip, has armed that Religion (as it falls out) to deſtroy you. Nay, has made it a duty in the King to do it, from which (he ſays) nothing but an Act of Parliament can abſolve him, and that ſhe is not willing to allow. And is it not as reaſonable that you ſhould ſeek their repeal, that if you ſuffer from the Papiſts, it may be without *human* law, as well as againſt *Chriſt*'s law, as for the Church of England to keep them in force; becauſe if ſhe ſuffers, it ſhall be againſt the Laws made to uphold her? For not repealing them, brings you an inevitable miſchief, and her, at moſt, but an uncertain ſafety; though it is certain, ſhe at the ſame time will ſacrifice you to it. And yet if I were in her caſe, it would pleaſe me better to remove laws that might reproach me, and ſtop my mouth when turned againſt me; and be content, that if I ſuffer for my Religion, it is againſt the Law of God, Chriſtianity, and the Fundamentals of the old and true Civil Government of my Country, before ſuch laws helped to ſpoil it. In ſhort, you muſt either go to *Church*, or *meet*, or *let fall* your worſhipping of God in the way you believe. If the firſt, you are Hypocrites, and give away the cauſe, and reproach your dead brethren's ſincerity, and gratify the old accuſation of Schiſm, Ambition, &c. and finally loſe the hope and reward of all your ſufferings. If the ſecond, viz. that you meet againſt *Law*, you run into the mouth of the Government, whoſe teeth are to meet in you, and deſtroy you, *as by law eſtabliſhed*. If the laſt, you deny your Faith, overthrow your own arguments, fall away from the apoſtolical doctrine of *aſſembling together*, and ſo muſt fall into the Hands of God, and under the Troubles of your own Conſciences and Woundings of his Spirit, of which it is ſaid, "who can bear them." So that nothing is plainer than that Proteſtant Diſſenters are not obliged to govern themſelves after ſuch Church of England Meaſures, ſuppoſing her fears and jealouſies better bottomed than they are: For they are neither in this King's time in the ſame condition, with her, if the Penal Laws remain in force, nor like to be ſo, if ſhe can help it, in the next reign, if they are not repealed in this; ſo that they are to be certainly perſecuted now, in hopes of an uncertain liberty then. Uncertain both whether it will be in her power, and whether ſhe will do it if it be. The Language of Fear and Aſſurance are two things; Affliction promiſes what Proſperity rarely performs. Of this the promiſes made to induce the late king's Reſtoration, and the cancelling of the former Declaration, and what followed upon both, are a plain proof. And though the laſt Weſtminſter Parliament inclined to it; nobody ſo much oppoſed it as the Clergy, and the moſt Zealous Sons of that Church: And if they could or would not then ſee it to be reaſonable, I cannot ſee why one ſhould truſt to people ſo ſelfiſh and ſhort-ſighted. But if ſhe will ſtoop to all thoſe diſſenting intereſts that are Proteſtant, it muſt either be by a Comprehenſion, and then ſhe muſt part with her Biſhops, her Common-prayer, her Ceremonies, and this itſelf is but Preſbyterian; (and ſhe muſt go lower yet, if ſhe will comprehend the reſt) or, if not, ſhe muſt *perſecute*, or give this Liberty of Conſcience at laſt; which, that ſhe will ever yield to uncompelled, and at a time too when there is none to do it, while ſhe refuſes it under her preſent preſſing circumſtances, I confeſs I cannot apprehend. But there is yet one argument that can never fail to oblige your compliance with the general eaſe intreated, viz. 'That the Penal Laws are againſt our Great Law 'of Property, and ſo void in themſelves.' This has been the language of every Apology; and that which, to ſay true, is not to be anſwered: How then can you decline to help their repeal, that in Conſcience, Reaſon and Law, you think void in their own nature?

Laſtly, There is nothing that can put you in a condition to help yourſelves, or the Church of England, againſt the Domination of Popery, but that which ſhe weakly thinks the way to hurt you both, viz. 'The Repeal of the Penal Laws.' For, as you are, you are tied hand and foot; you are not your own men; you can neither ſerve her nor yourſelves; you are faſt in the ſtocks of her laws, and the courſe ſhe would have you take, is to turn Martyrs under them to ſupport them: If you like the bargain, you are the beſt-natured people in the world, and ſomething more. And ſince *Begging* is in faſhion, I ſhould deſire no other Boon; for upon ſo plain a loſs of your Wits, your Eſtates will of courſe fall a Stray to the Government, ſo that without the help of a Penal Law, you make an admirable prize.

I have no mind to end ſo pleaſantly with you; I have a ſincere and Chriſtian regard to you and yours. Be not cozened, nor captious, at this juncture. I know ſome of you are told, 'If you loſe this Liberty, you introduce *Idolatry*, and for Conſcience Sake you 'cannot do it.' But that is a pure miſtake, and improved, I fear, by thoſe that know it ſo, which makes us the worſe; for it is not introducing Idolatry, (taking for granted that Popery is ſo) but ſaving the people from being *deſtroyed* that profeſs that Religion. If Chriſt and his Apoſtles had taken this courſe with the world, they muſt have *killed* them, inſtead of *converting* them. It is your miſtake, to think the *Jewiſh* rigorous *Conſtitution* is adequate to the *Chriſtian Diſpenſation*; by no means: That one Conceit of Judaiſing Chriſtianity in our Politicks, has filled the world with miſery, of which this poor kingdom has had its ſhare. Idolaters are to be *enlightened* and *perſuaded*, as St. Paul did the Athenians and Romans, and not *knocked on the head*, which mends nobody. And to ſay a Chriſtian *Magiſtrate* is to do that, that a *Chriſtian* cannot do, is ridiculous; unleſs, like the Biſhop of Munſter, who goes like a *Biſhop* one part of the day, and a *Soldier* the other, he is to be a Chriſtian in the *Morning*, and a Magiſtrate in the *Afternoon*. Beſides, it is one thing to enact a Religion National, and compel Obedience to it, (which would make this caſe abominable indeed) and another thing to take off Chriſtian Penalties for the ſake of ſuch miſtakes; ſince that is to give them power to hurt others, and this only to ſave you from being hurt for mere *Religion*.

To conclude my Addreſs to you: Of all people, it would look the moſt diſingenuous in you, and give you an air the leaſt ſenſible, charitable and Chriſtian, not to endeavour ſuch an eaſe, that have ſo much wanted it, and ſo often and ſo earneſtly preſſed it, even to clamour. But that you ſhould do it for their ſakes who have uſed you ſo, and that the inſtrtiments of their cruelty, the *Penal Laws*, ſhould from a common grievance become a darling to any among you, will be ſuch a reproach to your Underſtandings and Conſciences, that no time or argument can wipe off, and which I beſeech God and you to prevent.

The CONCLUSION.

I Shall conclude with one argument, that equally concerns you all, and that is this; you claim the Character of *Engliſhmen*. Now to be an *Engliſhman*, in the ſenſe of the goverment, is to be a *Freeman*, whether Lord or Commoner, to hold his liberty and poſſeſſions by Laws of *his own conſenting unto*, and not to forfeit them upon facts made faults, by humour, faction, or partial intereſt prevailing in the governing part

1687. againſt the Conſtitution of the kingdom; but for faults only, that are ſuch in the nature of civil government; to wit, 'Breaches of thoſe Laws that are made by the Whole, in 'purſuance of common Right, for the Good of the Whole.'

This regard muſt at no time be neglected, or violated towards any one intereſt; for the moment we concede to ſuch a breach upon our General Liberty, be it from an averſion we carry to the principles of thoſe we expoſe, or ſome little ſiniſter and temporary benefit of our own, we ſacrifice ourſelves in the prejudices we draw upon others, or ſuffer them to fall under; for our intereſt in this reſpect is common. If then, as Engliſhmen, we are as mutually intereſted in the inviolable conſervation of each other's Civil Rights, as men embarked in the ſame veſſel are to ſave the ſhip they are in for their own ſakes, we ought to watch, ſerve and ſecure the intereſt of one another, becauſe it is our own to do ſo; and not by any means endure that to be done to pleaſe ſome narrow regard of any one party, which may be drawn in example at ſome other turn of power to our own utter ruin.

Had this honeſt, juſt, wiſe and Engliſh conſideration prevailed with our anceſtors of all opinions from the days of Richard the Second, there had been leſs blood, impriſonment, plunder, and beggary for the government of this Kingdom to anſwer for. Shall I ſpeak within our own knowledge, and that without offence? There has been ruined, ſince the late king's Reſtoration, above *Fifteen thouſand Families*, and more than *Five thouſand Perſons* dead under bonds for matters of meer *Conſcience* to God: But who hath laid it to heart? It is high time now we ſhould, eſpecially when our king, with ſo much grace and goodneſs, leads us the way.

I beſeech you all, if you have any reverence towards God, and value for the excellent conſtitution of this kingdom, any tenderneſs for your poſterity, any love for yourſelves, you would embrace this happy conjuncture, and purſue a common expedient; that ſince we cannot agree to meet in one *Profeſſion of Religion*, we may entirely do it in this *Common Civil Intereſt* where we are all equally engaged; and therefore we ought for our own ſakes to ſeek one another's ſecurity, that if we cannot be the better, we may not be the worſe for our perſuaſions, in things that bear no relation to them, and in which it is impoſſible we ſhould ſuffer, and the Government eſcape, that is ſo much concerned in the civil ſupport and proſperity of every party and perſon that belongs to it.

Let us not therefore uphold Penal Laws againſt any of our Religious Perſuaſions, nor make Teſts out of each other's Faiths, to exclude one another our civil Rights; for by the ſame reaſon that *denying* Tranſubſtantiation is made one to exclude a *Papiſt*, to *own* it, may be made one to exclude a Church of England Man, a Preſbyterian, and Independent, a Quaker, and Anabaptiſt: For the queſtion is not who is in the right in Opinion, but whether he is not in Practice in the wrong, that for ſuch an Opinion deprives his neighbour of his common Right? Now it is certain there is not one of any party, that would willihgly have a Teſt made out of his Belief, to abridge him of his native privilege; and therefore neither the the Opinion of *Tranſubſtantiation* in the Papiſts, *Epiſcopacy* in the Church of England Man, *Free-will* in the Arminian, *Predeſtination* in the Preſbyterian, *Particular Churches* in the Independent, *Dipping of adult People* in the Anabaptiſts, nor *Not Swearing* in the Quaker, ought to be made a *Teſt* of, to deprive him of the comforts of his life, or render him incapable of the ſervice of his country, to which by a natural obligation he is indebted, and from which, no Opinion can diſcharge him; and for that reaſon much leſs ſhould any other party think it fit, or in their power to exclude him.

And indeed it were ridiculous to talk of giving Liberty of Conſcience (which yet few have now the forehead to oppoſe) and at the ſame time imagine thoſe Teſts that do exclude men that ſervice and reward, ought to be continued: For though it does not immediately concern me, being neither Officer nor Papiſt, yet the conſequence is general, and every party, even the Church of England, will find herſelf concerned upon reflection; for ſhe cannot aſſure herſelf it may not come to be her turn.

But is it not an odd thing, that by leaving them on foot, every body ſhall have Liberty of Conſcience but the *Government*? For while a man is out of Office, he is Teſt-free; but the hour he is choſen to any Station, be it in the Legiſlation or Adminiſtration, he muſt *wiredraw* his Conſcience to hold it, or be excluded with the brand of Diſſent: And can this be equal or wiſe? Is this the way to employ men for the good of the publick, where 'Opinion prevails above Virtue, and Abilities are ſubmitted to the humour 'of a Party?' Surely none can think this a Cure for Diviſion, or that animoſities are like to be prevented by the only ways in the world that beget and heighten them. Nor is it poſſible that the Eaſe that ſhould be granted can continue long, when the Party in whoſe favour they are not repealed, may thereby be enabled to turn the point of the ſword again upon Diſſenters.

I know Holland is given in objection to this extent of freedom, where only *One Perſuaſion* has the *Government*, though the reſt their Liberty: But they do not conſider, firſt, how much more Holland is under the power of neceſſity than we are. Next, that

our

Conſtitutions differ greatly. For the firſt, it is plain, in the little Compaſs they live in; the uncertainty and precariouſneſs of the means of their ſubſiſtence: That as they are in more danger of Drowning, ſo nearer ruin by any Commotion in the State, than other countries are. *Trading* is their ſupport; *this* keeps them buſy, *that* makes them rich; and Wealth naturally gives them Caution of the diſorders that may ſpoil them of it. This makes the governing party wary how they uſe their Power, and the other intereſts tender how they reſiſt it; for upon it, they have reaſon to fear a Publick Deſolation; ſince Holland has not a natural and domeſtick fund to rely upon, or return to, from ſuch national diſorders.

The next conſideration is as clear and cogent; our Conſtitutions differ mightily: For though they have the name of a Republick, yet in their Choice, in order to the Legiſlature, they are much leſs *free* than we are: And ſince the Freeholders of all the parties in England may *elect*, which in Holland they can no more do than they can be choſen, there is good reaſon why all may be elected to ſerve their king and country here, that in Holland cannot be choſen or ſerve. And if our power to *chuſe* be larger than theirs in Holland, we are certainly then a *freer* people, and ſo ought not to be confined, as they are, about what perſon it is that muſt be choſen: Methinks it bears no proportion, and therefore the inſtance and objection are improper to our purpoſe.

But it is ſaid by ſome, 'That there cannot be Two predominant Religions; and if 'the Church of England be not that, *Popery*, by the king's favour, is like to be ſo.' It is certain that Two predominant religions would be two Uppermoſts at once, which is nonſenſe every-where: But as I cannot ſee what need there is for the Church of England to loſe her Churches or Revenues; ſo while ſhe has them, believe me, ſhe is predominant in the thing of the world that lies neareſt her Guides. But if I were to ſpeak my inclination, I cannot apprehend the neceſſity of any *Predominant* religion, underſtanding the word with *Penal Laws* in the tail of it: The miſchief of it, in a country of ſo many powerful intereſts as this, I can eaſily underſtand, having had the opportunity of ſeeing and feeling it too: And becauſe nothing can keep up the ball of vengeance like ſuch a *Predominant* religion, and that Penal Laws and Teſts are the means of the Domination, I, for that reaſon, think them fit to be repealed, and let *Engliſh* Mankind ſay, *Amen*.

I do not love quibbling; but it is true, to a lamentation, that there is little of the *Power* of Religion ſeen where there is ſuch a *predominant* one, unleſs among thoſe it domineers over.

I conclude, they that are ſo predominant, and they that ſeek to be ſo (be they who they will) move by the ſame ſpirit and principle; and however differing their pretenſions and ends may be, the odds are very little to me, by which it is I muſt certainly be oppreſſed.

Dare we then do (for once) as we would be done by, and ſhow the world, we are not religious without *Juſtice*, nor Chriſtians without *Charity*; that *falſe* Self ſhall not govern us againſt *true* Self; nor Opportunity make us thieves to our neighbours, for God's ſake? the end of Teſting and Perſecuting under every revolution of Government! If this we can find in our hearts to do, and yet as Men, and as Chriſtians, as Engliſhmen, we do but do our duty, let the Penal Laws and Teſts be repealed: And in order to it, let us now take thoſe meaſures of men and things, that may give our wiſhes and endeavours the beſt ſucceſs for the publick good, that our Poſterity may have more reaſon to bleſs our memories for their Freedom and Security, than for their Nature and Inheritance.

JUST

JUST MEASURES,

IN AN

EPISTLE OF PEACE AND LOVE

TO

Such Profeſſors of TRUTH as are under any Diſſatisfaction, about the preſent ORDER practiſed in the Church of CHRIST.

FRIENDS,

1692. I Have, with a deep ſenſe and ſorrow, often beheld the Diſtance and Diſſatisfaction you are under in reference to your ancient and faithful brethren, and that fellowſhip, which, I am ſure, was once very dear and valuable with you, and I would have the charity to hope, is what many of you deſire ſtill: And for your ſakes that would not willingly think amiſs, nor differ, nor divide from thoſe that otherwiſe you have an eſteem for and are in judgment one with, as to the Worſhip and Doctrines of Truth, I deſire to open my mind, both with tenderneſs and plainneſs; and if what I ſay has the voice and matter of peace and love in it, and may be helpful to you, in cloſing with your brethren again, I ſhall greatly rejoice: In which, know this, I ſeek you not in the Words of Man's Wiſdom, nor to raiſe Controverſy, nor for Victory, nor any By-ends, but for the ſake of that precious Fellowſhip and ſeamleſs Garment, in which the Truth clothed us all in the beginning, and with which it will clothe and comfort all its faithful ſervants and true friends to the end.

Firſt, I ſhall begin with the Difference, and what you have, both in conference and writing, alledged for the Ground of your Diſſatisfaction and Diſſent: Next, I ſhall conſider the Nature and Merit of it; and laſt of all, give my Senſe upon the whole Matter, in order to a better Underſtanding for the future.

That there is a Difference, is but too plain; for it has in ſome parts proceeded to a Separation, as well to Places of Worſhip, as in Matters of Diſcipline. The Ground of this Diſſatisfaction, upon which ſo great a Diſtance has been raiſed, you ſay is, 'Requiring your Compliance with ſome Practices relating to Diſcipline, particularly *Womens* Meetings about Marriages, before they are admitted to be ſolemnized among us; ſome of you thinking, that there is 'No Service for *Womens* Meetings at all;' others, 'No Service in their being *diſtinct* from Mens Meetings,' at leaſt, 'No Neceſſity for either, and therefore no neceſſary Compliance to be required and inſiſted upon, but every one left to their Liberty in Chriſt, leſt Impoſition and Formality ſhould prevail among us, as they have done in other religious ſocieties.' In this, I think, I have truly and fairly ſtated the caſe on your part, and given your objection to our practice, and the reaſon why you diſſent from it.

Now, Friends, I ſhall conſider the Nature and Merit of this Diſſatisfaction and Diſſent, wherein I beſeech your attention, patience, and candour, and I hope you will find, that we are clear of the Impoſition and Formality you object or fear.

In the firſt place, I do not find that you have any juſt cauſe to fear, in general, an infringement on your Chriſtian Liberty; ſince it has been, and is, moſt ſincerely declared by the Brethren, chiefly concerned in the good order and ſervice of the Church, that

that they have no thought or deſign of impoſing any thing upon the *Conſciences* of Friends; or, that Friends ought to have now, any more than at the beginning, any *other* Reaſon or Meaſure of Compliance or Conformity in Matters relating to God, than the *Conviction of the Light and Spirit* of *Chriſt in every Conſcience.* But there is this diſtinction to be conſidered well of, That the matters in difference are not ſuch as require ſuch an exerciſe and conviction of Conſcience as is pleaded, becauſe they relate not to *Faith* or *Worſhip.* Did they require *Faith*, or did they appertain to *Worſhip*, as if you were obliged to worſhip God only in ſuch a *Place*, *Time*, *Geſture*, *Raiment*, with ſuch *Words* and *Forms of Speech*, &c. (which has been the caſe of the Diſſenters from the National Church) your objection and plea were good: But this about which your diſſatisfaction ariſes, is purely Diſcipline in *Government*, and not in *Worſhip*; Formality in *Order*, and not in *Religion*: It is about Methods of regulateing ourſelves, as to the Civil or Outward Part of the Church, as we are a Society; how we may avoid Diſorder, and preſerve the Credit of our Society from Cenſure and Scandal.

For inſtance, ‘ To keep the Neceſſitous; as Poor, Aged, Sick, and Orphans: To ‘ reconcile Differences: To take care of Births, Marriages, and Burials: In fine, To ‘ prevent, rebuke, and reſtore diſorderly Walkers.’ To all which, I conceive, there is no need of an *Act* of *Faith*, or other *Exerciſe* of *Conſcience*, than as the Apoſtle exhorts, “ To be ready to every good word and work:” I mean, Here is nothing required to be *believed* as an *Article* of *Faith*; here is no *Novelty* or *Formality* in *Worſhip* introduced, or any thing propoſed as an end or ſervice for our Men and Womens Meetings, that can reaſonably admit of the raiſing of ſuch a ſcruple of conſcience; ſince the things propoſed are duties, that all Civil Societies, as well as Church-Fellowſhips, agree in, as requiſite to the ſupport of the *Reputation* of Fellowſhips and Societies.

Now this being the great and true End, Uſe and Service of our Men and Womens Meetings, and that it is the *End* that always denotes and conſtitutes the nature of the *Means*, it cannot juſtly be thought to be of the nature of *Impoſition* and *Formality*, as the words are commonly taken in an ill ſenſe, to expect the compliance of members of a Society to ſuch methods of Order as the Elders thereof have exhorted to, and the generality of the People have embraced, and which the moſt conſiderable part of thoſe that diſſent, declare they diſſent from, rather for fear of ſuffering an infringement of their *Chriſtian Liberty*, than any diſlike to the practice itſelf; I ſay, this cannot be called, or accounted, ſuch an Impoſition upon Conſcience, becauſe they are Expedients of *Order*, and Methods of Rule about things univerſally *agreed upon*: The *Thing* will not bear the Word: For inſtance; Becauſe I may ſay it is againſt my Conſcience to confeſs ſuch an Article or Doctrine of *Faith*, or to worſhip God after ſuch a preſcribed *Form*, that therefore it would ſound reaſonable for me to ſay, ‘ It is againſt ‘ my Conſcience to ſubmit to the Counſel of the Church for ending of *Differences*; ‘ and it is againſt my Conſcience, after having once told the Brethren I intend to mar‘ry ſuch a Woman, to come again a Fortnight, or a Month after, to aſk if they have ‘ informed themſelves of mine and the Woman's Clearneſs, both towards parents and ‘ other perſons, before we ſolemnize it?’ Surely this would look, to reaſonable people, an *over*-tender, or an *over*-righteous, or rather, indeed, an over-*free* and *large* Conſcience, that would ſcruple at Twice or Thrice publiſhing the Banns, to prevent Undutifulneſs to Parents, and Injury to Pre-engagements, when thoſe we profeſs to exceed, require in their communion that it be Thrice done. In like manner it would look very ſtrange in me, to call a Church-Care of circumſpect Walking up to the religious Principles of the Society that I have voluntarily embraced, ‘ An *impoſing*, or ‘ *over-driving* me.’

But you object, ‘ Why muſt we go before *Women?* and, Why Women *apart* from ‘ Men?’ This ſtill, Friends, can be no Impoſition, as is before expreſſed, becauſe it is no Matter of *Faith*, nor Practice of *Worſhip*, but a referring ſtill to our *External Order* of *Life*: And we ſay, ‘ Women as well as Men,’ becauſe they are concerned, for they are Part of the Church of Chriſt; and the Common Banns that are publiſhed in Churches (ſo called) or Markets, exclude not *Women* to make their Exception any more than *Men*. ‘ But why Women *apart?*’ ſay you. We think for a very good Reaſon; the Church increaſeth, which increaſes the Buſineſs of the Church; and Women, whoſe Baſhfulneſs will not permit them to ſay or do much as to Church-affairs before the Men, when by themſelves, may exerciſe their gifts of wiſdom and underſtanding, in a diſcreet care for their own Sex, at leaſt; which makes up not the leaſt part of the buſineſs of the Church; and this while the Men are upon *their* proper buſineſs alſo. So that as *Men* and *Women* make up the *Church*, *Men* and *Women* make up the *Buſineſs* of the Church; and therefore it is very reaſonable they ſhould be *Helpers together*, in doing the Church's Buſineſs, This way Women are made uſeful and ſerviceable in and to the Church, as were the “ Holy Women of Old,” that were ſo much commended by the Apoſtle, for Deaconneſſes indeed. And, as I ſaid before,

1692. their Buſineſſes being hereby diſtinct, *Two* Buſineſſes are doing doing at one and the ſame *Time*, and conſequently, there muſt needs be a greater diſpatch; which in country-places, and winter-ſeaſons, where Friends come Ten or Fifteen miles to Meetings, muſt needs be very convenient and comfortable. I may add, that there are divers things that ſeem peculiar to *Women*, that were not fit for *Men*, and in which Men did, and would, find themſelves often at a loſs; which renders their diſtinct meetings farther convenient.

Theſe are the reaſons and motives to the preſent Practice of the Church of Chriſt, without infringing Chriſtian Liberty, by *compelling* Conſcience to any matter of *Faith* or *Practice*, relating to Women; we meaning, by our whole Order and Government, no other thing than a Careful Eye and Check upon *Practice*; an expediency againſt *Irregularity* in *Converſation*, whether towards them that are without, or thoſe that are within the ſame communion, to which the Strong will ſubmit for the ſake of the Weak.

My own ſenſe upon this whole matter is, ‘That a miſapprehending the Intention of the Brethren, and an undiſtinguiſhing Zeal againſt Impoſitions on the one hand; and a Fear, on the other ſide, that thoſe who ſo miſtook and miſrendered the deſign of the Brethren, were either high-minded and unruly, or prone to undue liberty, or that they, not being the firſt promoters of this diſcipline in government, detracted from them that were, and ſo would leſſen the credit and authority of their endeavours, with ſuch as were peculiar favourers; and that, in fine, their diſſent tended to the breach of brotherly love and unity in the Church; I ſay my ſenſe is, That this on each ſide, with the Heats that followed, perhaps much worſe than the thing itſelf, gave life to the Diviſion, that thoſe that fear the Lord have truly mourned for.’ And ſince I have hinted the Heats that may have attended the management of this Difference, be not offended that I ſay, The Difference, through thoſe Heats, is now more in *Spirit* than *Fact*, in *Mind* than *Matter*: It is come in fact to this, ‘Whether the Care of *Converſation* ſhould belong to *Women* as well as *Men*, eſpecially relating to their *own Sex*, the Women being ſo great a Part of the Church?’ And over this, I think, you are got for the moſt part. 2. ‘Whether the Women may meet *ſeparately* from the Men?’ And for anſwer to this, be pleaſed to take notice of your own unavoidable conceſſions: You allow Meetings of Care in general, and do not deny *Women* abſolutely their ſhare among the *Men*, and that *particular* Members muſt be accountable to the *Society* they are of, in point of Converſation, according to the Rules embraced by the ſaid Society. I ſay, You own the *End*, you allow the *Means*, you refer the *Choice* of your Means to the *Society*; and *you*, as well as *we*, expect a Compliance with thoſe Rules. Then the queſtion is, ‘Whether, in fact, *Womens* Meetings be a Part of that Diſcipline the Church admits of?’ And it is evident, that the Church of God does, generally ſpeaking, receive and practiſe it, with ſatisfaction and advantage. I would therefore beſeech you, Friends, to ponder in your minds, upon what a narrow point your Diſtance ſtands, and that the main and tender point is allowed you, viz. ‘*Conſcience* is *Free*, and unconcerned in the queſtion;’ and the viſible ground of diſtance being ſo ſmall, weigh with yourſelves, by what has been, what may be, the conſequence of this lamentable breach.

I am as much for *Liberty* as any man; I ever was ſo, and hope I ever ſhall be for it; but we muſt refer it to a proper Object, or we ſhall abuſe what we do ſo much prize, and pervert one of the greateſt privileges we can pretend to. I do not mean, by the Liberty that we are to reſign to the benefit of *Society*, That which is *private* or *perſonal*: No, this does not enter into private or perſonal Liberty, concerning which, the Apoſtles taught us to bear, and not offend one another; as about Meats and Drinks; I may add Clothes, Houſes, Trades, &c. ſo as there be no Exceſs, for that is every-where wrong: Theſe things regard not Society, but a man's Self, and his *private* Liberty alone. What is it to the *Society*, what or when I *eat*, what ſort of *Clothing* I wear, or *Houſe* I live in, or *Trade* I will be of, ſo as Exceſs or Uncomelineſs be avoided? This is ſtill in my own power, and many like things, hard to be numbered, about which *Society* is not in the leaſt concerned, nor in which any member of it is interrupted, or called in queſtion. In the next place, we do alſo all agree, that Faith muſt not be *forced*, nor Worſhip *conſtrained*, for that grates upon *Conſcience*, which God only can effectually enlighten or rightly perſuade. But that bears not upon our queſtion, as I ſaid before; for the Compliance deſired in it, is about *Order*, not *Faith*; and that not about *Worſhip*, but *Converſation*; in which if you ſubmit your Liberty, it is for the Good of *Society*, and you have the returns of it in the Benefit and Comfort thereof. Do you ſerve, or take care of others, that before were *free* of that engagement? Others alſo were tied by the ſame rules, to ſerve and be concerned for *you*, that formerly owed you *no* obligation: And if *you* are under the Notice and Reproof of others, as to your Perſonal Conduct, they are equally under *yours* upon occaſion; ſo that you *loſe* nothing but what you *get*, nor *give* nothing but what you *receive* again; and to a *right* ſpirit and a *good* mind, this mutual ſervice will appear reaſonable, chriſtian, and requiſite. And as in no age, the reſiſter and gainſayers of *Care* and *Order*, in any of the Lord's eminent Servants, have paſſed without the Mark of God's Rebuke; ſo thoſe that have conteſted and oppoſed the Wiſdom of God in his faithful Servants, have ever failed of their purpoſe, and been finally manifeſted to have been led by a wrong ſpirit. And as obſervable it is, that thoſe by whom the Lord has eminently appeared, and who were the firſt inſtruments of his ſeveral diſpenſations to the ſons of men, have always exerciſed that authority among the people they have gathered, and have been conſtantly preſerved from falling away, though ſome or other have riſen againſt them with that clamour, as if they had ſet up themſelves, and were gone from what they taught or were, and took too much upon them. But what have they all come to? Read and judge.

Nor was it ever heard of, in the Dealings of God with the ſons of men, that he varied, or changed his diſpenſations in the Life-time of the Inſtruments of any of them, as ſome have been ready to imagine; nor yet in that Age in which he has brought them forth: Which engages me to beſeech you, in the bowels of the Love of CHRIST, our Only Root of Life and Light, and Love and Peace, "that you be like-minded "with your Friends and Brethren," and ſee that the Life and the Fellowſhip of the Truth be preſerved in the enjoyment and practice of Fellowſhip; which will be, if the Love of God, which firſt made us love one another, be kept in; for that is a Sovereign Antidote againſt all the poiſon of Diſcontent, Evil Jealouſy, and the Diviſions that are wont to follow. And inſtead of reproaching our Elders and Brethren, whom God has honoured, and whom we have honoured, and could have laid down our lives for, and who know nothing by themſelves, but that they are as true to the Lord, and in as good a condition in the Truth as ever they were, and have done, and intended in what they have done, as much the benefit of the Lord's People; I ſay, inſtead of reproaching them with uſurping Authority, and taking too much upon them, let us conſider, that thoſe whom we have received with ſo much reverent love, and as worthy of double honour in the greater things, are not unworthy to be heard and followed by us in leſſer matters: Let us regard and value their care, and love them for it. So true is that ſaying among men, 'That is well *ſpoken* which is well *taken*,' that the Bent and Purpoſe of a man's ſpirit, is that which gives the juſt reaſon of Acceptance or Rejection.

You have, dear Friends, judged too much after an *outward* appearance; and, you may ſee, not *truly* there neither. Open, therefore, your hearts, your ſouls and ſpirits, and taſte, with the divine ſenſe of the tender and meek Truth, the *Aim* and *End* of Brethren: Herein be a little more truly free and univerſal in your minds, and you will perceive this Care has a large and long proſpect for Good. The due exerciſe of your ſpiritual ſenſes, will anſwer all your objections, and ſatisfy every upright ſoul among you: But if you look out, miſtake Liberty, miſtake Impoſition, miſtake Formality, miſtake the Nature and End of things, and the Intention of your ancient Friends and Brethren in them, you will judge carnally, and be ready to think, as if *outward* rule and lordlineſs were aimed at, and a departing from the Truth; even whilſt our Care, in the ſight of the Lord, is for the Honour of it, in reference to the *Young*, the *Weak*, and ſuch as may be *Careleſs*, and ready to *fall aſleep*; for ſuch ſome yet are, and ſuch are yet like to be; and for *their* ſakes, a *Diſcipline*, as to *Converſation*, muſt be; as well as that there are natural Infirmities, as *Sickneſs*, *Age*, &c. that unavoidably call for it: Nor did, or can ever, any Community ſubſiſt without it; and the heats, prejudice, and rents, that have ariſen about the *How* or *Manner* of it, ſhew the oppoſition not to be right, nor of a good tendency; the End of that Order, in the minds and hands of thoſe from whom we joyfully received the teſtimony of the Truth, being the Glory of God, and Good of his People, as a *Primitive Chriſtian* Society.

To conclude: As this is not a plea for *Impoſition*, nor *Forms* of *Worſhip*, but *Forms* of *Diſcipline*, as to the government and behaviour of ourſelves in our Converſe, both with thoſe that are without, and thoſe that are within; and that there is no Viſible Communion, or Society, in this World of Bodies, but what is ſubject to them, and muſt in ſome ſort ſubſiſt by them; I beſeech you, that We, as becomes a reaſonable and modeſt People, and as dear Children, may be of "One Heart, and One Mind, "and walk together as thoſe that have been partakers of One Life, and that have "drank into One Spirit;" for, "It is a comely thing to ſee Brethren walk together "in Love."

O Friends, Let us labour againſt ſecret Animoſities, Watchings for Evil, Detractation, the ſin that flung the Angels out of their Heavenly Station: Let us ſee to our own ſpirits, how they are, if *meek*, *lowly*, *humble*, *tender*, by which the true and preſerving judgment is only known and felt; or, if not *high*, *fierce*, *hard*, and *prejudiced*; for a man may come to loſe a good frame of ſpirit upon very Trifles. It is not always what the *Matter* is the diſpute ariſes upon, but *how far* the thing is *eſpouſed*, and what place a man ſuffers it to have in his mind: If jealouſy, reputation, revenge, or contradiction, prevail, Diviſion muſt follow: Some are apt to reſent things too ſoon, and carry it too far, even to obſtinacy, through the workings of the Evil One in a myſtery; ſo that though the pretence of the quarrel may be ſome Fact or other, yet *that*

1692. has the leaſt ſhare oftentimes in the difference, it being inflamed and increaſed by the myſterious workings of the ſpirit of ſtrife and variance in the mind, according to an old ſaying, "The greateſt Feuds oftentimes ariſe from the ſlighteſt Cauſes." Let me beſeech and prevail with you to read and weigh the bent and force of the Apoſtle's ſpirit in Rom. xii. alſo xiv. 19. & xv. 4, 5, 6. and eſpecially xvi. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. verſes. Likewiſe 1 Cor. xiv. 32, 33. weighty places indeed. 2 Cor. xiii. Epheſ. iv. 1, 2, 3, 4. Phil. iii. 16, 17, 18, chap. iv. 8, 9. Col. iii. 12, 14, 15, 16. 1 Theſ. v. 12, 13, 14. 2 Theſ. iii. 4, 5, 6. He often commands Order and Obedience to the Apoſtolick Tradition in this Epiſtle, Tit. i. 15. chap. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Heb. xiii. 1. And, 1 Pet. iv. 8. All which exhort to "Peace, Brotherly-kindneſs, to be of One Mind, to "ſtudy One Thing." O follow the things that make for *Peace*, and do not contend, diſpute, and ſtrive one with another. A bleſſed doctrine, and it has a bleſſed reward. The Lord God Almighty diſpoſe your minds, my Friends, to a tender returning ſtate; and frighten not yourſelves with Deſigns (of the Brethren) that have no Being, but in *Jealouſy* and *Miſapprehenſion*: I beſeech you, in the Lord, lay down every Mark or Enſign of *Difference* or *Separation*, and behold our arms as open as ever to receive you, and let *your* Heart be as *our* Heart, and then *our* Meetings *your* Meetings: Let the Fear and Awe of the Lord, the becoming Love of his precious Truth, which is "Chriſt in us, "the hope of our glory," who gave himſelf for us, to redeem us from the Enmity, Death, and Curſe, which Diſobedience had laid us under, melt and cement us as one lump; fleſh of fleſh, and bone of bone; ſo ſhall our joy exceed our ſorrow, and tears be wiped from our eyes on this occaſion; and GOD, our exceeding great and glorious Rewarder, be our Crown, Portion, and Diadem for ever.

Yours,

In and for the Truth,

WILLIAM PENN.

THE NEW ATHENIANS NO NOBLE BEREANS:

Being Anſwers to ſeveral ATHENIAN MERCURIES,

IN BEHALF OF THE

PEOPLE called QUAKERS.

PART I.

In Anſwer to the Athenian Mercury *of the 7th Inſtant.*

I AM heartily ſorry to ſee men, profeſſing ſo much ingenuity, fall ſo much below their pretenſions. Your deſign, at firſt, carried the face of Inſtruction, and gave us hopes of a general improvement of uſeful Learning; and for that reaſon your papers were as welcome to us as any other people; eſpecially thoſe that referred to Natural Philoſophy, Mathematicks, and Hiſtory; inſomuch, that ſome of us collected them as they came out, and others bought them as they were compleated into Volumes; being much concerned if at any time trivial or light queſtions were conſidered, as an unworthy diverſion from the end by you in the beginning propoſed. But you have not only been led, upon ſuch occaſions, to exceed too often the bounds of Modeſty, but you have taken occaſion alſo to violate thoſe of Chriſtianity, in falling upon people's Opinions in Religion, inſtead of giving your own impartially; and upon their Perſons likewiſe, and at laſt, the Society itſelf; as if your buſineſs were to expoſe them, inſtead of informing them, and to increaſe animoſities, rather than to take up their time with more peaceable and profitable ſubjects. What if you were led to ſpeak of any Principle held by the People called Quakers? Could not that have been done as indifferent perſons, which you, by your very deſign, would beſpeak yourſelves to all perſuaſions, and not as party-diſputants and angry antagoniſts? Might not the Intention of the people have paſſed for good and ſincere, though any part of their Doctrine had, in your opinion, been unſound; but you muſt uſe hard words and names for both things and perſons? A ſober and unconcerned anſwer, upon any queſtion that might be ſent you relating to their belief, would have taken better with every body that deſerved your pains, and have brought us ſooner to reflect upon our miſtakes, if ſuch they were: But, in earneſt, it looks as if you were almoſt aground, and wanted matter, that ſo ſpecious a deſign as this firſt ſhewed itſelf, ſhould dwindle away into froward controverſy and perſonal invectives about Religion; or that you are not ſufficient for your work, that can ſo eaſily be moved out of your province. 1692.

1692. I beſeech you leave this prepoſterous digreſſion, and purſue your own buſineſs with more care and exactneſs; and, before you go, ſuffer yourſelves firſt to be a little better informed of what you have ſo irregularly and undeſervedly cenſured.

You take occaſion at theſe words, ‘ Truth is always perſecuted,’ to ſay, ‘ That will ‘ indifferently ſerve Turk, Jew, Heathen, or Heretick, as well as the Quakers.’ This is harſh and unchriſtian. Are none worſe than we? And we as great Hereticks as any? You judge before you convict us: It is too groſs partiality, and falſe in every degree. But whatever the perſecuted be, the Perſecutor, to be ſure, is always in the wrong; which is your caſe againſt the Quakers: But you recriminate, and will prove us perſecutors. That were to the purpoſe indeed. Let us hear it. ‘ You excommunicate ‘ ſuch as will not be ſubject to your injunctions:’ And good reaſon too, if they are injunctions of Civil Order. He that joins himſelf to any ſociety, is obliged to the Rules of that ſociety; and every ſociety has, and muſt have, that power upon the members that conſtitute it, or confuſion follows, and the ſociety diſſolves. For inſtance, injunctions about ‘ Civil Controverſies, Care of poor Orphans, due and orderly pro‘ ceedings relating to Marriages,’ &c. are to be complied with, without the reproach of Perſecution: And yet farther too; look upon what principles of communion any perſon enters into any ſociety, if he leave them, or any of them, it is no perſecution to diſown him in that thing wherein he alters, ſo that it touches not Perſon or Eſtate; for that is perſecution in a proper ſenſe; which is not our caſe. But we ‘ Impriſon ‘ ſuch as diſturb our Meetings.’ How this will be proved, is hard to tell; and yet if it be perſecution, it will light hardeſt elſewhere, even upon thoſe, perhaps, that you account us Hereticks for ſeparating from. But, thanks be to God, we can and do deny the charge. ‘ See,’ ſay you, ‘ Francis Bugg's One Blow more:’ But if this be *Athenian*, it is not *Berean*, to condemn an whole people upon another man's authority, that you are not aſſured was well grounded. Beſides, it is a book we have anſwered; which you take no notice of; and that is unfair, if you knew of it; and if you did not, you ought to have aſked, before you had eſpouſed another man's allegations. This is not anſwerable to that candor you profeſs; and we muſt tell you, that Francis Bugg is an *Apoſtate Quaker*, an angry, unreaſonable and clamorous man; often and again detected, and proved inconſiſtent with himſelf; and you will find, in the iſſue, of no reputation to your charge againſt us. But did you ever read our *Orders of Diſcipline*, or have you been ever eye or ear-witneſſes of our *Injunctions upon Conſcience?* If you have, you ſhould have mentioned them, and ſhewn us our fault; but your evidence here, is what a diſcontented man ſays, who ſpeaks *ex parte*, and is judge in his own cauſe, againſt a body of people he was once among, and zealous for; who, upon a private controverſy, becauſe he had not his own will, took pet at thoſe that could not be brought to humour him; and from thence ran out from the very profeſſion of a Quaker; which ſhews the foundation wrong, that quits a Principle, for being diſpleaſed in a Man or Men. What will become of ſociety, if ſuch humours are uncontroulable, or they muſt give the rule or law to the whole?

Your next proof of our being perſecutors, is from a paſſage of Geo. Fox and Geo. Roff, in their Letters to O. Cromwel, by which we perceive your new acquaintance, and with what Tools you work; which we are ſorry for, both for your ſakes and theirs. But thoſe paſſages are plainly wreſted by you; for they adviſe O. Cromwel to go on in the work he was called to; and what was that, pray? Is there one word of *impoſing* religion upon the people of thoſe countries, or forcing them to abjure or renounce their own? No, not a tittle of it. Where then is the Perſecution? But inaſmuch as they were countries that did perſecute, by which means the Truth of God had not a free entrance or paſſage, but Inquiſitions in Popiſh, and Conſiſtories in Proteſtant Governments, ſuppreſſed all that conformed not to their reſpective Eſtabliſhments; therefore he ſhould have made it his buſineſs to open the way for a true Liberty of Conſcience, that Truth might not ſuffer under Violence, nor Perſecution for Conſcience ſake oppreſs its Profeſſors. This is the Upſhot of thoſe paſſages, their very ſcope and tendency, as will appear to any impartial reader, that will pleaſe to weigh them with what goes before and follows. But if you call this perſecution, to be ſure it muſt be ſo to fight for Religion: And if it was unlawful for O. Cromwel to fight for Liberty of Conſcience, who was of a fighting principle, what think you of puniſhing people becauſe of their Conſcience, that would not fight with you? You are very tender of a ſudden, if it may but bruſh at us; while you do not conſider the blow you give yourſelves and your own friends, that have but too ſignally appeared in that ſpirit and practice. The Lord inform, and forgive them.

You juſtify calling us ‘ ſilly Enthuſiaſts,’ for believing ‘ it is not lawful to ſwear;’ and ſay, ‘ you are of the ſame mind, becauſe we, without reaſon, by the dictates of ‘ our own fancy, which we call God's Spirit, oppoſe the ſaints practice of old; of ‘ which it was propheſied it ſhould be uſed under the Goſpel, was ſo by the Apoſtles ‘ and Primitive Chriſtians, nay, by God himſelf; therefore the Quakers are ſilly En‘ thuſiaſts.’ Thus you.

Now we think this will not prove us *Enthuſiaſts*, nor *Silly*; for we argue from a Text, and not our own dreams and fancies. Had we only pretended the authority of a private revelation for this aſſertion, and that not true, then it had been *Enthuſiaſm*, and we *Enthuſiaſts*, in the worſt ſenſe: It is ſilly *indeed*, to call an Opinion grounded upon an expreſs Text of Scripture, either Enthuſiaſm or Silly, when there is not a plainer text for One God, than this of our Saviour's againſt Swearing, Matt. v. 34. "Swear not at all." But if we had overſtrained it, where is the Sillineſs of it? Is it Enthuſiaſm, or Silly, to ſhut out all *vain* Swearing, by ſhutting out *all* Swearing? The advantage of that exceeds the diſadvantage of Lying in evidence, when that Lying is made as puniſhable as Forſwearing. What Sillineſs or Enthuſiaſm is in this, pray you? Scotland and Holland think no ſuch thing, that have indulged that tenderneſs.

And if the Text be but ſeriouſly conſidered, the Inference we make is beyond exception.

Firſt, The tendency of that Sermon upon the Mount, is to ſhew, that the righteouſneſs of the Goſpel excels that of the Law; as in the caſe of Adultery, Divorce, Revenge, &c. But the Law forbad *falſe* and *vain* Swearing; therefore this muſt refer to that which was *not* forbidden under the Law. This is acknowledged by many learned men, and in particular one of our own nation, Biſhop Sanderſon, in his "Latin Lectures, of the Obligation of an Oath:" But we, for another reaſon, that ſhall anon be mentioned, think he yet narrows the extent of that Evangelical Precept, for he refers to *Vows* only, and not Swearing in any caſe; but we, to *Swearing at all*. And our reaſons are, Firſt, If it had been *Vows* only, there had been no need of ſubſtituting any way of Speaking in the room of it. And, Secondly, If the text cannot therefore refer to Vows in particular, *Swearing at all* muſt be intended; or nothing is forbidden, that was not forbidden under the Law. Thirdly, Chriſt's prohibiting Swearing, and ſubſtituting ſomething in the room of it, and that Something purely referring to the Way and Manner of Chriſtians declaring the Truth, it is, to us, evident, that he comprehended all caſes wherein the Truth of a thing is in doubt, and conſequently the End of Swearing: So, ſays Chriſt, "Let your ὁ λόγος, your Speech, or your Word, be Yea, Yea; or Nay, Nay." It is rendered *Communication* in our tranſlations, that it might refer only to common Diſcourſe, that word being ſometimes ſo underſtood; and yet Communication comprehends all acts of Juſtice, as well as other parts of life: For if it comprehends Diſcourſe in Dealing, it alſo comprehends the Evidence of that dealing, and the Laws of juſt dealing; and conſequently the word *Communication* cannot leſſen the real force of our ſenſe of the Text; but the words of the Text do plainly expreſs a *Degree*, if not a *Form*, of declaring Truth, be it *Yea* or *Nay*. And ſince Truth-ſpeaking takes in and relates to Controverſies among men, as well as other parts of human Converſe, this Text is a *Meaſure* of Truth-ſpeaking on all thoſe occaſions alſo. Fourthly, Now how far Chriſtian men may go in declaring the truth, or where they are to be bounded, the Text is plain, viz. a *double*, but *bare*, Averrment, or Denial: "Let your Word or Speech be *Yea, Yea*; *Nay, Nay*: That is, 'Let your anſwers, whenever you are aſked the truth of a matter, go no farther than a *ſimple Affirmation*, or *Negation*, which you may double, if you pleaſe.' Fifthly, The Reaſon Chriſt gives for bounding his followers within Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, excludes all Oaths, yea, all that is *more* than *Yea, Yea*, and *Nay, Nay*; to wit, that "they come of *Evil*," becauſe they proceed from Diſtruſt, Infidelity and Impatience: A ſimple Aſſertion declares truth; more, is a *Straining* of the mind, and but to ſtoop to unreaſonable Incredulity, which hath an evil riſe. Now what is *more* than *Yea, Yea*; and *Nay, Nay*? Why *Imprecations* are more, an outward *Sign* denoting an Oath is more than *Yea, Yea*; and *Nay, Nay*; and conſequently cometh of *Evil*, becauſe below a Chriſtian's Truth and Sincerity to gratify. Sixthly; And truly the Text is ſo far from excluding judicial Caſes, that it ſerves chiefly to relate to Evidence upon Differences. 1. Becauſe it is in the Room of the Swearing the Law allowed, which was *true* Swearing: And, 2. Becauſe of *doubling* the aſſertion *Yea, Yea*; for a *ſingle* Yea is enough for a Chriſtian in ordinary Caſes. Well, but you oppoſe to this, the prophecy, Iſaiah, xix. verſ. 18. to which, if you pleaſe, we will add two more, chap. xlv. 23. and Jer. iv. 2. and make your beſt of them: For beſides that it begs the queſtion, that the prophet treated of Goſpel-times, and not of ſome happy time before the period of *their* diſpenſation, God might ſpeak to them in the Language of *their* time to be interpreted in a more *ſpiritual* ſenſe; and this the place quoted by you ſhews: For, verſ. 21, mention is made of *Oblation* and *Sacrifice*, that ſhall be offered in that day, which, in a *Jewiſh* ſenſe, is not true of Goſpel-times; but in a Goſpel-ſenſe, to wit, *Prayers* and *Praiſings*, with *Heart* and *Voice*, is true. So it is in the caſe of Swearing, they ſhall *ſwear* in that day, as they *ſacrifice* in that day; that is, 'a Chriſtian's *Oath* ſhall be his *Solemn Word*; and the difference is not greater between them, than between the ſacrifices and oblations of *Beaſts* and *Birds* under the Law, and the ſpiritual ſacrifices and oblations of the *Hearts*, *Wills* and *Affections* of people under the Goſpel: And thus, you ſee, that prophecy ſtands you in little ſtead.

1692. But you object the practice of the Apoſtle, Rom. i. 9. "God is my Witneſs." 2 Cor. xi. 31. "God knoweth I lie not." Gal. i. 20. "Before God I lie not." And you add, 'If theſe are not formal Oaths, you would fain know what are?' In which, if you will not be offended, we will ſay, as well as think, you have not been ingenuous to be ſo hard upon us, before you had firſt ſtated and agreed with us what an Oath is; for if that be diſputable, (as it may be for what you have done to ſettle it) you argue at random. Premiſes muſt ever be agreed by diſputants, or nothing can follow clearly and ſatisfactorily. We may ſay the ſame thing you ſay, without allowing it the ſame force and extent; nay ſwear, perhaps, in *your* opinion, though not in our own; the ſame Words being an Oath, and not an Oath, as they may be uſed and applied in different manners. For if you ſhould think *that* an Oath, which we think *none*, and you argue for Swearing by proofs, which for that reaſon are none to us; how do you prove ſwearing *lawful*, or convince us that not ſwearing *at all* is ſilly and enthuſiaſtical, when you have not yet adjuſted *what is* Swearing *at all?* This had been well worth your *Mercury*, for it had been informing, and ſhown good reading.

But you put it off thus, after citing the Apoſtle's words, "God is my witneſs," &c. 'If theſe are not formal Oaths, we would fain know what are.' In which you ſhift your poſt, and turn Queriſts, inſtead of anſwering queſtions.

But having ſuch ſuppoſed able men to deal with, we are not willing to put it off ſo; and therefore return it upon you, to ſtate what an Oath *is*, which you ſo zealouſly recommend; denying, on our part, any of thoſe texts to *be* an Oath; as did Baſil the Great, upon Pſalm xv. And Gregory Nazianzen, in his 'Dialogue againſt Swearing:' And Biſhop Sanderſon, in his 'Defence of Joſeph, in his Oxford Lectures;' which will much better defend the Apoſtle from your imputation.

For what you ſay of Tertullian, you wrong him extremely, and your reader alſo, by not telling him where to find it: For in his Apology, Chap. xxxii. whence, we ſuppoſe, your objection is taken, he does equivocally and improperly own Swearing, 'That they *ſwore*, though not by the Genius of Cæſar, yet, for the Health and Safety of Cæſar, juſt as they did *ſacrifice*.' *Hoc ſalvum eſſe volumus, & pro magno id juramento habemus.* 'Our wiſhing well to Cæſar, we have, or account, *for* an Oath, or *inſtead* of an Oath. And, as the Pythagoreans ſay, 'There is in all reaſonable creatures an Oath or Tie, viz. A Mind not to tranſgreſs the Law of God:' And, as Clemens Alexandrinus ſpeaks, 'That a *good* man ſwears by his *deeds*.' So Tertullian urged upon them, 'That the Chriſtians ſacrificed for the Health of Cæſar as well as they; but it was in the Chriſtian way, by *pure Prayers*.' So that *as* he was for *Sacrifice*, he was for *Swearing*. Thus to Scapula. C. 1. 2.

And in his Book of Idolatry, Chap. xi. 'I ſpeak not of *Perjury*,' ſays he, 'becauſe it is not lawful to *ſwear*.' And, Chap. xxxi. 'He that ſigns a bill of ſecurity, containing an Oath, is guilty of Swearing, and tranſgreſſes Chriſt's command, who hath commanded *not* to Swear.' And ſpeaking of the temptations Chriſtians were expoſed to, if they ſhould launch into the traffick of the world, he adds, 'Not to ſpeak of Forſwearing, ſeeing it is not lawful ſo much as to Swear.'

We are the longer upon this, becauſe he is one of your authorities. Your other is Athanaſius, 'That he purged himſelf by an Oath, pleading the Apoſtle's Example.' Which, by the way, looks like an excuſe for doing it, and as if in other caſes he did not allow it. But pray take the pains to read his Annotations upon Chriſt's Paſſion, and you will find, firſt, that he denies *all* Swearing; and upon *our* grounds. 'The Evangelical Sentence,' ſays he, of the Lord, is, "Let your *Yea* be Yea, and your *Nay*, Nay:" Thus far we, who are in Chriſt, may confirm our words with Aſſeverations, but come no nearer to an Oath.'

To this he himſelf objects the common opinion, 'That God Swore,' He anſwers it, 'That God did *not*, properly and formally, *ſwear*, nor could *not*; for the Nature of an Oath is to ſwear by that which is *Greater* and *Better* than *one's ſelf*, Heb. vi. 16. But, if any thing,' ſays he, 'this muſt be ſaid, His *Word* is an Oath to Man for Verity, becauſe of his *Faithfulneſs* and *Truth*.' And he will not have the *Apoſtle* to have *ſworn*, nor the moſt celebrated Fathers of and before his time. So that we return it upon you, that if at any time they uſed thoſe expreſſions of the Apoſtle, it was in Church matters, and becauſe they did not think it an Oath. And if you will pleaſe to turn to Juſtin Martyr's Second Apology, pag. 63, you will find he is of the ſame mind; 'We ſhould *ſpeak*, but not *ſwear*, the Truth;' and vouches Chriſt's authority, Matt. v. for it. Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. 7. and Tertullian's contemporary, Cyprian, Hilary, Greg. Nyſſen, Cæſarius, Epiphanius, Ambroſe, and Chryſoſtom above all the reſt, ſtiled the Golden Doctor or Father, out of whoſe diſcourſe, upon this ſubject, we obſerve theſe five things:

1. 'That Oaths are not lawful under the Goſpel.'
2. 'The Reaſon of it, that their Evangelical Verity is the Chriſtian, and a better, ſecurity.'

3. ' That the Riſe of an Oath is Infidelity and Diſtruſt, which are from Evil, and that is below a Chriſtian State; for he that dare not Swear, which once was permitted, dare not Lye, which never was permitted; and therefore his Yea is Yea, and his Nay, Nay.

4. ' That Swearing was a Condeſcenſion to a weak and low ſtate of the world, to divert people from ſwearing by falſe Gods, which was the evil cuſtom of thoſe times; as if God ſhould ſay, " I will ſuffer you to ſwear, if you will ſwear by *me*, that am the *true* God, and not by their falſe Gods:" And that from hence came his command to ſwear by *him*, not for the ſake of *Swearing*, but to avoid *Idolatry*.

5. ' That this principle is the only means of rooting all Evil Swearing out of the world.' Take the cure for this moſt pernicious and epidemical diſtemper, in the words of Baſil the Great.

' The Remedy conſiſteth in a twofold admonition: Firſt, Not to ſwear *at all:* Secondly, To ſuppreſs the *Form* of Oaths.' I will cloſe with what the Inſtitutions ſay, that go under the name of Clemens Romanus. ' Our Maſter hath commanded that we ſhould *not* ſwear, no not by the *true* God; but that our *Word* ſhould be more credible than an *Oath*.' This Clemens was very ancient, you know, ſince the Apoſtle Paul mentions him, and that to him ſome of the ancients aſcribe the Epiſtle to the Hebrews.

We hope, after you have conſidered the authorities that ſupport this doctrine, you will be ſo charitable at leaſt to allow that we are neither *Silly*, nor *Enthuſiaſts*, for aſſerting it. This comprehending your anſwers and exceptions to the queries upon this ſubject (for againſt a Command ſo plainly proved, they muſt fall of courſe) we are under no obligation to conſider them; and yet they ſhall not paſs our notice, though it were but to let you ſee how little they deſerve it.

The firſt Query is, ' If Chriſt's Coming did not ſuperſede Oaths, ſince it was to end Sin, the Occaſion of Oaths?' The ſecond, ' If man, improving the means given him to anſwer that end, may not obtain it?' I put them together, becauſe you give the ſame anſwer to both, which is negative; and for the ſame reaſon, viz. ' Becauſe Chriſt did not come to end Sin:' And your reaſon for that is, ' That if Chriſt intended to have ended Sin by his Coming, it had been ended, which is not ſo, and therefore it was not the end of his coming.' This oppoſes as plain a Text as is in the Bible, 1 John iii. 5, 6. " And ye know he was manifeſt to take away our ſins. Whoſoever abideth in him ſinneth not; whoſoever is born of God doth not commit ſin." The Angel thus declared the End of his Coming, Mat. i. 21. Chriſt commands Perfection, ch. v. 48. " Be ye perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect." The heavenly leaven was given to leaven the *whole* lump, chap. xiii. 33. The Apoſtle deſired, " That the Chriſtians of his time might be ſanctified *throughout* in Body, Soul and Spirit;" which leaves out no Part of Man, nor no Part of any Part unſanctified, 1 Theſ. v. 23. and exhorted them to " preſs forward to the Mark," which was a *perfect* Man, even " to the Meaſure of the Fulneſs of Chriſt." Phil. iii. 14, 15. Eph. iv. 13. In which paſſages the end of Chriſt's coming, and the work and bleſſing of the Goſpel, was to end *Sin*, both as to the guilt and nature of it; and to ſanctify and regenerate the ſoul. Read Phil. i. 10. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Tit. iii. 5. Heb. ii. 11.

2. Your reaſon is both weak and dangerous: For if all comes to paſs that Chriſt intends, then he intended not the converſion of Jeruſalem, notwithſtanding he lamented it ſo, becauſe it came not to paſs. Again, If Chriſt intended to take away the Guilt and Power of Sin, it ſhould accordingly be taken away: But in whole nations or believers, how very few can ſay it, or can you ſay it of? Nor know you but that there are ſome that walk " *blameleſly*" now, as well as then. Your Ignorance, is no argument to the contrary: A Principle may be true, for all mens Practices; and God's End for good to Man, though man may fruſtrate it to himſelf.

3. The Scriptures you urge are againſt you, Jam. iii. 2. Here we will join iſſue with you, this chapter being a ſtrong proof of our point; yea this very verſe: For it ſuppoſes a *perfect* man, which you deny; and by the ſimilies of a *bridle* and an *helm*, it ſhews how a man can come to be ſo. But, ſay you, in the name of the Apoſtle, " In many things we offend all:" Yet conſider, pray, that the Apoſtle included himſelf no more there, than verſe 9, where ſpeaking of the Tongue, he alſo ſaith, " Therewith bleſs we God, and therewith curſe we men." You cannot therefore think, I hope, that the Apoſtle was a *Curſer*; but it was a way of ſpeaking to fetch in the Guilty, and the better to reach them, by *perſonating* them, or involving *himſelf* among them.

Hear again the ſame Apoſtle, in this very chapter, verſ. 11, 12. " Doth a fountain ſend forth at the ſame place ſweet water and bitter? Can the fig-tree, my brethren, bear olives?" ' Yes,' ſay the *Athenians*; ' No,' ſay the *Quakers*. Pray who keeps cloſeſt to the text? Hear him farther, verſe 17. and chap. i. 27. he tells you the Nature and End of their Religion. In few words, *Humanity* and *Purity*, *Bowels* and *Holineſs*; they are the pure religion and undefiled in God's ſight, in his account; not

1692. *Creeds*, but *Practice*; not *Profeſſion*, though of true words, but *Experience* and *Good Living*. And, without offence, had you been of this religion, you would have been leſs exceptious at us and ours. Your next ſcripture is as unhappily choſen as the former, 1 John i. 8. "If we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive ourſelves, and the truth is "not in us." Now if you pleaſe but to read the verſe foregoing and following, perhaps you will ſee it is not to your purpoſe.

"If we walk in the Light as (God) is in the light, we have fellowſhip one with another, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſeth us from all ſin." Now follows your Text, "If we ſay we have no ſin," (that is, no ſin to be *cleanſed from*, no need of Chriſt to *take away* our ſins) "we deceive ourſelves, and the Truth is not in us." Obſerve now what follows, we deſire you; "If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and "juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs;" which comprehends both the *Guilt* and *Nature* of ſin. And that we have not miſinterpreted your text, the next and laſt verſe proves our ſenſe genuine; "If we ſay that we have not "ſinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us:" That is, 'If we ſay we 'have not ſinned, and ſo have no need of a Propitiation for ſins paſt, or to be cleanſed 'from the ſin that is preſent, we make God a Liar, that ſays we are ſinners, and 'therefore ſent us his Son to redeem us from ſin.' But now we will ſuppoſe your anſwers good to the two queries; pray what does that leſſen the Validity of not Swearing *at all*? Though men are not in all things perfect, may they not tell truth, and be believed, without the Force and Strain of an Oath? Muſt all men be liars that are not ſinleſs? Look about you, Athenians: If this be not the caſe, "Swear not at all," is both good doctrine and practicable, for all that you have ſaid to the contrary.

Your anſwer to the third query, 'If there be a plainer precept than this of Swear 'not at all,' is a Jeſt at us, but it turns in earneſt upon yourſelves. 'Show us,' ſay you, 'a more poſitive command than that, "He that hath two coats, let him im-"part to him that has none;"---which if we followed in winter time,' you ſay, 'we 'ſhould look worſe than we do.' But we tell you it is to be followed, both Winter and Summer, by all that will follow Chriſt; and however ill they look for it here to Scoffers, Chriſt will look very well upon them for it another day. But you think you pinch us, by urging the text upon us literally; which, alas! is your miſtake: For ſo that we do not *Swear*, we anſwer that precept, though by other words than *Yea* and *Nay*; and if we give of our Abundance to them that *want*, we anſwer this, though not exactly in a literal ſenſe: And now, you ſee, your Jeſt upon the Looks of the Quakers, makes *you* look no better than you ſhould do. And thus much for your firſt paper; what remains being but heads inſiſted upon in your following Mercuries, where I ſhall find them, and in my next conſider them particularly as they lie.

PART II.

In Anſwer to the Athenian Mercury *of the 11th of the* Fourth Month *called* June.

YOU were certainly very much in haſte, when you poured out ſuch a Mouthful of Charges upon a poor People, that one half of them, made good, muſt needs lay them as low as you wiſh: But they that count ſo quick, uſually reckon without their hoſt, and muſt count again; as indeed you do; for, in an after Mercury, you retract ſome of your charges; which ſhews, by the way, you went without book in making them. To ſpare you, and ſave paper, we will not repeat them here together, but as we anſwer them; for they are both foul and fully given.

Your firſt charge is, 'We ſpeak contemptibly of the Bible:' But we hope not. Your aſſumption has four parts of proof. 1. 'We own it not,' you ſay, 'as an 'adequate Rule of Faith and Manners.' For this you cite R. B's Apology, p. 25, & 43. And *what* you cite is true; but you cite not *all*, and ſo leave what you cite more open to exception, which is by no means fair. Love but truth and ingenuity more than you love your own credit, or ſlight ours, and we ſhall not doubt the iſſue, even in your own thoughts. R. B. tells you wherein the Scripture is not a Rule in *all* caſes and circumſtances, viz. 'It was not *Paul's* to go to *Jeruſalem*, to be ſhut up 'there, rather than go back to preach to the Churches in *Greece*: Nor the rule of 'Paul's *Call*, nor of any Miniſter of Chriſt to the *Miniſtry*; nor with reference to 'their going to *this* or *that* Nation to preach the Goſpel, rather than any *others*. It is not a Rule to *propheſy*, as to *when* or *what*, at one Time or Place, more than another; for though it ſays, 1 Cor. xiv. "That all may propheſy one after another, "as it is revealed to them," which authorizes the practice; yet it is not the Rule of thoſe motions of the Spirit; neither to the party moved to ſpeak, nor to thoſe that hear to judge aright: For no Scripture can tell me if I am moved by the Spirit of *God*, or my *own* Spirit, or a *transformed* Spirit; nor can thoſe that hear, judge of it, but by the Spirit of Truth. So that though the *Scripture* be a Rule of Words, it is the *Spirit only* that is a Rule to Mens Spirits concerning the Riſe of true Prophecy in any. Again; By what Chapter or Verſe can you tell you are Believers? For though there are divers can tell *what* a Believer is, yet how do you know that *you* are ſuch? By what Rule do you *apply* Scripture; nay, by what Rule do you *believe* Scripture? for the Scripture cannot be the Rule of your belief of *itſelf*: And therefore it is, that R. B. in our name, ſays, ‘ They are not the Principal Ground of all Truth and Knowledge, nor yet the Primary Adequate Rule of Faith and Manners: But,’ ſays he, ‘ being a faithful Teſtimony of the firſt Foundation, they may be well eſteemed a ſecondary Rule, and ſubordinate to the Spirit, from whence they have their Excellency and Certainty,’ p. 38. And can you call this contemning of the Scriptures, without ſpeaking contemptibly of the Holy Spirit that gave them forth? He argues thus: ‘ If the Spirit only give the Knowledge of God, and by the Spirit we be to be led into all Truth; then the Spirit, and not the Scripture, is the Foundation of all Truth, and the Primary Rule: But the firſt is true; therefore alſo the laſt. Again, That which is not the Rule of Faith to believe the Scriptures, is not the primary adequate Rule of Faith and Manners: But the Scripture is not, nor cannot be, that Rule; therefore;’ &c. p. 38, 41, 42. You ſhew yourſelves too *mercurial*, and ride poſt over our arguments, leaving them and the matter behind you. The ſcripture you oppoſe to all this, 1 Tim. iii. 17. and which is all you anſwer, (and enough too, were it but to your purpoſe) proves only, ‘ That all Scripture by Inſpiration from God is profitable;’ but it does not ſay, It is ſufficient of itſelf for the accompliſhing of the man of God to every good work: So is Preaching, Praying and Meditating profitable; but it does not ſay, that it is the *Fountain* of all true knowledge, and the *only Rule* of Chriſtians, or a Rule in *all particular Caſes* that may occur to men: And it is plain the Apoſtle referred to the Care of a Paſtor, and to all particular occaſions. Leſs does he ſay, that the *Spirit* is not the Rule of Chriſtians; and if it be *a Rule* at all, it cannot be a *ſubordinate* one to the Scriptures that came from it: No doubt but they are profitable, very profitable; and bleſſed be God for them; but muſt we contemn them, unleſs we *prefer* them to the *Spirit of God?* The great and moſt excellent rule of Chriſtians, John xiv. 26. “ The Comforter ſhall teach you all things.” Ch. xvi. 13. “ The Spirit of Truth will guide you into all Truth.” The Apoſtle commended the Church to the “ Word of God's Grace,” which is inward, Acts xx. 32. See 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10, 11, 12. which place attributes all divine knowledge to the Spirit of God, its ſearchings and revelations. Again, Tit. ii. 11, 12. & 1 John ii. 20, 21. “ Ye have an Unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things. It abideth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the ſame Anointing teacheth you all things, and is Truth and is no lye; and even as He hath taught you, ye ſhall abide in him.” We will cloſe with the words of Chriſt, whom all are to hear and prefer, John v. 37, 40. “ Search the ſcriptures (or, Ye ſearch the Scriptures) for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which teſtify of me. And (for all that) ye will not come unto me, that ye may have life.” A moſt ſevere rebuke to the better Jews of his time; and as great a one to the Chriſtians of that ſtamp now. They valued the Scriptures, but undervalued the Meſſiah when he came, whom, from Scripture, they looked for: What blindneſs was theirs, that knew him not by ſo many marks as they gave of him, but turned the Scripture againſt him, that teſtified of him? This is the caſe of our oppoſers with us at this day: They oppoſe the Scriptures to Chriſt the Word, that ſhines in the heart, and will not come to him, the quickening Spirit, in themſelves, that they might have life; but think, by them, to have eternal life, and they are they that teſtify of him. “ Know ye not your own ſelves,” ſays the Apoſtle, “ how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be reprobates.” 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

This is the doctrine that is our *Crime*, our *Enthuſiaſm*, our *Error*; and we are *Seducers*, *Deceivers*, and what not, for aſſerting, recommending and preſſing it. But if this be to be *vile*, we are like to be *more* vile; for we muſt bear witneſs to that which the Scripture teſtifies of, viz. *the Spirit*, and prefer it before the Scripture, when the Scripture does ſo to *itſelf*. No man's *Letter* is HIMSELF, nor ſo noble as himſelf. The Scripture is as the Letter or Epiſtle of the Holy Ghoſt to men; but for that reaſon it is *not* the Holy Ghoſt, nor to be *inſtead of* the Holy Ghoſt to us; nor, to be ſure, to be *preferred before* the Holy Ghoſt. We bleſs God for the Scriptures; we read them with comfort and advantage; and they are profitable to the perfecting of the man of God, through the aſſiſtance of the Spirit: The Scriptures *declare* the things of God; but cannot *work* them in the man: The Spirit only can do that; for which cauſe we honour, exalt and prefer the Spirit, as that which *fulfils* the Scripture, and invite all to receive it, that it may make people ſpiritual; for, “ to be ſpiritually minded is life and peace.” Wherefore, as often as any of our expreſſions are conſtrued to leſſen the holy Scriptures, we aſk it as a piece of juſtice from all our readers, to take this caution with them, We ſpeak comparatively, not with *our* Books, or with *Men*, but with *Chriſt*, his *Light* and *Spirit*, from whence the Scriptures came.

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1692. And in this ſenſe it is that R. B. and others, on the like occaſion, expreſs themſelves, when ſuppoſed to abate of the common opinion of the Scriptures. For as Face anſwers Face in a Glaſs, ſo we ſay, and know, the Spirit and Scripture anſwer each other. And therefore the comfortable evidence of a Chriſtian man, is the ‘Teſtimony of the Spirit of God *within* him, and the Scriptures of Truth *without* him.’ Let it not then be any more a fault in us to direct people to the Spirit of God, by which only they can come to the poſſeſſion of the good things the Scriptures ſpeak of; for though they exhort, rebuke, inſtruct, &c. yet without that great Agent, the *Spirit*, influencing and enabling the creature, he ſhall never experience the truth of the Scriptures to himſelf in the moſt relative and excellent parts of them.

2. The ſecond part of your aſſumption is, ‘That we deny the Scriptures to be Neceſſary;’ for which you cite S. Fiſher, *Ruſt.* p. 112. and R. B. *Ap.* p. 68. It looks groſs, as you lay it down; but pray take it all together: They cannot be *abſolutely* neceſſary to ſalvation, where God has not made it neceſſary that they ſhould *be at all*; for then that would be neceſſary which is not; and people for ever miſerable, for want of that which it is not their fault that they have not. Again; It is allowed among Proteſtants, that where the Scriptures or Sacraments are withheld from people, (as under Confinement, or providentially in Infidel Countries) there an upright Deſire or Intention anſwers and ſupplies that want; then they are not abſolutely neceſſary: So every-where, by conſequence, where they cannot be had, they cannot be abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. This is not to render the Scriptures uſeleſs or needleſs, or to raiſe an Indifferency to them where they are enjoyed; by no means; they are a great bleſſing, and, as ſuch, to be highly prized; and no man, that has any fear of God, or the leaſt taſte of his goodneſs, but muſt be of that mind; but to vindicate God's mercy and goodneſs from leaving ſo great a part of the world without the means of ſalvation, as they muſt be that want the ſcriptures, if they are abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. To end this head, conſider, 1ſt, How long the world was without them. 2dly, How few and particular the Firſt Books were: And, at laſt, in how narrow a compaſs all the Old Teſtament Writings lay, compared with the whole World. And, laſtly, How many churches were gathered by the Apoſtles before the New-Teſtament Scripture was all in being; which is ſo much more beneficial, proper and advantageous to Chriſtians, both as to Faith and Worſhip, than that of the Old Teſtament: And yet without That, for ſeveral years in which time, doubtleſs, many fell aſleep, they lacked no Rule: They had that which was *ſufficient*, viz. the *Grace of God*, which taught them and led them in the way to bleſſedneſs.

Your third proof, ‘Is our equalling *Apocrypha* with Scripture,’ and quote S. F. *Ruſt*. p. 77. But if we do not equal Scripture with Apocrypha, it does not ſhew we ſlight the Scripture, to have more of it than ye allow that title to: Did *we* make the Scripture *Apocryphal*, you had hit the mark, in *your* ſenſe thereof.

However, firſt, your communion frequently uſe it to confirm their doctrine, both in pulpit and in writing; and particularly the preſent Archbiſhop, in his late Sermon before the Queen, upon *Pſal.* lxxiii. 25. and that with a more than common emphaſis. And if it were ſpurious, and a *By-blow*, as you are pleaſed to call us in reſpect of religion, why ſhould ſo many eminent Poets of your own chooſe to vouch the Truth of Religion from thoſe Books, rather than *Plato*, *Philo*, &c?

3. Remember, if you pleaſe, that they were firſt left out by the Council of Laodicea, which was Three hundred ſixty-four years after Chriſt; and received again by the Council of Carthage, Anno 399; which, at the beſt, is but an indifferent foundation for your exception. Alſo pray take along with you, the complaints of *Jerom* and *Epiphanius*, among others, of the *Partialities* that had been, even by the *Orthodox*, committed upon the New Teſtament, under pretence of the ill uſe ſome Hereticks (real or ſuppoſed) made, or might make, of them. *Jer. ad Luc. Epiſt.* 28. *Epip. in Anc.* 7. 2.

4. Your fourth part of the aſſumption to prove your charge, is, ‘That we equal our own Writings unto the Scripture, and that it is the ready way to make it both blaſphemy and nonſenſe:’ And from thence you are pleaſed to called us *God's Ape.* Waving all your reflections, that edify very little, and cannot honour you, pray obſerve your proofs. *G. Fox*, *Myſtery*, pag. 12. and *Francis Howgil*, *Anti. Volunt.* defeated, without a page, affirm the “*Neceſſity* of an *Infallible Spirit* for *Goſpel-Miniſters*.” O friends! Whither would you drive things? What, make that *Hereſy*, which is the root of all *True Religion*, as well as *True Miniſtry*? Can a *fallible* Spirit bring people into the Truth, or turn them to God? Is not the Spirit of God an *infallible* Spirit? And are not the Children of God *led* by it? Rom. viii. 14. And we are not aſhamed to ſay, ‘That by that Holy Spirit, we are often conſtrained to exhort, rebuke, and inſtruct, as it giveth utterance; and that God has owned our labours with a comfortable harveſt, bleſſed be his name:’ But for equalling our Writings with Scripture, we have no ſuch expreſſions or thoughts: It is a word of your own, and a conceit and inference of our old adverſaries. There are Degrees, as well as Diverſity, of Manifeſtations

and operations, but the *ſame Lord*, and the *ſame Spirit*: Yet, if it will ſatisfy you, we have ever preferred the Bible to all Books and Writings of Saints and good Men. You have other proofs, you ſay, that G. Roff writ to Oliver Cromwell " Thus ſaith the Lord." ' And that branded blaſphemer Nayler (whom we, *you ſay*, to this day imitate, defend ' and admire) ſays, in his *Love to the Loſt*, " The Word of the Lord to his Beloved " City;" though the Holy Scripture muſt not have that honour.' Now, know ye, if ye pleaſe, that we *own* the ſtyle, and bleſs God his *Word* is among us, and when it lays a neceſſity upon us, we can ſay in truth, *The Word of the Lord*: And it is, or ought to be, well known to this nation, that we have ſpoken it in truth; it having been fulfilled more than once upon thoſe to whom we have been ſent with it. And it is a blindneſs, and a thick apoſtacy, that has overtaken ſuch as count it monſtrous to have a Viſion, or to know the Word of the Lord in Goſpel-days; the days of Light and Life, the diſpenſation of Spirit and Power, and of the Word of the Lord, according to that notable paſſage, Iſa. ix. 21. " As for me, this is my covenant with them, ſaith the " Lord, my Spirit that is upon thee (ſpeaking of *Chriſt*) and my words which I have " put into thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the " mouth of thy ſeed's ſeed, ſaith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever," Alſo that of Joel ii. 28. " In the latter days I will pour out my Spirit upon all Fleſh;" without reſpect to nation, age or ſex. But you are very diſingenuous to thruſt into your citation of J. Nayler's words, by parentheſis, whom you ſay we imitate, defend and admire; thereby ſuggeſting, that we defend him in blaſphemy; which is more than you can prove by any warrantable authority: However, hereby you juſtify that piece of cruelty, done in that unhappy age, and uſurped power (as you ſuggeſt) which many eminent and ſober people were grieved at: This is abuſive, and out of all bounds of equal dealing, and we wiſh you may repent of it: For we are ſo far from imitating, defending and admiring him in that reſpect, wherein he gave occaſion of offence and ſtumbling, that we did not only at that time diſown his proceedings, but he very ſolemnly condemned them himſelf, which was printed to the world; and he lived an humble, contrite and exemplary life, and died, we believe, in peace.

' That we read our own Epiſtles in our Meetings, and not the Scriptures,' is not from diſreſpect to the Scripture, but becauſe of a particular occaſion, and a word of exhortation thereby communicated. If it were cuſtomary to read our Friends Writings, as the Scriptures are in the publick places of worſhip, and yet we did not read the Scriptures, we ſhould deſerve your reproof; but that is not the caſe, far be it from us.

The laſt part of your aſſumption, by which you would prove us to condemn the Scripture, is, ' Our uſing, with the Papiſts, detracting expreſſions, as a Dead Letter, a ' Noſe of Wax, a Leſbian Rule;' and for this you quote S. F. pag. 48. It is low with you, that you have no more evidence. But now be ingenuous; Can you think we call the *Scriptures* ſo, or that we ſay men *make* them ſo, or *uſe* them ſo? Lay your hands upon your hearts, and think again. Is there any thing more proverbial, than to ſay, ' That men make a Noſe of Wax of the Scripture?' But herein to join us with the Papiſts, ſtill is more uncandid; for the very place you cite, makes an exception to the Papiſt's Practice, who uſe ſuch ſpeeches *tauntingly*, that is, in ſlight, in Contempt of the Scripture. But S. F. doth it not in any ſuch ſenſe; why then ſhould you make him do it tauntingly, and with *Papiſts*, when he ſo particularly provides againſt them both? You would make ill jury-men with ſuch latitudes. The Scripture, *of itſelf*, *is* a Dead Letter, for *all* letters are ſo *in themſelves*; and you grant as much in ſpeaking of the *Word of God*: But if they are made *alive* to any ſoul, by the application of God's Holy and Quickening Spirit, they become *living* to that ſoul, as much as if the holy penman had ſpoke them in his Ear: And indeed *no* words are living to any man, whether written or ſpoken, but as they are made ſo by the *Spirit*, in the *Heart* of ſuch a man. But Gregory Nazianzen, whom we ſuppoſe you reverence, ſpeaking of the Bible, ſaid, ' Is Religion placed in a *Leaf*? Feareſt thou (*Pa-* ' *per*, or) *Parchment* more than *God*?' This had been heinous in *us*, and yet it is true. A *Leſbian Rule* he ſtiled it, *ad hominem*. The Truth they declare is ſtable and certain; but men twiſt, ſhift, and wring them, and ſo they become like the *Leſbian Rule*, that ſerved all turns; and for that reaſon he urged, ' That men ſhould come to the Spirit of God, ' to receive the Mind of the Spirit in the matter therein doubted or controverted.'

Your ſecond charge is, ' That the Quakers will by no means allow the Scripture to ' be the Word of God.' If you had ſaid, in *No Senſe* too, you would have gone too faſt; and yet your Intention in your Words looks that way. Let us not differ, pray you, more than needs muſt, to ſupport the credit of your charge. You confeſs ' Chriſt is called the Word of God, but ſo is the *Scripture*.' And we ſay, Chriſt *is*, but ſo is *not* the Scripture: You produce, Jer. xxxvi. 4, 10, 12. We ſay, At that rate, there are an *Hundred Words of God*, becauſe it was the ſtyle the Prophets uſed for every *Meſſage*. But you go, I confeſs, a great way to help out the matter, when you allow, ' That it is ridiculous to ſay the very *Letters* are the Word of God, but the *Senſe* and ' Divine *Truths* therein contained, and conveyed to us by the Co-operation of God's ' Spirit:' For in *that* ſenſe, every Paſſage thereof, given forth by divine Inſpiration, is

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the Will, Mind, Command, and, if you pleaſe, *ſo* far the *Word* of the Lord; and ſo we do not, as you ſay, contradict ourſelves in uſing the ſame phraſe to our own writings. But, nevertheleſs, primarily and excellently, we attribute that ſtyle to "*Chriſt*, the "*Word*, that was *with* God, and *was* God, and made all things:" And we do not ſee but you yield it to us.

For your third charge, 'Of turning the Sacred Truths of Scripture into Jejune Al-'legories,' ſince you refer your proof to another place, we alſo do our anſwer.

Your fourth charge is, 'That we ſpeak not very honourably of our Saviour.' But how does that appear? Do we ſay he is *no* Saviour, or that he is a *deficient* Saviour, and leaves men as bad as he finds them? As too many ſhew that call him ſo; and, which is worſe, plead to be ſo as long as they live, becauſe, ſay they, 'He did not come to 'take away the Nature of Sin,' which muſt be left for their Probation, and to ſhew forth God's mercy to forgive; as if ſin were ſerviceable? We have not thus diſhonoured him, I hope. How is it, pray you, that we diſhonour him? Why, firſt, you ſay, 'We make him a Monſter:' That is bad indeed, or you are very irreverent, as well as unjuſt, in your expreſſion. 'Robert Barclay, pag. 306.' you tell us, 'ſays, He has two Bodies.' Suppoſe ſo; *One* you grant: the *other* R. B. calls *Vehiculum Dei.* Not Two Bodies of the Virgin *Mary:* How is it a Monſter then? You are more *Mercurial*, than exact. But pray conſider, (and Better late then Never): Did not all the Fathers *feed* of Chriſt, as well as *drink* of him, do you think? Read 1 Cor. iii. 4. "They did *eat* the ſame ſpiritual meat, and did all *drink* the "ſame ſpiritual drink: (For they drank of that Spiritual Rock that followed them, "and that was Chriſt.)" Now the word *Body* is figuratively uſed, as it imports a *Subſtance*; that is, *the Food of the Saints*, their *Spiritual Nouriſhment* and *Subſiſtence*. You ſhould be more deliberate, and not ſo wild and adventurous in your Cenſures. Your reaſon is, 'That we ſay Chriſt is actually preſent in every one of own Bodies; 'which,' you ſay, 'Is a greater degradation to him, than lying in a Manger.' But ſtill we ſee you do not read the Bible, or remember what you read. Peruſe 2 Cor. xiii. 5. "Examine yourſelves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own-ſelves: "Know ye not your own-ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be re-"probates:" So that what you make a Diſhonour to Chriſt, the Apoſtle makes an evidence of being in the Faith. But this is not the only point in which you two differ. Yet know, that 'Chriſt being in our Body,' is none of *our* phraſe; and ſhews, as in other charges (and which you ingenuouſly own in your *Third Mercury*) that you imperfectly know our principles, though you boldly cenſure them. But were it ſo, yet the Apoſtle had defended the expreſſion, who ſpeaking of the Divine Manifeſtation of Chriſt, and God *in* Chriſt, in the Creature, ſaith, "And this "Treaſure have we in Earthen Veſſels, that the Excellency of the Power may be of "God, and not of us," 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7. To this add that of Chriſt's Prayer, John xvii. 23. "I in Them, and They in *Me*;" and it is to be hoped you will think a *Man* a little better than a *Manger*; and yet it is no degrading of Chriſt, to ſay, 'He *is* where 'he *ſays* he is,' and where it is *antiſcriptural* to ſay, 'He is *not*.'

Your laſt reaſon for our diſhonouring our Saviour, 'Is our denying him to be *diſtinct* 'from the *Father*.' But ſuppoſe this were true; Why do you ſtrain ſo hard to depreſs us? Pray what were the diſhonour of it? It might, on our parts, not look ſo coherent; but to make the *Son* the Father, is diſhonouring the *Father*, rather than the *Son*. You had better not be meddling, and let this work alone; it is not your talent, and ill becomes you. Howbeit, know, if you pleaſe, we *do* think the Son *diſtinct* from the Father; for *Fatherhood* and *Sonſhip* are certainly not the *ſame*. And the very place you cite of R. B. p. 87, 88, you produced to prove your Firſt Reaſon, tells you enough of that.

Now for the citations out of E. Burrough's *Trumpet*, pag. 17. and J. Parnel's *Shield*, pag. 30. they mean no more than this, 'That we ſhould not ſatisfy ourſelves only with 'what *Chriſt did*, and the *Saints enjoyed*, ſo long ago, but that we ſhould *know* and *feel* 'him, by his Light and Spirit, *nearer* to us, that we might evidence his Work in our 'Hearts, and be Partakers of the Experiences of thoſe bleſſed Saints in Light:' And not that we denied, or ſlighted, that bleſſed Manifeſtation of the Son of God in the Fleſh. This we have ſaid again and again upon occaſion. Iſaac Pennington's words, *Queſt.* pag. 33. are defended by expreſs Scripture. See Heb. x. 5, 7. "A *Body* haſt thou pre-"pared ME. Then ſaid I, Lo, I come (in the Volume of the Book it is written of "me) to do thy Will, O God." The Body was not *He*, but *His*; and if Chriſt *dwells* in his people, as many Scriptures expreſs, the *Body* cannot be Chriſt, in a *ſtrict* ſenſe, becauſe it cannot *dwell* in them. And therefore the abſurdity that is flung at us, in reference to our uſe of that expreſſion, returns upon them that have ſo groſs a conception of *Chriſt*, and his *dwelling* in his people. You will have us confound *God* and his *Saints*, from a paſſage, in G. F's *Myſtery*. 'He is deceived, that ſaith, Chriſt is 'diſtinct from his Saints.' The *Page* is not quoted, but we know the *Place*: We ſuppoſe it is a *Miſ-printing* gives you that apprehenſion; *Diſtinct* for *Divided*; they are *diſtinct*, but not *divided*. And this is that which was intended. You are too ready to catch and miſtake alſo, when you oppoſe G. F. Jun. to R. B. one calling *The Light*, GOD, the other, *The Spiritual* BODY of Chriſt. For, 'He who is the *Light*, is *God*; 'and the *Light* is the *Appearance*, and *Manifeſtation*, of *God*.'

You take it ill, that we ſhould allow the "*Light Within* to be *Chriſt*; and not the "*Man* that *died* at Jeruſalem, to be *God* or *Chriſt*, in a *proper* ſenſe;" they are your own words. Indeed, you are very unguarded in your expreſſions. "Nor," ſay you, "ſo much as *Chriſt* in a *proper* ſenſe." We do not underſtand you. Would you have any thing *die* but the *Body*? You deny the *Soul's Sleeping*, and falſly make it a principle of *ours*, with the addition of a *Socinian Dream*. If not, then ye ſay, '*Chriſt Died*,' as *we* ſay, ſince that was the *Body* of Chriſt that died. *You dream of our idolizing one another from this principle of Chriſt being in men.* But take it from *us*, (as you ought in juſtice) *what* we believe, and not from *Enemies*, that ſeek advantages, and ſcrew, wring, and pervert our words, that we *abhor* ſuch practices. But you have three evidences, which, as you think, cannot fail you:

1. 'That many of us worſhipped *Nayler*.' *Juſt as much* as we worſhip *Francis Bugg*, or *You*. But this we know, That your *Many*, were a *Few*, and yet *too* many, *giddy* men and women; and that their *Actions* were *denied* by us, and by *themſelves* at laſt.

Your ſecond proof, as you pretend, is J. Coal's words, in a Letter to G. F. And your laſt proof, which doubtleſs you think your beſt, is a paſſage in a Letter of J. Audland's to G. Fox.

But, firſt, Where theſe Letters *are*, you do not tell us, nor give us any ſufficient Authority for them, nor for the truth of your *Copies*; which, upon ſo high a charge, ſhould, in common juſtice, have been done.

2. Beſides, they are given us in *Fractions*, and *&c*'s, as appears by your Breaks; and that is alſo unfair. For might not they write to G. F. and yet fall to *pray* and *praiſe* God occaſionally alſo? A thing frequent in religious correſpondencies.

3. But if it were a fault, muſt it include an *Whole People*? Was it writ *to* them, or printed *by* them? Be juſt!

4. Is it their *Practice*? If *not*, you are to *blame*; and if it *be*, you muſt certainly have *more* inſtances, and *freſher* than J. A. who has been deceaſed almoſt thirty years. But this ſhews your Uncharitableneſs, that any *thing*, at any *time*, or at any *hand*, ſhall ſerve you to back your unwary and unreaſonable charges againſt us.

5. And we believe J. A. was too *good* a man to intend G. F. in that ſenſe *you* take it, and G. F. to *accept* it; whoſe labour was to turn the eyes of people from *Man* to *Chriſt*, which lays the ax to all *human* and *creaturely* Exaltation. And G. F. lived a true Example of *Humility*, and abominated all ſuch Appearances of *Evil*. And they that ever ſaw or heard him *pray*, would not think he ſhould like being any one's *Idol*; ſince, above all men, he appeared to expreſs the *profoundeſt Reverence* to *God* and *Chriſt* in Prayer; as ſtrangers, to him and us, have occaſionally obſerved and declared. And as he lived he died, in Care for nothing, but the Glory of God, and the exaltation of the kingdom of his Son in his people; and, as it was ſaid of David, "He left us in a *good Old Age*, full of *Days*, and of durable Riches and Honour."

PART III.

In Anſwer to the ATHENIAN MERCURY *of the 14th of the* Fourth Month, *called* June.

THE firſt part of your *Third Mercury* finds an anſwer in the concluſion of ours to your Second: Yet ſince you make ſuch a voluminous puther about R. B's words of the Body of Chriſt, as well as of the Letter to G. F. taking up, in their aggravation, more than the room of ſeven other charges, we ſhall conſider what you ſay: Which is this. 'If the Nature of this Eternal Light, Subſtance, or Spiritual Body, 'that is in all of them, be material; as it muſt be, becauſe, according to them, a 'diviſible ſubſtance; then there is plain penetration of dimenſions, and every Quaker 'carries about all Tranſubſtantiation in his Belly.'

But why, pray you, muſt it be a *material* Subſtance? Do you find it in the Firſt of John, iv. 9? for there is our Light aſſerted and deſcribed. The *Life* of the *Word* is our *Light*, and *your* Light, if you pleaſe. "In the *Word* was LIFE, and *that Life* the "LIGHT *of Men*; and that was the *true* Light, that lighteth *every* man that comes "into the world." Is that Life no *Subſtance*? And if it be, is it a *material* or a *ſpiritual* one? And if it be a *ſpiritual* one, is it, or is it needful it ſhould be, a *diviſible* one? Conſider well; Is the *Sun* divided becauſe all *ſee by it*? No more is *Chriſt*: So that *Diviſibility* is your *own* Conceit, and not *our* Opinion or Conſequence of it, but of your miſtaking it: And all the *Tranſubſtantiation* you thought was in our *Belly*, proves, at laſt, to be in your own *Heads*; and, it is hoped, this will help to get it *out* for you.

Again; you ſay, ‘ If immaterial, let them make ſenſe of it if they can, for to us ‘ it is pure Quakeriſm.’ How now, Athenians! Have you never met with *Immaterial Subſtances* in your reading? Then, ſurely, you have travelled but a little way in the Commonwealth of Letters. Both the New and Old Philoſophy muſt be ſtrangers to you; and, which is worſe, you are ſo to the *Bible*. Waſh your eyes, therefore, I pray, and turn to John vi. from 48 to 63, and tell us, if you will, or can, ‘ *Who* is ‘ the *Living Bread* there that comes down from *Heaven*; and what is that *Fleſh* and ‘ *Blood* Chriſtians muſt *feed upon* if they would be ſaved?’ Here is an *Immaterial Subſtance* or *Body* for you, one of *God's* providing, which, you, in deriſion, call “ Pure “ *Quakeriſm*:” But very glad we are of it, and ſhould be more, that you were better acquainted with it. We pity your extreme Ignorance of heavenly things; for nothing elſe could make you ſo groſs, or abuſive, upon ſo eſſential a part of Religion, and Us for aſſerting it. Take not that *ſtrictly*, which is ſpoken with *Conſtruction*; nor that *properly* or *literally*, which is *figuratively* and *myſtically* expreſſed, or to be underſtood, and we ſhall neither appear ſo monſtrous, nor you ſo much miſtaken. You may wring as great Inconſiſtency out of Scripture as any *other* Book, if you take *that* courſe to expound it. Be therefore juſt to us, and ſhew you would inform us, or be informed by us, as ſometimes you would have us to believe; but do not jeer at what you do not underſtand, nor charge what you do not know.

For your Aggravation of the Letter to G. F. and the confident Concluſions you make of our *Idolatry*, they are both untrue and abuſive: It is not our Principle, it was never our Practice; abhorring utterly that extravagant as well as unchriſtian imputation; no People or Teſtimony, ſince the world began, laying *Men* lower than *we* have done, even to a fault, in our Adverſaries apprehenſion. For we have not only oppoſed an Idolatry to *Creatures* or *Works* of *Mens Hands*, which is the groſſer ſort, but that of the *Mind* alſo: The Worſhip men too generally, and too zealouſly, pay to their own *Imaginations*, or the *Ideas* they have framed to themſelves of *God* and *Chriſt*; and will, at any rate, make others do ſo too, if they can. A *refined* Idolatry too many are guilty of, that exclaim againſt the *other*; and very pernicious to the ſoul's *true* knowledge and enjoyment of God and Chriſt.

Your fifth charge is, ‘ That we deny the *Trinity*.’ But you ſhould, in juſtice, have added, of *Perſons*, with all the *School-Niceties* and *Diſtinctions* that belong to that ſort of explication of Scripture; for to *that* only it is your firſt proof refers, viz. *W. P's Sandy Foundation*, p. 12. ‘ For the Scripture no-where calls God the Holy *Three* of ‘ Iſrael, but Holy *One* of Iſrael.’ And if he had ſaid, *Imagined Trinity*, p. 16, as you cite, which he does *not*, in the Copy we have, it ought not to be ſo heinous with you, ſince *Three* PERSONS are not to be found in the *Bible*, which you exalt for the *only* Rule of Faith. And if you will not allow that Council to be *infallible* that formed that Article above 300 years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, as to be ſure you will not, I hope it muſt be *Their Imagination* of the *Text*, if not *a Divine Inſpiration*. Your proof 1 John v. 7. “ There are Three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the “ Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe Three are One,” will not ſupport your charge, becauſe it contains not the *Matter* controverted in it, viz. *Three* PERSONS, for *that* is the point in controverſy. Let it ſuffice, if you pleaſe, that we believe the *Scripture*, though we reject *that* Interpretation; and that we own *Three Witneſſes*, and that thoſe *Three* are *One*; without allowing the Intricacy and Confuſion of the *Schools*.

Your ſecond proof is from ‘ *Sweet Sips*:’ But that is no *Quaker*'s book, and ſo no proof upon us. Be more cautious another time, and know better what you do.

Your ſixth charge, ‘ That we hold, the Soul *ſleeps*,’ you yourſelves retract, but would have it a fruit of your *Ingenuity*; and becauſe we would encourage a thing ſo rare with you, we will at this time ſpare your *Diſingenuity* in *making* it. But, as if you were more troubled at our being *clear* than *guilty*, and at yourſelves for miſſing the blow at us, than for abuſing us; to recover that ſlip, and to make us amends, your *Ingenuous Retractation* ends in two other charges.

1. ‘ That we deny the Reſurrection of the Body. 2. The Diſtinct Exiſtence of the ‘ Soul after Death.’ Your proof for the firſt is G. Whitehead's ſaying, ‘ That he did ‘ not believe his Body ſhould riſe again after Death: (But G. W. *denies* that to be his ‘ anſwer:) And William Penn's *not* denying it to John Faldo.’ Whereas they anſwer no otherwiſe than what the Apoſtle ſaid to the Corinthians, “ Thou ſoweſt *not* that “ Body which *ſhall be*,” 1 Cor. xv. 37. How is it then a Crime, to deny *your* groſs conceit of the Reſurrection? For, in all ſcriptural reſpects, we reverently and joyfully own the Reſurrection, as we have good cauſe to do, of all people. And if you believe, that *Death* came by *Sin*, that innocent, wiſe, and upright man, I. Pennington, 2 *Prin.* p. 34. was not out of the way; to ſay, ‘ That what we loſt in the *firſt* Adam ‘ we regained in the *ſecond*;’ and the *Reſurrection*, to be ſure, is not the leaſt part;

which is alone through Him that was Himſelf “ the *firſt-begotten* from the *Dead.*” And for ‘ *Sweet Sips,*’ though none of ours, yet no proof for you; for the very Quotation *owns* the Reſurrection. But *curious* queſtions we avoid, and count them the *fooliſh* and *unlearned* ones that the Apoſtle forbad, 1 Tim. vi. 4, 5. 2 Tim. ii. 22, 23. being more ſolicitous that we appear *accepted* with God, than with what *bodies* we ſhall appear.

2. ‘ That we deny the *diſtinct* Exiſtence of the Soul,’ is as falſe as that we aſſert the *Soul ſleeps*; but, perhaps, you think that “ *Sweet Sips*” will help you out, ch. 26. but for that very proof you owe us another *Retractation*; and we wiſh you may do it *more* ingenuouſly than you did your laſt.

Your ſeventh charge is, ‘ That we have been looked upon as *Fly-blows* of the *Jeſuits.*’ If ſo, upon what *Church*, pray you, did they *beget* us? But out of the abundance of your Hearts your Mouths ſpeak, and that *foully*, and *falſly* too, too often. But your Proofs for this? ‘ Why, moſt writers *ſay* ſo.’ Do they ſo? Where *are* they, pray? And for what *Reaſons?* But you ſay not a word of *that*. This you cannot think a fruit of your Ingenuity. ‘ But,’ it ſeems, ‘ if we would peruſe *Ignatius*'s Life, we ‘ ſhould think him as arrant a *Quaker* as *William Penn* himſelf.’ So that while you take it ill of us to refer you, for our *Belief*, to our own *Books*, and do not write *new* ones to tell you our Religion, you take upon you to ſend us to *other* people's books to learn our *own*, and that with *Reflections* alſo. In this, whatever you think, you are not over-modeſt or reaſonable. But if INSIDE, be *Outſide*; if SPIRIT, be *Forms*; PLAINNESS, *Pomp*; CONVICTION, *Implicit Faith*; and CHRIST's KINGDOM be of THIS World, you are in the *right*, or elſe you *abuſe* us.

Your eighth charge makes us to ‘ Deny the Plenary Satisfaction of Chriſt, and to reſt ‘ upon our own Merits.’ It is ſome comfort to us, that there is not one charge that is a *Text* of *Scripture*, or delivered in *Scripture-phraſe*. Where do you find *Plenary Satisfaction* in the *Bible?* Or what do you mean by it? *You*, that would have it the *only* Rule, ſhould make it *yours*. You cite J. N's *Love to the Loſt*, p. 7. ‘ his Righteouſneſs *imputed*, or *put into* the Creature;’ and this you ſquib at; not conſidering that Abraham was *really* righteous, when his faith was *imputed*, or *accounted*, to him *for* Righteouſneſs; or you will charge the Holy Ghoſt with wrong reckonings. But *any* thing, rather than have *Chriſt*'s righteouſneſs *within* Men. Pray read 1 Sam. xxii. 15. Pſal. xxxii. 2. and you will find *impute*, or *imputeth*, ſo applied. Your ſecond proof is R. B. p. *(no-where)* ſaying, ‘ We are juſtified by Chriſt formed in us.’ And ſo we are, in the *compleat* ſenſe of the word; for the word comprehends *Remiſſion* of *Sins* that are *paſt*, upon *Repentance*, and *Sanctification*, or being made holy and juſt *inwardly*. And, to be plain with you, we do believe, 1ſt, “ That Chriſt died for *all*, “ and is a propitiation for the ſins of *the World*,” 1 John ii. 1, 2. 2dly, “ That he was “ herein the *Effect*, rather than *Cauſe*, of the Father's *Love*;” as John iii. 16. & 1 John iv. 9, 10. “ God ſo loved the world,” &c. 3dly, That *Juſtification*, as taken for *Remiſſion* of *Sin*, accounting Penitents *as juſt* as if they had *not ſinned*, refers to Chriſt as a *Propitiation*. ‘ *He* was our *common Offering* for *Sin*;’ and as the word is taken for man's being made *inherently* juſt and holy, it refers to *Chriſt* as the *Sanctifier* of his people; ſo that it is *Chriſt* ſtill, *every* way, by which we hope for *Salvation*. And for our *Works*, even the *beſt*, ſuch as James meant, James ii. they are *rewardable*, but not *meritorious*; becauſe there is no Proportion between the Work and Wages; for “ the “ Wages of Sin is Death; but the Gift of God is Eternal Life through Jeſus Chriſt “ our Lord,” Rom. vi. 23.

Your ninth charge is, ‘ That we deny the *Divinity* of *Chriſt*,’ (but your *Reaſons* ſhame your *Charge*); ‘ And this they do with a witneſs,’ ſay you, ‘ if they make him nothing but *themſelves*.’ But if we do not, what have *you* made of yourſelves, think you? Who, of *us*, ever ſaid ſo? Are *we* the “ Light that lighteth all that come into the “ World?” Or did *we* make the World? Indeed you are very groſs. Your other proof is as lame; you ſay, ‘ We Deny him to be God;’ but not a word of *ours* cited to that purpoſe; for we believe, that “ *Chriſt* was *God* manifeſted in the *Fleſh*;” as John i. 14. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Your tenth charge is Antarctick to your ninth: For now you ſay, ‘ We more plainly deny his *Humanity*.’ Thus you make us ſhift and take turns at Faith, till you have left us none: But what are your proofs? G. F. *Myſt.* p. 71. ‘ Chriſt is not ‘ *Human*: Where doth the Scripture ſpeak of *human?* We deny the word *human*.’ But that all readers may deny *you*, till you deny yourſelves the pleaſure of abuſing *us*, we will repeat the place as it lies.

Prieſt ſaith, ‘ Chriſt's Human Nature,’ &c.

G. Fox Anſ. “ Where doth the Scripture ſpeak of *Human?* The word *Human*, “ where is it written? Tell us, that we may ſearch for it? *Now we do not deny, that* “ *Chriſt, according to the Fleſh, was of* Abraham, but not the word Human: And “ Chriſt's *Nature* is not *human*, which is earthly, for that is the *firſt* Adam.” Now, Athenians, if you can, bluſh! What! make us deny that Chriſt came of the Seed

1692. of *Abraham* after the *Fleſh*, by a place that *owns* it, and that owns it *fully*, *ſcripturally*, and as it *ſhould* be owned and worded by Chriſtians, that uſe the form of ſound words, given them by the Holy Ghoſt, denying only a *School-term*, borrowed from the *Ground:* This is hard!

Thus you ſerve us alſo in your laſt charge, where you will have us to deny *Angels*, *Spirits*, *Heaven*, and *Hell*; and ſo make an end of us, and our Religion. And to prove it, you bring a Book, that is none of ours; and not without injury to the Author neither; and then conclude us ‘a Compendium of all Hereſies;’ naming Twenty-two of them rank and file, and a *cum multis aliis* at the tail of them. But if *they* had as foul play from *their* judges, as *we* have had from *you*, they will deſerve a better name. However, you are obliged to us, that we have abbreviated Hereſy for you; and yet you have not convicted us of any one point that deſerves that black name. We muſt ſay, we are ſorry to ſee you act as if you thought us exempted from the common claims of Humanity; to be dealt with as you pleaſe, and as if Injuries could not be committed upon ſuch wretches as we are in *your* eſteem: For you *add*, *diminiſh*, *pervert*, and that boldly; and when you have ſhaped and dreſſed up the *Monſter*, you are pleaſed to write *Quaker* upon him, and then lead him about the ſtreets, in your *Mercuries*, for a ſhow, at a penny a-piece: God Almighty ſhew *you* Mercy, that allow *us* none, but refuſe to be juſt! For, after all your black charges, you fall to aſking what our Faith is? which ſhould have been *firſt* done.

You objected upon us, ‘Of turning the other Cheek;’ ſaying, ‘It was Patience *per* Force.’

But you are miſtaken in Fact; we have *put-up* legal advantages many times, and endured and forgiven innumerable perſonal injuries from thoſe *out of* office as well as from thoſe that have been in *Government*; nay, oftentimes dared cruelties and oppreſſion with a *literal* conformity to the text. Speak not ſo peremptorily what you do not know; you expect better things from our religion, than your own, and yet would have ours to be worſe.

2. You ſay, ‘It was not Conſcience, but an unaccountable, not to ſay brutal, Stubbornneſs.’ You have endeavoured to rob us of our Religion; will you now rob us of our Suffering, and the good Intention of it too? For that word of yours, authorizes all the Impriſonments, Plunders, Baniſhments, and Murders we have ſuffered ſince a People; and, if we ſhould ſtrain conſequences, intitles you as arrant perſecutors, as Biſhop Bonner, or Dr. Story.

But, 3dly, You ſay, ‘We give hard *Words*:’ Do we? Such as the *Things* call for, doubtleſs: I hope no *perſonal* reflections? ‘Yes, Whitehead complains of a new Perſecution:’ And with very good reaſon, when the *old* is *juſtified* by *you*, and you proclaim us a ‘Compendium of two-and-twenty Hereſies,’ with *multis aliis* at the end of it: Which, in other words, is ſaying, ‘*Take them, Dr.* Pinfold.’

Again; ‘You take it ill,’ *he* ſays, ‘you make Beaſts, and Devils, of us:’ But what elſe, pray, do *you* make of *us*, when you cannot make *worſe* of us than you have?

You add, ‘That we call you *Impertinent*:’ And pertinently, we think, to ramble, as you have done, from your province, to ſpread Invectives upon us. ‘*Wicked*:’ What can you think it leſs, to abuſe an Whole People in the tendereſt Point? ‘*Followers of blind Guides*:’ How elſe could you have miſſed your Way ſo much? For it is plain nothing can be more miſtaken. ‘It is a wonder,’ ſay you, ‘*dumb Dogs* do not come in too, though we have no *ſilent Meetings*.’ We cannot think why you ſhould wonder at *that*, ſince you know how much you have *barked* at *us*. There is no danger of your being *dumb*, but *deaf*. And ſince you brought in this to introduce your prophane jeſt at our *ſilent Meetings*, we muſt tell you, you may ſee in yourſelves the Uſe of *Silence*, by your Abuſe of *Speech*; and therein a defence of *us*, and a reproof to *you*. In ſhort, we recommend *Silence* to you, as Pythagoras did to his Scholars, till you have leaned to ſpeak *better* than you do.

The next thing is your Ten Queſtions, an unreaſonable as well as an unſuitable concluſion: For you firſt Judge; and then Query; and, after charging us home, you aſk, ‘What is our *Belief*?’ It ſhews too great a Levity, for men of your claim to Senſe; and, though not *Enthuſiaſtical*, yet, if you will not be angry, it looks very *ſilly*. But becauſe, for that reaſon, it does not look *malicious*, you may have an anſwer, tho' leaſt of all for *your* ſakes, by *another* hand. But, before we part, pray take this along with you: *Our* Religion, and the *True* Religion, which makes people *truly* religious, is the Fear of God, planted in the ſoul by the *Grace* of *God*, which ſanctifies and rules the Heart and Affections; and not *Creeds* of *Words*, though never ſo true: For the *Devils* have Knowledge and Faith; but their Knowledge does not work by *Obedience*, nor their Faith by *Love*; and therefore they are never the better for it: Nor are wicked *Men*, as the world ſhews. *Religion*, then, is a divine *Experience* and *Work* in the *Soul*, by the *Divine Spirit*. It is Regeneration, and that a New Creature, Gal. vi. 15, 16. And as the *Jew inward* is the Circumciſion of the Heart, ſo is that the character of a *True Chriſtian*. A *ſhort* Creed of Words ſerved of old with an Upright

Heart. "Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Iſrael," was Nathaniel's *Confeſſion*. "My Lord and my God," was all Thomas his *Retractation* and *Creed*, John xx. 28. And *Peter*'s Confeſſion of Faith is little larger, Mat. xvi. 18. Thus alſo the blind, lame, and ſick, that came *believingly* to him.

To be a Chriſtian *then*, was to be, like *Chriſt*, meek, humble, holy, loving, patient; and *this* his *Light* and *Spirit* maketh thoſe that embrace it. Unto which we refer and exhort you, and all to whom theſe papers may come, as the Great Agent of man's happineſs; deſiring earneſtly that our care may be about our *Conformity* to our Saviour, rather than *Controverſies* about him; ſince the *True* Religion is *to be like Chriſt*, 1 Pet. ii. 21. Chap. iii. 10, 11, 12. 1 John ii. 6. Say not then, 'That we value our title 'to Chriſtianity by human Laws;' you wrong us much: *Ours* hath an *higher* claim; and ſo muſt *yours*, if you expect to be ſaved by it. We ſpoke not of being therefore Chriſtians in *God*'s account, but of being eſteemed enough to live *quieter* than your Invectives ſeem to let us, among *Men*. But it is not the leaſt part of the Croſs we bear, to be, in almoſt every thing, ſo much miſunderſtood, and by ſome ſo evilly repreſented. One while they will have us deny the *Divinity* of Chriſt; another while, the *Humanity*. Sometimes we muſt be *Socinians*; then *Sabellians*. Very often we are told, 'That we expect to be ſaved by our own *Works*;' and as often, 'That we will 'do nothing, unleſs the *Spirit* move us.' Again, 'Sometimes we are ſaid to ſend All 'to Hell but *ourſelves*;' and preſently, 'We deny any ſuch *thing*.' Ay, we are accuſed with '*Idolatry* to Mens Perſons,' and yet 'Scorned for *denying* all Honours or 'Reſpects to the Perſons of Men.' Juſt thus we are made to '*diſown* all *Miniſtry*;' and by-and-by accuſed, 'That *every one* among us is a *Miniſter*, or *may be* ſo.' It would be tedious to repeat the *Contradictions* and abſurd *Dilemmas* men have brought themſelves into, by their raſh and unjuſt attempts againſt us; which they will eaſily perceive, that pleaſe to peruſe ſome of our Controverſial Tracts, as, "*Ruſticus ad* "*Academicos*; The *Chriſtian Quaker*, in two parts; *R. B's Apology and Defence*; "*Quakeriſm a New Nick-name for Old Chriſtianity*, and the *Rejoinder* in its defence; "*The Way Caſt-up*; *Reaſon againſt Railing*, and *Wiſdom Juſtified of her Children*," &c. In which our belief is diſtinguiſhed and defended, againſt the abuſes which men, through ignorance or prejudice, have put upon it. God Almighty enlighten and forgive them. That is the Worſt of our Wiſhes, for their many hard ſpeeches againſt us, and our holy profeſſion: Concluding, after all your unfriendly uſage,

Your Well-wiſhing Friends.

7 AP 59

A
KEY
OPENING THE WAY

TO EVERY CAPACITY

HOW TO DISTINGUISH THE

RELIGION profeſſed by the People called QUAKERS

FROM THE

PERVERSIONS and MISREPRESENTATIONS

OF THEIR

ADVERSARIES.

WITH

A BRIEF EXHORTATION

TO

ALL SORTS of PEOPLE,

TO

Examine their WAYS and their HEARTS, and Turn ſpeedily to the LORD.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Reader,

1692. OBſerving the prevailing power of prejudice, and the too great Eaſineſs of mankind to be impoſed upon by deſigning perſons, and eſpecially on the ſide of Uncharitableneſs, (ſo depraved is the nature of man) and conſidering alſo what miſchievous effects that evil hath produced among too many of all ſorts of people, to the hurt of Civil as well as Religious ſociety, by the coldneſs, jealouſy, uncharitableneſs and animoſity, even to Hatred and Perſecution, (the very contraries and reverſe of the true Chriſtian Religion) that have thereby abounded, we have the leſs wondered at the hard treatment we, as a People, have ſuffered from other Perſuaſions, almoſt all of them having in their turn, ſome, I hope, ignorantly; others, I fear, wilfully; miſrepreſented our Principles, miſgiven our plain Meanings, and called their own ſtrained Interpretations, aye and their downright Perverſions too, our Faith and Religion: And thus dreſſing us in the bear's-ſkin, the credulous have been excited to look upon and treat us as Hereticks, Seducers, Blaſphemers, and what not; while (bleſſed be God) our aim and bent have been the very power and work of religion upon our ſouls, that we might be God's workmanſhip through Chriſt Jeſus, his bleſſed Son and heavenly Agent; taking this to be the very Life and Soul of True Religion; the Effect and Fruit of the Divine Nature, which makes us Chriſtians indeed here, and fits us for glory hereafter. And becauſe we have choſen Retirement, Moderation, Self-denial, which to be ſure are the ſolids and inwards, the ſpirit and ſubſtance of Religion, and have therefore waved and ſequeſtred ourſelves from more Outward and Pompous Communions, offence has been taken at us, and we have been diſingenuouſly repreſented to the world: On which account I have publiſhed this little Treatiſe, for the ſake of others, as well as in our own Vindication, but theirs eſpecially that are under prejudices from vulgar Abuſes. I would intreat ſuch to conſider, That if it be an evil to judge raſhly or untruly of any ſingle Man, how much greater a ſin it is to condemn an whole People: And if the Matter about which the judgment is made, renders it more or leſs evil, certainly to condemn the Religion of an whole People in the lump, which at once comprehends their Faith, Worſhip and Morals alſo, muſt be, if falſe or miſtaken, as great an injuſtice as can well be committed, and the Almighty will not hold them guiltleſs that have been ſo uncharitable and injurious to their neighbours. And this we have frequently lamented as our great unhappineſs, above all that our enemies have been able argumentatively to urge againſt us, that we are yet *unknown* of thoſe that ſtick not to *condemn* us. But they muſt certainly be inexcuſeable, with Juſt Minds, that will take our Belief at our *Enemies* rather than at our *own* hands, who beſt ought to know what we believe. But it will be the buſineſs of this little Key to explain the pretended obſcurity, and ſhew the difference between our Principles, and the Vulgar Account and Apprehenſions, and thereby open a Way into ſo clear and plain an underſtanding of our true Principles, from our Enemies Perverſions, that we hope, with God's bleſſing, all impartial enquirers will be ſatisfied of our Holy and Chriſtian Profeſſion: And this we alſo earneſtly deſire for their good, that as we have been called of God, out of the evil of the world, to be a People to his praiſe, through his Grace, ſo none may ſtumble or be offended at the Truth we teſtify of; but ſeeing the excellency of it, by the Peace and Purity it leads into, they may embrace it, and walk in it; which is the beſt way to end Controverſy, and obtain the great and true End of Religion, the Salvation of the Soul.

A KEY, &c.

SECT. I.

Of the Light Within, what it is, and the Virtue and Benefit of it to Man.

1692.

Perverſion 1. 'THE *Quakers* hold, That the *Natural* Light in the Conſcience of 'every Man in the World, is ſufficient to ſave all that follow it; 'and ſo they overthrow Salvation by *Chriſt*.' A mighty error indeed, if it were *true*.

Principle. But it is, at beſt, a great Miſtake: For their belief and aſſertion is, "That Chriſt, who is the Word, that was *with* God, and *was* God; (and *is* ſo "*for ever*) hath lighted *every* Man that cometh into the world, with his *own* "Light," as he is that *true* Light, or *ſuch* a Light, as there is no other to be compared with him; which is the meaning of the emphaſis *true* in the Text, John i. 9. And that ſuch as follow the reproofs, convictions and leadings of that Light, with which he enlightens the Underſtandings and Conſciences of Men, ſhall not walk in *Darkneſs*, that is, in *Evil* and *Ignorance* of God, but ſhall have the *Light* of *Life*; that is, be in a *Holy* and *Living* State or Condition towards God: A ſtate of *Acceptance* and *Salvation*; which is, from *Sin* here, as well as from *Wrath* hereafter; and for which end Chriſt was given of God. So that they aſſert the *Light* of *Chriſt* to be *ſufficient* to *ſave*; that is, to *Convince* of Sin, *Lead-out* of it, and *Quicken* the ſoul in the ways of holineſs; and not to be a *Natural* Light, otherwiſe than as *all* men, *born* into the world, have a Meaſure of *Chriſt's* Light; and ſo it may, in a ſenſe, be ſaid to be *natural* to all men, becauſe all men *have it* coming into the world. For this Light is *ſomething elſe* than the bare *Underſtanding* man hath as a *rational* creature: Since, as ſuch, Man cannot be a *Light* to himſelf; but has only a *Capacity* of *ſeeing*, by means of the Light with which Chriſt, the Word, enlighteneth him. For we can no more be a *mental* or *intellectual* Light to ourſelves, than we are an *external* and *corporeal* Light to ourſelves: But as the *Sun* in the firmament is the *Light* of our BODIES, ſo the *Light* of the Divine *Word* is the *Sun* of our SOULS; the glorious *Luminary* of the *Intellectual* World; and they that walk in it, will by it be led to bleſſedneſs.

John i. 1, 9.
See Iſa. xlix. 6.
John i. 4, 9.
c. iii. 21.
c. v. 40.
c. viii. 12,
c. x. 10.
Rev. xxi. 24.

Perverſ. 2. 'The *Quakers* hold, That the *Light* within them is *God, Chriſt*, and the '*Holy Spirit*: So that every Quaker has *whole* God, Chriſt, and Holy Spirit, in him; 'which is groſs blaſphemy.'

Principle. This is alſo a miſtake of their belief: They never ſaid that *every* divine *Illumination*, or *Manifeſtation*, of Chriſt, in the hearts of men, was *whole* God, *Chriſt*, or the *Spirit*; which might render them guilty of that groſs and blaſphemous Abſurdity ſome would faſten upon them: But that *God*, who is *Light*, or the Word *Chriſt*, who is *Light*, ſtiled "the Second Adam, the Lord from Heaven, and the Quickening "Spirit, who is God over all bleſſed for ever," hath enlightened mankind with a *Meaſure* of Saving Light; who ſaid, "I am the Light of the World; and they that follow "me, ſhall not abide in darkneſs, but have the Light of Life." So that the Illumination is *from* God, or Chriſt, the Divine Word; but not therefore that *whole* God, or *Chriſt*, is in every Man, any more than the *whole Sun*, or *Air*, is in every Houſe or Chamber. There are no ſuch harſh and unſcriptural words in their writings. It is only a *frightful Perverſion* of ſome of their Enemies, to bring an odium upon their holy faith. Yet, in a ſenſe, the *Scriptures* ſay it; and that is *their* ſenſe; in which, *only*, they ſay the ſame thing. "I will walk in them, and *dwell* in them. He that dwelleth *with* you, ſhall be *in* you: I will not leave you comfortleſs, I will *come* to you: I

John i. 4, 8, 12.
1 Cor. xv. 45, 47.
John xiv. 3, 17, 18, 20.

1692.

Col. i. 26, 27.
2 Cor. xiii. 5.
Gal. iv. 19.
Col. i. 27.

“ in *them*, and they in *me*: Chriſt in *us*, the Hope of Glory. Unleſs Chriſt be in “ *you*, ye are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail again in birth, until “ Chriſt be formed *in* you.” Now if they who denied his Coming in the Fleſh, though high-profeſſing Jews, were to be accounted Antichriſts, becauſe enemies to that Appearance and Diſpenſation of God to men; what muſt *they* be reputed, who as ſtiffly diſown his *inward*, *nearer* and more *ſpiritual* Coming, Formation and Dominion in the ſoul; which is to be ſure the higher and nobler knowledge of Chriſt? Yea, “ the myſtery hid from ages,” and now revealed to God's People: “ The riches of the Glory “ of the myſtery which God reſerved to be made known to the Gentiles,” of whoſe ſtock we are. Certainly though they are called Chriſtians, they muſt be no whit leſs Antichriſts than thoſe obſtinate Jews of old, that oppoſed his more Viſible and Bodily Appearance.

Perverſ. 3. ‘ By the *Quakers* doctrine, every man muſt be *ſaved*; for every man, they ‘ ſay, is *ſavingly* enlightened.’

John iii. 20. 21.
Tit. ii. 11, 12.
Gen. vi. 5.
Ezek. xviii. 21, 22, 23, 24.
Mic. vi. 8.
1 Tim. ii. 4.
2 Pet. iii. 9.
Job vii. 17, 18.
chap. xxi. 17.
chap. xxiv. 13.

Principle. Not ſo neither: For though the *Light*, or *Grace*, of God hath and doth more or leſs appear to all men, and that it brings ſalvation to as many as are *taught* by it to “ deny ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, and righteouſly, and “ godly in this preſent world,” as the Scripture teacheth; yet it no way follows that men *muſt* obey, and *learn* ſo to do, whether they *will* or not. God tenders *Saving* Light or Grace to *All*, and by it calls All, and ſtrives and pleads with All, according to the Meaſure and Manifeſtation of it: But if they will not *hearken* to it, he is clear of their Blood. His Light is *ſaving*, that lighteth them; but it cannot be ſaid to *ſave* them, while they *rebel* againſt it. In ſhort, though men are lightened or viſited with a *ſaving* Light or Grace, yet the Quakers never concluded, nor can it rightly be concluded from their teſtimony, that ſuch men muſt *neceſſarily* and *abſolutely* be ſaved, whether they *obey*, or *rebel*.

Perverſ. 4. ‘ By the *Quakers* Light or Spirit, they may be moved to Murder, Adultery, Treaſon, Theft, or any ſuch-like wickedneſs; becauſe they ſay that ſuch as are ‘ ſo led, have the Light within them.’

John iii. 20, 21.
Gal. v. 16, 26.

Principle. This never was their doctrine, nor is it conſequent of it: For though they hold that all *have* Light, they never ſaid that all *obeyed* it, or that evil men, *as* ſuch, or in *ſuch* things, were *led* by it: Much leſs could the *Light* be chargeable with the ſins of thoſe that refuſed to be *led* by it. For *herein* they know the Spirit of *God*, and the Motions of it, from the Spirit of *this* World, and its Fruits, ‘ That the Spirit ‘ of *God* condemns all *Ungodlineſs*, and moves and inclines to *Purity*, *Mercy*, and *Righteouſneſs*,’ which are of *God*.

They deny and abominate that looſe and ranting mind, which would charge the Spirit of God with their *unholy Liberty*. God's Spirit makes people *free* from ſin, and not to *commit* ſin. Neither do they diſtinguiſh, as ſuch looſe people wickedly do, between the *Act*, and the *Evil* of it. Wherefore they ſay, ‘ That as the *Tree* is known and denominated by its *Fruits*; ſo *Spirits* are by their *Influences*, *Motions* and *Inclinations*: And the Spirit of *God* never did incline any one to *Evil*. And for that cauſe they renounce this conſtruction of the Ranters, ‘ That Evil is *no* Evil, when they are *led* to ‘ it by God's *Spirit*:’ For that groſly implies, As if the Spirit of God led man at any time to that which is Evil *in itſelf*; or that it were poſſible to be *ſinleſs* in the *Commiſſion* of *Sin*, as Murder, Theft, Adultery, Revenge, &c. For that never was, nor can be, the way and method of God's Spirit, which is *pure* and *holy* for ever; and brings all, that regard the convictions and motions of it, into a *Senſe* and *Sorrow* for *Sin*, and ſo leads them into a ſtate of *Reformation*; without which, all Profeſſion of Religion is meer Formality and Hypocriſy. So that man's Sin and Deſtruction are of *himſelf*; but his Help is in *God alone*, through Jeſus Chriſt, our bleſſed Sacrifice and Sanctifier.

SECT II.

Of *Infallibility* and *Perfection*.

Perverſ. 5. ‘ The *Quakers* muſt be all *infallible* and *perfect*, if they have ſuch an ‘ infallible *Light* in them.’

Rom. viii. 4.

Principle. No ſuch matter: This is alſo a great abuſe of their true meaning. They ſay, ‘ The Principle is Pure, Perfect, Unerrable, *in itſelf*; or elſe it were very unfit to ‘ lead men out of Error and Impurity.’ But they never did aſſert *themſelves* ſuch, merely becauſe it was *within* them: By no means. But that all who are *led* by it, and live according to its manifeſtation, are *ſo* far perfect; and *ſo* far infallible in the right way, as they are *led* by it, and not a jot *farther*. For it is not *Opinion*, or *Speculation*, or *Notions*, of what is true; or Aſſent to, or the Subſcription of, Articles or Propoſitions, though never ſo ſoundly worded, that, according to *their* ſenſe, makes a man a *True* Believer, or a *True* Chriſtian: But it is a *Conformity* of *Mind* and *Practice* to the *Will* of *God*, in all holineſs of converſation, according to the dictates of this divine Principle

ciple of Light and Life in the ſoul, which denotes a perſon truly a Child of God. “For the Children of God are led by the Spirit of God; but if any man have not “the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his.” Rom. viii. 9, 14. And let it be noted, that though this Spiritual Principle be *in* man, yet, it is not *of* man, but of *God*, through Jeſus Chriſt. Who can lay down a more independent doctrine upon *Self*, and a more depending one upon the *Grace* or *Gift* of *God?* Let us not, I pray, be miſtaken, nor ſuffer for ſuch miſapprehenſions, nor be made to hold what we do not, on purpoſe to diſrepute us with ſober people, or to ſupport the miſtaken charges of our enemies. Yet to ſhew that a ſtate of Perfection from Sin (though not in Fulneſs of *Wiſdom* and *Glory*) is attainable in this life; they, among others, refer them to theſe ſcriptures, which, for brevity's ſake, are not ſet down at large, but the reader is deſired to turn to them.

Gen. xvii. 1. Deut. xviii. 13. Job i. 1, 8. ch. ii. 3, &c. viii. 20. Pſal. xviii. 32. Pſal. xxxvii. 37. and cxix. 1. Prov. ii. 21. Matt. v. 48. Luke vi. 40. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 2 Cor. xiii. 9, 11. Eph. iv. 13. 1 Theſ. iii. 10. 2 Tim. iii. 17. Jam. i. 4. 1 Pet. v. 10. Heb. vi. 1. 1 John vi. 7, 8, 9. ch. ii. 20, 27. ch. iii. 5, 6, 7, 8. ch. iv. 17.

SECT. III.

Of the *Scriptures*, their *Truth*, *Authority*, and *Service*.

Perverſ. 6. ‘The *Quakers* deny the *Scriptures*; for they deny them to be the *Word* ‘*of God.*’

Princip. They own and ſtile the Scriptures, as they own and ſtile *themſelves*; viz. ‘A *Declaration* of thoſe Things moſt truly believed, given forth, in former ages, by ‘the Inſpiration of the Holy Spirit; conſequently that they are profitable for Doc‘trine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Inſtruction in Righteouſneſs, that the Man of ‘God may be perfect, thoroughly furniſhed unto all good works.’ Luke i. 1. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. They are the *Form* of *Sound Words*. John i. 4, 14. Rev. xix. 13. We profeſs to believe them, and read them, and ſay, it is the work we have to do in this world, and the earneſt deſire of our ſouls to Almighty God, that we may feel and witneſs the *fulfilling* of them in and upon ourſelves; that ſo God's Will may be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. But to call them the *Word* of God, (the ground of the charge) which they never call *themſelves*, but which they peculiarly denominate and call *Chriſt* by; in reverence to *Chriſt*, and in no ſlight to *them* (which they believe to be of Divine Authority, and embrace as the *Beſt of Books*, and allow to be *as* much the *Word* of God, as a *Book* can be) they do, as in duty and reaſon bound, attribute that title to *Chriſt Only*.

And yet, as the *Word* of God may, in ſome ſenſe, ſignify the *Command* of God, referring to the *Thing* or *Matter* commanded, as the *Mind* of God, it may be called the *Word* of the *Lord*, or *Word* of *God:* As, on particular occaſions, the Prophets had the *Word* of the *Lord* to perſons and places; that is to ſay, the *Mind*, or *Will*, of God, or that which was commanded them of the Lord to declare or do. So Chriſt uſes it, when he tells the Phariſees, that they had “made the *Word* (or *Command*) of “God of none effect, by their Traditions.” Mark vii. 13. But becauſe people are ſo apt to think, if they have the *Scriptures* they have *All*; for that they account them the *only* Word of God, and ſo look no farther; that is, to no *other* Word, from whence thoſe good Words *came:* Therefore this people have been conſtrained, and they believe by God's Good Spirit, once and again to point them to the Great Word of Words, *Chriſt Jeſus*, in whom is *Life*, and that Life the *Light* of *Men*; John i. 4. that they might feel ſomething *nearer* to them than the Scriptures, to wit, the *Word* in the *Heart*, from whence all Holy Scripture *came*, which is “Chriſt within them, the Hope of their Glory.” Deut. xxx. 14. Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. And, to be ſure, *He* is the only right *Expounder*, as well as the *Author*, of Holy Scripture; and without whoſe *Light*, *Spirit*, or *Grace*, they cannot be *profitably* read, by thoſe that read them.

Perverſ. 7. ‘They deny them to be any *Means* whereby to reſiſt *Temptation*.’

Princip. This is a very uncharitable Aſperſion. True it is, that they deny the Scriptures *merely*, or *of themſelves*, to be *ſufficient* to reſiſt Temptations; for then all that *have* them, and *read* them, would be ſure to be *preſerved* by them againſt Temptations: But that they ſhould deny them to be *any* Means, or Inſtrument, in God's Hand, is either great Ignorance, or Injuſtice, in their adverſaries. God *hath* made uſe of the Scriptures, and daily *doth* and *will* make uſe of them, for *Inſtruction*, *Reproof*, *Comfort* and *Edification*, through the *Spirit*, to thoſe that read them as they *ought* to do. *Thus*, they ſay, *they* have felt them, and *ſo* they have been, and are, made unto them, through the good Spirit of God, coming in upon their Spirits, in the reading and conſidering of them; and wiſh heartily they were more in requeſt with the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity.

SECT. IV.

Of the *Holy Spirit* of *God*, and its *Office* with reſpect to *Man*; and of *Miniſtry*, &c.

Perverſ. 8. ‘ The *Quakers* aſſert the Spirit of God to be the *Immediate Teacher*, ‘ and that there is no *other* Means now to be uſed, as *Miniſtry*, *Ordinances*,’ &c.

Princip. They never ſpoke ſuch language, and their *Daily Practice* confutes the reflection. But herein we perceive the great ſubtilty of Satan, as well as in other things, to *darken* the appearance of the Truth, and *prepoſſeſs* peoples minds againſt it. For ſince he cannot hinder the Exaltation of the *Spirit* above all *viſible* Inſtruments, nor the neceſſity of its Manifeſtations, Convictions, Motions and Operations, to be known in the hearts of men, and the great Suitableneſs thereof to the Goſpel-adminiſtration, he would ſpoil all by *over*-doing the matter, and carrying our aſſertions beyond *bounds*: For they *never* denied the Uſe of *Means*; but, to this day, from the beginning, they have been in the practice of them. But then they are *ſuch* Means as are uſed in the *Life* and *Power* of *God*, and not in and from *Man*'s mere *Wit*, *Will*, or carnal *Innovation* or *Imitation*; the *only* thing they ſtrike at. For inſtance; they cannot own *that* to be a *Goſpel*-Miniſtry, that is without a Goſpel-*Spirit*; or that ſuch can be *ſent* of God, that are not *taught* of God; or that they are fit to teach *others* what *Regeneration* and the *Way* to *Heaven* are, that have never been *born again* themſelves; or that ſuch can ever bring ſouls to God, that are themſelves *Strangers* (like thoſe in the *Acts* xix. 21.) to the baptiſm of *Fire*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*; never having been circumciſed with the circumciſion of the *Heart* in the *Spirit*, Rom. ii. 29. Which is ſo abſolutely neceſſary to make a *True Jew*, or a *Real Chriſtian*, and much more the requiſite qualification of a *Goſpel-Miniſtry*.

This *unexperienced* and *lifeleſs* Miniſtry, is the *only* Miniſtry, and ſuch the only *Miniſters*, that the People called Quakers cannot *own* and *receive*, and therefore cannot *maintain*. For the *Miniſtry* and the *Miniſters* that are according to *Scripture*, they both own, reſpect, and delight in; and are ready to *aſſiſt* and *ſupport*, in their ſervice for God.

John xiv. 16, 17, 26. ch. xvi. 13. Acts i. 8. Gal. i. 1, 15, 16.

It is ſtrange, becauſe they deny all *falſe* Means, or means not *ſanctified*, or uſed in the Openings and Leadings of God's Power and Spirit, that therefore they muſt deny *all* Means, however rightly uſed or employed. This is an injuſtice to their *Profeſſion* and *Practice*. Wherefore all are deſired to take notice, That *Evangelical Means* and *Order* they love, and deſire to keep: For they diligently *aſſemble themſelves together* to *wait* upon God, to enable them to *worſhip* him; where they both *pray* and *propheſy*, one by one, as prepared and moved in their hearts by his Spirit, and as any thing is *revealed* to them, according to *Primitive Practice*; otherwiſe they are *ſilent* before the Lord. Nor are they without *Spiritual Songs*, making *Melody* in their *Hearts* to God their Redeemer, by the ſame Holy Ghoſt, as often as they are comforted and moved by it, as was the *Primitive Practice*.

See 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 29, 30, 31. John xvi. 7, 20, 22. Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16.

SECT. V.

Of the *Holy Three*, or Scripture *Trinity*.

Perverſ. ‘ The *Quakers* deny the *Trinity*.’

Princip. Nothing leſs: They believe in the *Holy Three*, or *Trinity* of *Father*, *Word*, and *Spirit*, according to Scripture. And that theſe Three are truly and properly One: Of One *Nature*, as well as *Will*. But they are very tender of quitting *Scripture* Terms and Phraſes for *Schoolmens*; ſuch as, ‘ *Diſtinct* and *ſeparate Perſons*,’ and ‘ *Subſiſtences*,’ &c. are; from whence people are apt to entertain groſs ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. And they judge, that a *curious* enquiry into thoſe High and Divine Relations, and other ſpeculative ſubjects, though never ſo great truths in themſelves, tend little to Godlineſs, and leſs to Peace; which ſhould be the chief aim of true Chriſtians: And therefore they cannot gratify that curioſity in themſelves, or others: *Speculative* Truths being, in their judgment, to be ſparingly and tenderly declared, and never to be made the *Meaſure* and *Condition* of Chriſtian Communion. For beſides that Chriſt Jeſus hath taught them other things, the ſad conſequences, in all times, of *ſuperfining* upon Scripture-Texts, do ſufficiently caution and forbid them. Men are too apt to let their *Heads* outrun their *Hearts*, and their *Notion* exceed their *Obedience*, and their *Paſſion* ſupport their *Conceits*; inſtead of a *Daily Croſs*, a *Conſtant Watch*, and an *Holy Practice*. The deſpiſed Quakers deſire *this* may be *their Care*, and the *Text* their Creed in *this*, as in all other points: Preferring *Self-denial* to *Opinion*, and *Charity* to *Knowledge*, according to that great Chriſtian Doctrine, 1 Cor. xiii.

John i. 1. c. xiv. 9. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 7. 1 Cor. i. 18, 31. ch. ii. 2.—6. Col. ii. 8.

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SECT. VI.

Of the *Divinity* of *Chriſt*.

Perverſ. 10. ‘ The Quakers deny *Chriſt* to be *God*.’

Princip. A moſt untrue and unreaſonable cenſure: For their great and characteriſtick Principle being this, ‘ That *Chriſt*, as the *Divine Word*, lighteth the *Souls* of ‘ all Men that come into the World, with a *Spiritual* and *Saving Light*, according ‘ to John i. 9. ch. viii. 12. (which nothing but the *Creator* of Souls *can* do) it does ſufficiently ſhew they believe him to be *God*; for they *truly*, and *expreſly*, own him to be ſo, according to Scripture; viz. “ In him was Life, and that Life the Light “ of Men; and he is God over all, bleſſed for ever.” John. i. 1. Rom. ix. 5.

SECT. VII.

Of the *Manhood* of *Chriſt*.

Perverſ. 11. ‘ The *Quakers* deny the *Human Nature* of *Chriſt*.’

Princip. We never taught, ſaid, or held, ſo groſs a thing, if by *Human Nature* be underſtood the *Manhood* of Chriſt Jeſus. For as we believe him to be *God* over all, bleſſed for ever; ſo we do as truly believe him to be of the *Seed* of *Abraham* and *David* after the *Fleſh*; and therefore truly and properly *Man*, “ like *us* in *all* “ things (and once *ſubject* to all things, for *our* ſakes) *Sin only* excepted.” Iſa. vii. 14. Mat. i. 23. Luke i. 31.

SECT. VIII.

Of *Chriſt Jeſus*, his *Death*, and *Sufferings*.

Perverſ. 12. ‘ The *Quakers* expect to be *juſtified* and *ſaved* by the *Light within* ‘ *them*, and not by the *Death* and *Sufferings* of *Chriſt*.’

Princip. This is both unfairly and untruly ſtated and charged upon us. But the various ſenſe of the word *Juſtification*, obliges me here to diſtinguiſh the uſe of it: For in the natural and proper ſenſe, it plainly implies, *making* men *juſt*, that were *unjuſt*; *godly*, that were *ungodly*; *upright*, that were *depraved*; as the Apoſtle expreſſeth himſelf, 1 Cor. vi. 11. “ And ſuch were ſome of you; but ye are waſhed, but ye are ſanctified, but ye are juſtified, in the name of our Lord Jeſus, and by the Spirit of our “ God.” In the other uſe of the word, which ſome call a *Law*-ſenſe, it refers to Chriſt, as a *Sacrifice* and *Propitiation* for *Sin*, as in Rom. v. 9. “ Much more then, “ being now juſtified by his blood, we ſhall be ſaved from wrath through him:” And 1 John ii. “ If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the “ righteous; and He is the Propitiation for our ſins; and not for ours only, but alſo “ for the ſins of the whole World.” Which though a great truth, and moſt firmly believed by us; yet no man can be intituled to the Benefit thereof, but as they come to believe, and repent of the evil of their ways; and then it may be truly ſaid, “ That ‘ God juſtifieth even the Ungodly, and looks upon them through Chriſt, as if they ‘ had never ſinned; becauſe their ſins are forgiven them for his beloved Son's ſake.’

Not that God looks on people *to be* in Chriſt, that *are not* in Chriſt; that is, that are not in the *Faith*, *Obedience*, and *Self-denial* of Chriſt; nor *ſanctified*, nor *led* by his *Spirit*, but *rebel* againſt it; and, inſtead of *dying* to ſin, through a true and unfeigned *Repentance*, *live* and *indulge* themſelves daily in it; “ for they that are in Chriſt, “ become new creatures; old things are paſt away, and all things, (with them) be- “ come new.” Wherefore we ſay, That whatever Chriſt *then* did, both *living* and *dying*, was of great benefit to the ſalvation of all that *have* believed, and *now* do, and that hereafter *ſhall* believe in him unto *Juſtification* and *Acceptance* with God: But the Way to come to that Faith, is to receive and obey the Manifeſtation of his divine *Light* and *Grace* in their Conſciences; which leads men to believe and value, and not to diſown or undervalue, Chriſt as the *Common Sacrifice* and *Mediator*. For we do affirm, That to follow this holy *Light* in the *Conſcience*, and to turn our minds, and bring all our deeds and thoughts to it, is the *readieſt*, nay, the only *right* Way to have *true*, *living*, and *ſanctified* Faith in Chriſt, as he appeared in the Fleſh, and to *diſcern* the Lord's *Body*, *Coming*, and *Sufferings* aright, and to receive any *real* benefit by him, as their *Only Sacrifice* and *Mediator*: According to the beloved Diſciple's emphatical paſſages, “ If we walk in the Light, as (God) is in the Light, we have fellowſhip “ one with another, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſeth us from all ſin.” And becauſe this People ſay, That Chriſt's *Outward Coming* and *Sufferings* profit not to *their* ſalvation that live in *Sin*, and *rebel* againſt this Divine Light; ſome have untruly and uncharitably concluded, that they deny the Virtue and Benefit of Chriſt's Coming John iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 6, 7. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.

ing and Sufferings in the Fleſh, as a *Sacrifice* for *Sin*. Whereas we only deny and oppoſe a falſe and dangerous *Application* of them in and to a *diſobedient* ſtate. For we believe Chriſt came not to ſave men *in* their ſins, but *from* their ſins; and that thoſe that Rev. iii. 20. open the door of their hearts at his *inward* and *ſpiritual Knocks* (to wit, the *Reproofs* and *Convictions* of his Light and Grace), have their "Conſciences ſprinkled with his "Blood (that is, diſcharged from the *Guilt* of them) from dead works, to ſerve the Living God:" And that ſo far only as men come, by Faith, Repentance, and Amendment, to be *Chriſt's*, Chriſt is *theirs*; and as he has an intereſt in their *Hearts*, they have an intereſt in his *Love* and *Salvation*. That is, ſo far as they are obedient to his Grace, and take up his Croſs, and follow him in the ways of *Meekneſs*, *Holineſs*, and *Self-denial*, ſo far they have an *Intereſt* in Chriſt, and no farther. And here, "there is "no Condemnation, *indeed*, to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus," becauſe, ſuch "walk not "after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit:" For we have ſeen a *Shoal* or *Sand* here, that we fear many thouſands have ſplit upon, which we deſire to avoid, and are earneſt that others may beware of it alſo; viz. 'That becauſe Chriſt died a *Sacrifice* for the *Sins* 'of the *whole World*, by which he put mankind into a Capacity of Salvation, and has 'given every one a *Talent* of *Grace* to work it out by; they preſume upon the *Sacrifice*, and *ſin on*, without a thorough Repentance, Reformation and Converſion to 'God; *not dying*, with Chriſt, *to* the world, but *living* in it, according to the luſts 'and ſpirit of it.' Such as theſe may be aſſured that "where Chriſt is gone, they "ſhall never come:" For, ſays the bleſſed apoſtle, "God ſent his Son to bleſs us, by "turning every one of us from the Evil of our Way." So that the Contrite, Humble, Meek, and Self-denying People, are thoſe that have the true and full benefit of Chriſt's Coming, Suffering and Mediation, and of all thoſe holy ends for which God his Father *anointed* and *gave* him to the world, viz. to be the Way, Truth and Life; Light, Leader and Saviour; to be a King, Prieſt, Prophet, Sacrifice, Sanctifier and Mediator. Being ſenſibly felt of all ſuch to *reign* over their *Hearts*; *teach* them God's royal *Law*; *give* them ſaving knowledge; and to *mediate*, *atone* for, *ſanctify*, and *juſtify* them in the ſight of God his Father, for ever.

By all which it is evident, to any moderate enquirer, that we acknowledge Chriſt in his double appearance; as, in the Fleſh, "of the ſeed of Abraham," ſo in the Spirit, as he is "God over all, bleſſed for ever." Wherein is a full confeſſion both to him as a Bleſſed *Perſon*, and as a Divine *Principle* of Light and Life in the Soul; the want of which neceſſary and evident Diſtinction, occaſions our adverſaries frequent miſtakes about our Belief and Application of the Scriptures of Truth concerning Chriſt, in that twofold capacity.

For it is not another than that eternal *Word*, *Light*, *Power*, *Wiſdom* and *Righteouſneſs*, which then took *Fleſh*, and appeared in that Holy *Body*, by whom they have received, or can receive, any true ſpiritual benefit. They holding, *Light* is ONLY from Him, *Forgiveneſs* ONLY through Him, and, *Sanctification* ONLY by Him. So that their aſcribing ſalvation from ſin, and death eternal, to him in *this* age, who now appears by his holy Spirit to their ſouls, as before expreſſed, cannot render him *no* Saviour in *that* age, or make void the End and Benefit of his bleſſed appearance then in the Fleſh on earth, or his Mediation now in glory, for thoſe that believe in him in *this* age: Whoſe Doc- John i. 4, 9. trine *pierced*, whoſe Life *preached*, whoſe Miracles *aſtoniſhed*, whoſe Blood *atoned*, and 1 Tim. iii. 16. whoſe Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, *confirmed* that bleſſed Manifeſtation to be no leſs than that of the "*Word God* (the Life and Light of men) manifeſted in the Fleſh," according to the apoſtle Paul, for the ſalvation of the world: And therefore, *properly* and *truly*, was the Son of Man on Earth, and is now as truly the Son of Man in Glory, as the *Head* of *our* Manhood, which ſhall alſo be *glorified*, if we now receive him into our *Hearts*, as the *True Light*, that leads in the way of life eternal, and Continue in Well-doing to the End.

SECT. IX.

Of *Good Works*.

Perverſ. 13. 'Thus it is the *Quakers* ſet up *Works*, and *Meriting* by *Works*, like the '*Papiſts*; whereby Juſtification by *Faith* in *Chriſt* is laid aſide.'

Princ. By no means: But they ſay, with the Apoſtle James, chap. ii. "That *true* "Faith in Chriſt, cannot be without *Works*, any more than a *Body* can live without a "*Spirit*;" and that where there is Life, there is Motion; and where there is no Divine Life and Motion, there can be no True Faith; *Believing* being a Fruit of Divine *Life*. Nay, by the compariſon, if they were ſeparable, *Works* being compared to the *Spirit*, they would have the better. The very *Believing* is an *Act* of the *Mind*, concurring with *God's* working in or upon the Mind, and therefore a *godly Work*. And no ſooner is True Faith begotten in a ſoul, but it falls to *working*; which is both the Nature, and, in ſome reſpect, the End of it.

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Nor yet do we ſay, That our very *beſt* works, proceeding from the True Faith itſelf, can *merit*; no, nor Faith joined with them; becauſe "Eternal Life is the " Gift of God." All that man is capable of believing, or performing, can never properly be ſaid to *merit* everlaſting bleſſedneſs; becauſe there can be no *Proportion* (as there *muſt* be, in caſe of *Merit*) between the beſt *Works* that can be performed in the Life of Man, and an *Eternal Felicity*. Wherefore all that man can do, 'even with ' the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit,' can never be ſaid ſtrictly to *merit*, as a Debt *due* to the Creature: But, on the other hand, that *Right Faith*, and *Good Works*, (which ariſe out of it, or will follow it) may, and do, *obtain* the bleſſed immortality, [which it pleaſeth Almighty God to give, and privilege the ſons of men with, who perform that neceſſary condition] is a goſpel and neceſſary truth. And this the Quakers ground upon, and therefore boldly affirm to the world.

So that they deny *all Merit* from the *beſt* of Works; eſpecially by *ſuch* as ſome *Papiſts* may conceive to be *meritorious*. But as they, on the one hand, deny the Meritoriouſneſs of Works; ſo, on the other hand, neither can they join with that *lazy* Faith which works not out the ſalvation of the ſoul with Fear and Trembling: Pray Phil. ii. 12. let not good *Works* make men *Papiſts*, becauſe they make men *Chriſtians*. I am ſure *Believing* and *Not-working*, and imagining a ſalvation from *Wrath*, where there is no ſalvation or cleanſing from *Sin*, which is the cauſe of it, is no whit leſs unſcriptural, and abundantly more pernicious to the ſoul. "Bleſſed is he that hears Chriſt's Mat. vii. " words, and does them." The Doer is only accepted. Wherefore it ſhall be ſaid at the laſt day, not, "Well *profeſſed*," but, "Well *done*, good and faithful ſer- Pſalm xvii. vant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." 'Thou holy, humble, patient and meek ' liver: Thou that lovedſt me above all, and thy neighbour as thyſelf: Enter thou. ' For, for thee, and ſuch as thou art, was it prepared from the foundation of the ' world.' Which recompence of his faithfulneſs, is the infinite Love of God revealed and given to man, through Chriſt. For though "Death be the Wages of Sin," yet Rom. vi. 23. " the Gift of God is Eternal life to ſuch." So that as the people called Quakers do not hold that their good Works *merit*, neither believe they that their good Works *juſtify* them: For though none are *juſtified* that are not in meaſure *ſanctified*, yet all that man does is *Duty*, and therefore cannot blot out old Scores: For that is mere *Grace* and *Fa-* Iſa. xxvi. 12. *vour*, upon repentance, through Chriſt, the *Sacrifice* and *Mediator*; our great *Scape-Goat*. So that men are not juſtified, *becauſe* they are ſanctified, but for *his ſake* that ſanctifies them, and works all their good works in them and for them, and preſents them blameleſs; to wit, Chriſt Jeſus, who is made unto them, as he was to the ſaints of old, "Wiſdom, Righteouſneſs, Sanctification and Redemption; that he that glo- 1 Cor. i. 30. 31. rieth, might glory in the Lord."

SECT. X.

Of *Water-Baptiſm*, and the *Supper*.

Perverſ. 14. 'The *Quakers* deny the two great Sacraments or Ordinances of the Goſpel, *Baptiſm*, and the *Supper*.'

Princip. Whatever is truly and properly a Goſpel-ordinance, they deſire to own and practiſe: But they obſerve no ſuch language in the Scripture as in the Reflection. They do confeſs the *Practice* of *John*'s *Baptiſm*, and the *Supper*, is to be found there; but Practice *only* is no *Inſtitution*, or ſufficient Reaſon of Continuation. That they were *then* proper, they believe; it being a time of great Infancy, and when the myſteries of Truth lay yet couched and folded up in *Figures* and *Shadows*, as is acknowledged by Proteſtants: But it is their belief, that *no Figures* or *Signs* are *perpetual*, or of *Inſtitution*, under the Goſpel-Adminiſtration, when CHRIST, who is the *Subſtance* of them, is come: Though their Uſe might have been indulged to young Converts in Primitive Times, becauſe of the Condeſcenſion of former Practices.

It were to overthrow the whole Goſpel-Diſpenſation, and to make the Coming of Chriſt of none effect, to render *Signs* and *Figures* of the Nature of the Goſpel, which is *inward*, *ſpiritual*, and *eternal*. If it be ſaid, 'But they were uſed after the Coming of ' Chriſt, and his Aſcenſion too:' They anſwer, So were many Jewiſh Ceremonies, not eaſily aboliſhed, as Circumciſion, &c. It is ſufficient to them, That Water-baptiſm was *John*'s and not *Chriſt*'s, See Matt. iii. 11. Acts i. 5. That Jeſus never *uſed* it, John iv. 2. That it was *no Part* of Paul's Commiſſion, which if it were evangelical, and of Duration, it would certainly have been. 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17. And that there is but *One Baptiſm*, as well as *One Faith*, and *One Lord*, Epheſ. v. 4. And *that* Baptiſm ought to be of the ſame Nature with the Kingdom of which it is an Ordinance, and that is *ſpiritual*. The ſame holds alſo as to the *Supper*, both alluding to *Old Jewiſh Practices*, and uſed as a Signification of a near and accompliſhing work, viz. The *Subſtance* they repreſented.

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Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 26. Mat. xvi. 28. John xiv. 17. Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25.

If any ſay, ‘ But Chriſt commanded that One of them ſhould *continue* in Remem‘ brance of him ;’ which the Apoſtle to the Church of Corinth explains thus ; “ That “ thereby they do *ſhew forth* the Lord’s Death until he comes :” We alledge, That he that ſaid ſo, told his diſciples alſo, “ That he would come to them again : That “ ſome ſhould not taſte of Death until they *ſaw* him coming in the Kingdom : And “ that he that dwelleth with them, ſhould be *in them :* And that he would drink no “ more of this Fruit of the Vine, until he ſhould drink it *New* with them in the King“ dom of God :” Which is the *New Wine,* that was to be put into the *New Bottles,* and is the *Wine* of the *Kingdom ;* as he expreſſeth it in the ſame place : Which Kingdom is *within,* as may be read in *Luke.* He was the *Heavenly Bread* that they had not *yet* known, nor his *Fleſh* and *Blood,* as they *were* to know them ; as may be ſeen *John* vi. So that though Chriſt was come to *end* all *Signs,* yet, until he was known to be the *Subſtance* to the ſoul, as the great *Bread of Life* from Heaven, *Signs* had their ſervice with them, to *ſhew forth,* and *hold in hand,* and in *Remembrance* of Chriſt : Eſpecially to the people of that day, whoſe religion was attended with a multitude of the like types, ſhadows, and ſigns of the One good Thing and Subſtance of all, Chriſt manifeſted in his People. And that great Apoſtle Paul ſays expreſly of the Jewiſh Obſervations, “ That they were *Shadows* of the good Things to come, but the *Subſtance* “ was of *Chriſt.*” Hence it is, that the People called Quakers cannot be ſaid to *deny* them ; that is too hard a word : But they truly feeling in themſelves the *very Thing,* which *outward* Water, Bread and Wine do *ſignify,* or *point forth* (to ſay nothing here of their *Abuſe,* and what in that caſe may be argued, from the inſtance of Hezekiah’s taking away the *Brazen Serpent* by God’s *Command,*) they *leave them off,* as fulfilled in *Chriſt,* who is in them “ the Hope of their Glory :” And henceforth they have but *One* Lord, *One* Faith, *One* Baptiſm, *One* Bread, and but *One* Cup of Bleſſings, and that is the New Wine of the Kingdom of God, which is within.

Luke v. 37. Luke xvii. 20. John vi. 53 to 63.

2 Kings xviii. 4. Mark xiv. 25. 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, 17. Luke xvii. 20, 21.

SECT. XI.

Of the *Reſurrection,* and *Eternal Recompence.*

Perverſ. 15. ‘ They acknowledge *no Reſurrection* of the *Dead,* nor *Rewards* to ‘ *come.*’

Princip. In this alſo we are greatly abuſed. We deny *not,* but *believe,* the *Reſurrection,* according to the Scripture ; not only from *Sin,* but alſo from *Death* and the *Grave ;* but are conſcientiouſly cautious in expreſſing the *Manner* of the Reſurrection intended in the Charge, becauſe it is left a *Secret* by the Holy Ghoſt in the Scripture. Should people be angry with them for not *expreſſing* or *aſſerting* what is *hidden,* and which is more curious than neceſſary to be known, and in which the Objectors themſelves cannot be poſitive ? “ Thou Fool,” is to the curious enquirer, as ſays the Apoſtle : Which makes the Quakers contented with *that Body,* which God ſhall pleaſe to give them hereafter : Being aſſured, “ that their Corruptible ſhall put on Incorruption, “ and their Mortal ſhall put on Immortality,” but in ſuch a Manner as pleaſeth God. And in the mean time they eſteem it their Duty, as well as Wiſdom, to acquieſce in his holy will. It is enough they believe a Reſurrection, and that with a *Glorious* and *Incorruptible Body,* without farther niceties ; for to that was the ancient hope.

1 Cor. xv. 36 to 54.

1 Cor. xv. 19. Now as to *Eternal Rewards,* they not only *believe* them, but, as the Apoſtle ſays of old, above *all* people have the greateſt *Reaſon* ſo to do ; for otherwiſe, who is ſo *miſerable ?* Do they inherit the Reproach and Suffering of all that have ſeparated from time to time from National Churches ? That is to ſay, Are the Outcries that have been againſt the Proteſtants by the Papiſts, and thoſe of the Church of England againſt the Puritans, Browniſts, and Separatiſts, fallen ſo thick upon *them,* and ſhall *they* hold principles inconſiſtent with an Eternal Recompence of reward ? By no means. It is their Faith, their Hope, their Intereſt, and what they wait and have ſuffered for, and preſs, as an encouragement to faithfulneſs, upon one another. And the contrary therefore muſt be both an *unjuſt* and an *improbable* ſuggeſtion of their adverſaries.

SECT. XII.

Of *Civil Honour* and *Reſpect.*

Perverſ. 16. ‘ The *Quakers* deny all *Civil Honour* and *Reſpect,* but what is *relative* or *equal* between Men.’

1 Pet. ii. 17. ch. iii. 9. Rom. xii. 2. Job xxxii. 21, 22. 1 Pet. i. 14.

Princip. We “ Honour all men in the Lord,” but not in the Spirit and Faſhion of *this* world that paſſes away. And though we do not pull off our Hats, or make Curtſeyings, or give Flattering Titles, or uſe Compliments, becauſe we believe there is no *true* Honour, but Flattery and Sin in the uſing of them ; yet we treat all men with Seriouſneſs and Gentleneſs, though it be with Plainneſs, and our Superiors with a modeſt and awful Diſtance ; and are ready to do them any reaſonable benefit or ſervice, In which we think *real* Honour conſiſteth. Whereas thoſe that thus reproach us, are often Proud, Peeviſh, Snappiſh, Abuſive and Oppreſſive one to another; though at the ſame time they can give one another the *Cap* and *Knee*, with ſmooth words, which (too generally) they never mean: Which is far from *true* Civility, or “ Honouring all “ Men,” in the ſenſe that they are exhorted to by the Apoſtle.

And as for expreſſing our Reſpect to our Superiors in all Countries, we think it beſt done by obeying all Juſt Laws under their Government, according to the ſaying of the Centurion unto Chriſt, and which Chriſt ſo much approved of, viz. When he ſaid to one, “ Come, and he came; to another, Go, and he went; to a third, Do this, Luke vii. 8, 9. “ and he did it.” Reaſonable *Commands*, and Ready *Obedience*. *This* is honouring of Government and Governors, and not Empty Titles, and Servile and Fantaſtick Geſtures, and drinking of their Healths until they drink away their *own*: The vain and evil cuſtoms of the world, taken from the Heathen's practices, and adopted by looſe Chriſtians in their converſation, and ſo become the faſhion of the times. And if to diſſent from theſe things, be to be *vile*, we are contented to be accounted *more* vile, having Chriſt's Commands, Primitive Example, and our own Convictions, on our ſide. 2 Sam. vi. 22.

SECT. XIII.

Of *Civil Government*.

Perverſ. 17. ‘ The *Quakers* are *Enemies* to all *Government*. Firſt, In that every ‘ one acteth according to his own Conceit. Secondly, Becauſe they will not *ſupport* ‘ Civil Government. Thirdly, Becauſe they refuſe to give evidence upon *Oath*, as ‘ the Law requires.’

Princip. That this is a calumny, their Lives and Converſations ſufficiently ſhew; for no people give the Magiſtrates *leſs* trouble, or cauſe that charge or burden to ſit lighter upon their ſhoulders, than theſe People do. And for their Principle, ‘ They ‘ believe Magiſtracy to be an Ordinance of God, and that he that ruleth Well, is ‘ worthy of Double Honour, and deſerves to be much valued and eſteemed:’ As ſuch certainly do, “ Who are a Terror to Evil-Doers, and a Praiſe to them that do Well.” Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3. And farther, to ſhew that they are People that love *Order* and *Good Government*, they carefully practiſe it among themſelves: For if there be Twenty Meetings of *Worſhip* in a County, they, peradventure, make Three or Four *Monthly Meetings* of *Buſineſs*; and theſe *Monthly Meetings* are reſolved into a *Quarterly Meeting* for the County, by Acts vi. ſuch Members as they ſeverally appoint to conſtitute it. And all the *Quarterly Meetings* in the *Nation*, by choſen men out of themſelves, do conſtitute *One General Yearly Meeting*; unto which, the Meetings of thoſe People, in all parts of the world, have their recourſe, by *Choſen Meſſengers*, or by *Epiſtles*. The buſineſs of which Meetings, in their ſeveral degrees, is to promote *Virtue* and *Charity*, *Peace* and *Unity*.

‘ The *Quakers* will not ſupport *Civil Government*, and ſo are *uſeleſs*, if not *dangerous*, to *Government*.’

This alſo is untrue, upon Experience: For what People is more *induſtrious* under Government, or pay their Taxes *better* to it than *they* do? And, *Tribute* from the *People*, and *Juſtice* from the *Rulers*, are the *Support* of *Government* in all Countries. It is true, indeed, that they cannot *kill*, or ſlay their own *Kind*, and ſo are not fit for *Warriors* with Carnal Weapons of *Deſtruction*; becauſe they believe their bleſſed Lord forbad the *Uſe* of them to his Followers, when he ſaid, “ They that take the Sword, Mat v. 38—45. “ ſhall periſh with the Sword;” and that the *Uſe* of the *Sword* in *War*, was one of ch. xxvi. 51, 52. thoſe things that God ſuffered for the “ *Hardneſs* of Mens *Hearts*, and that from the “ *Beginning* it was *not* ſo:” In fine, that it came *in* with the Fall, and muſt go *out* with it alſo. And as Chriſt, the “ Repairer of Breaches, and Reſtorer of Paths to “ dwell in,” comes to be known to rule in the heart, *Love* will take place of *Wrath*, and *Forgiveneſs* overcome *Injury* and *Revenge*: So the *Lamb* will be preferred before the Iſa. xi. 6. *Lion*, and the *Lion* reſign to, and lye down with, the *Lamb*, and Deſtruction come 2 Cor. x. 3, 5. to a perpetual End. For which cauſe, the “ Weapons of this People's Warfare are “ not *Carnal*, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down the ſtrong holds of Sin “ and Satan,” according to the Apoſtle's doctrine: Which is the *Holy War*, indeed; ſtiled by the Holy Ghoſt, *The Saints Warfare*. And ſince ſo Holy, Lamb-like, and Peaceable a State, is both propheſied of, and promiſed, as the “ Happineſs of the *latter* “ Times;” and that *It* and *They* take their Beginning in *Chriſt*, the “ *Beginning* and “ the *End* of all True Chriſtians;” let not this People be thought uſeleſs, or inconſiſtent with Government, for *introducing* that harmleſs glorious Way to this diſtracted World (for ſomebody *muſt* begin it); but rather adore the *Providence*, embrace the *Principle*, and cheriſh and follow the *Example*; Believing, with them, that Chriſt, the bleſſed Shepherd of his Flock, will ever preſerve the faithful Followers of his Meekneſs, and Diſciples of his Peaceable and Forgiving Doctrine.

‘ The *Quakers* refuſe to give *Evidence,*’ &c.

It cannot be their *Fault*, which is ſo much their *Deſire*, viz. ‘ To be able to give ‘ Evidence upon *all* Occaſions.’ Nor, with juſtice, can it be reputed their Stubbornneſs, but their Tenderneſs, ſince they cannot *Swear at all,* and that the Law requires Mat. v. 35, 37. Jam. v. 12. an *Oath* in Evidence. Now Chriſt having commanded his followers, “ Not to ſwear “ at all,” and that, inſtead of an Oath, or in caſes where Oaths are allowed under the Law, their *Yea, Yea,* and *Nay, Nay,* ſhould ſerve inſtead of Swearing; and that for this reaſon, becauſe, “ What is *more* than *Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay,* cometh of Evil;” and for that Chriſtians are commanded to avoid the very *Appearance* of evil, much more that which *cometh* of Evil: Upon this account they dare not ſwear at all. So that it is for *Chriſt's Sake,* and the tender Reſpect they bear to his Evangelical, Poſitive and General Precept, that they cannot ſwear; who is the *Truth,* and has taught them to *ſpeak* the Truth without an *Oath.*

Now if this would be admitted (and often they have prayed that it might be, and, for want of it, are not only leſs ſerviceable to their neighbours than otherwiſe they could be, but are great *Sufferers* in their Perſons and Eſtates) and that the Government would be pleaſed to accept their *Yea, Yea,* and *Nay, Nay,* inſtead of an Oath, as other countries do in the like caſes, they would be ready to ſubmit to the *ſame Puniſhment* in caſe of *Untruth,* that is due by Law to *Perjury:* And upon all occaſions would be glad to help and ſerve their neighbours with all their hearts. Wherefore let not that be made their *Fault,* that is ſo much againſt their *Will,* and their great Unhappineſs and Affliction.

Thus, ſober Reader, thou haſt a brief account of this People, their Principles and Practice; and therefore thou mayeſt ſee, if thou pleaſeſt, with how little reaſon they are *deſpiſed* by ſome, and *abuſed* by others; which hath been their lot, in a large meaſure, ever ſince they have been a People: Though the whole bent of their ſpirits and 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Acts xxvi. 18. 1 John i. 7. ch. ii. 20, 27. Rom. viii. 1--12. John i. 4, 5. teſtimony, ſince God, by his Grace, hath diſtinguiſhed them, has been, ‘ To promote ‘ the experimental and ſaving knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt in the world, by turning the ‘ minds of all people from the *Darkneſs* that is in them, to the *Light* of *Chriſt* which ‘ is in them, as the *Great, Singular,* and *Neceſſary Agent* and *Principle,* by which, ‘ *only,* Man is enlightened, and enabled to ſee and do the Will of God.’ For, until men receive, and are quickened by, this Divine Principle, they are Hypocrites, and not Chriſtians; Baſtards, and not Sons. Neither can they have true and living Faith, whatſoever they profeſs; nor can they truly and acceptably worſhip God, whatſoever they perform.

O then, let the poor Quakers, and their abuſed Principles, have better Entertainment with thee, Reader: And do not conclude, becauſe they direct people to the Light of *Chriſt* in them, that therefore it is a mere *natural,* and not a *divine* Light: Or becauſe they aſſert *Chriſt* to be the *Word of God,* and that he is revealed in the *Heart,* according to the Scripture, and that the *Scripture,* in that excellent ſenſe, is *not* ſo; that therefore they deny the *Divine Authority* of the Scriptures, and that the *Mind* and *Truth* thereof, as declared by them, is not, in *any* ſenſe, the *Word of the Lord* to *Men:* Or becauſe they do not receive the the *Schoolmens Trinity,* that therefore they deny the *Scripture-Trinity* of FATHER, WORD, and SPIRIT: Or that therefore they deny the *Divinity* of Chriſt the *Word:* Or that they deny Chriſt *without* them, who was the *Son of Man,* in a ſuffering ſtate on *Earth,* and is now the *Son of Man* in *Glory,* becauſe they *exalt* and *preſs* an *experimental* knowledge of Chriſt *within,* as the Truth, Col. i. 26, 27, 28, 29. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Subſtance, and Excellency of the “ Hope of the Glory” that hereafter ſhall be revealed, as being the “ Riches of the Glory of the Myſtery revealed, and to be re“ vealed, in theſe lattter days,” according to the Scriptures of Truth. Neither do thou ſay, They hope to be ſaved by their *Own Works,* becauſe they preſs the neceſſity of *Well-doing* toward acceptance with God; ſince they maintain, ‘ That *no Works* that are ‘ not wrought by the *Spirit* of *God* are *acceptable* with him: Or that they hold even ‘ *ſuch* Works to be *meritorious,* becauſe they ſay, *Good Works* are *neceſſary* and *reward*‘ *able:*’ Or that they are *forgiven* for what they *do,* and not for what *Chriſt* did: Or that they deny the *Uſe* of *Means,* becauſe they reject *Ungoſpel* Ones: Or that they deny *Baptiſm* and the *Supper,* beeauſe they ſay, ‘ They are but *Signs* of the *Spirtiual Grace,* ‘ and that they ſerved but for a *Time,* and that they experience their Accompliſh‘ment.’ Neither ſay, That they are *uncivil,* and *honour* no man, becauſe they forbear ſuch *Titles* and *Ceremonies,* in which *true* Honour and Civility do not *conſiſt:* Or, That they are againſt *Government,* becauſe they cannot, out of Tenderneſs and not Obſtinacy, conform to it in matters relating to *Religion* and *Conſcience;* in which CHRIST only is *Lord* and *King:* Since, Reader, thou plainly ſeeſt, That they believe the *Light* to be *Divine,* and the *Scriptures* to be of *Divine Authority:* That they own the *Scripture-Trinity,* or *Holy Three,* of FATHER, WORD, and SPIRIT, to be *truly,* and *properly,* ONE: That CHRIST is *God,* and that CHRIST is *Man:* That he came in the *Fleſh, Died, Roſe again, Aſcended,* and ſits on GOD's *Right-Hand,* the *Only Sacrifice* and *Mediator,* for Man's Happineſs: That truly *Goſpel-Means* and *Ordinances* are requiſite, and to be reverently practiſed: That *Good Works* are *neceſſary* and *rewardable:* That *All Men* are to be *honoured* in the *Lord*, according to their *Degrees:* And that *Government*, in Church and State, is *God's Ordinance*, and both requiſite and very beneficial.

Now, Reader, that which remains, is to recommend thee to this *Divine Principle* of *Light* and *Life*, which they make the *Root* and *Spring* of all true *Senſe* of *God* and *Religion* in Man: Even the *Light Within*, which they began with, and comes *from* Chriſt, and indeed *is* Chriſt, the *Eternal Word*, and which brings all, that follow the convictions and leadings of it, *to* Chriſt; that is, to his *Nature*, which is *meek*, *patient*, *loving*, *humble*, *harmleſs*, *ſelf-denying* and *holy*; and hereby to know him "in themſelves," according to Scripture, to be the "Hope of their eternal glory:" Who, as he is of *Abraham* after the *Fleſh*, ſo is he *God*, the *True Light*, over all bleſſed for ever; and *lighteth* all, in order to life and bleſſedneſs. Unto the Manifeſtation of whoſe moſt holy and bleſſed Light within, thou, reader, art earneſtly exhorted. Bring thy *deeds* to it, and *love* it, and *walk* in it, and thou wilt aſſuredly have the *Light* of *Life*; and thy "Fellowſhip ſhall be with *God*, and with his *Son* and *Saints*, and the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son ſhall cleanſe thee from all ſin." And "whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are honeſt, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praiſe, think on theſe things." Which, reader, is, I know, moſt earneſtly deſired on thy behalf, by this Deſpiſed and moſt Abuſed People, called Quakers. So be it. Amen.

John v. 6, 7.
Phil. iv. 8.

POSTSCRIPT.

Being an Exhortation to *All People*, to turn ſpeedily to the Lord, and ſeek him while he may be found, whatever *Perſuaſion* they are of, or *Forms* they are under, before the dreadful Day of God's *Vengeance* overtake them.

O Ye Inhabitants of the World, but more eſpecially you that know this People, and among whom the Teſtimony, which they bear, hath been held forth; Hear, and be intreated, for your ſouls ſake! O that ye knew *God*, your *Creator*, to be alſo your *Redeemer!* Who does as certainly *viſit* you by the Spirit of the *Second Adam*, as ever he *created* you in the Nature of the *Firſt Adam:* That as in one you *fell*, in the other you may *ariſe* out of your fallen and foul eſtate, and become a Reformed, Regenerate, and Choſen People to God.

1 Cor. xii. 7.
Tit. ii. 11, 12.
Rom. v. 10, 12, 18, 19, 22.
Mat. iii. 17.
chap. xvii. 5.
Mat. xi. 29.
Iſa. lvii. 21.

"This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed; hear ye him;" ſaid God the Father. And what ſays Chriſt, the Son? "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye ſhall find Reſt unto your ſouls." For *out* of Chriſt, out of his *Spirit* and *Nature*, verily we cannot have Peace. "No Peace to the Wicked," no Peace to the Proud and Ungodly, ſaith the Lord. O Friends, you muſt take up your Croſs *daily*, and follow *him*, or ye cannot be his *Diſciples*; his Followers, his People, his Friends; thoſe in whom he is well pleaſed. Whoſe *Doctrine* is not ſo much the good *Words* you read in *Creeds* and *Catechiſms*, as it is the *Living Teaching* of his *Spirit* in your own *Hearts*; and whoſe *Religion* is not Opinion, but *Experience*; not Notion, but *Enjoyment:* *Life* from Death, *Converſion*, *Regeneration:* In ſhort, *Undefiledneſs* and *Holineſs*, "without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord."

Rom. viii. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14.
2 Cor. xiii. 5.
Gal. v. 24.
1 John iii. 3, 8.
chap. v. 4.
Jam. i. 27.
Rom. vi. 19, 20.

Here is the *Faith* of *Jeſus:* A Faith that *overcomes* the *World*, and *works* by *Love*, not Violence: Where *Zeal* and *Charity* are Companions, and *Knowledge* doth not *puff-up*, but lives and works by *Obedience*. This is the Faith and Religion of *Jeſus:* All others are the Faith and Religion of *Hypocrites* and *Devils*; which they may have, and be Hypocrites and Devils ſtill: For though they *believe*, their Faith works not by *Love*; and though they *know* the Truth, they *obey* it not.

2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.
chap. vii. 7.
Eph. iv. 34.
1 Theſ. iii. 13.
Heb. xii. 14.
1 John v. 4.
2 Cor. x. v.
James ii. 19, 20.

Wherefore, Friends, it ſtands you much upon to ſee *what* Faith and Religion you have; and not flatter yourſelves on to Perdition. If it be the *true*, the *pure*, the *undefiled*, according to the Apoſtle, James i. 27. then you will have *Light Hearts*, and *Eaſy Conſciences*, and "an *Hope* that will not make you *aſhamed;*" Elſe, believe it, Heavineſs, Anguiſh, and Tribulation will (whatever be your Profeſſion) overwhelm you, in the Day that God ſhall enter into judgment with you. For which cauſe, O my dear Country-Folks and People, be intreated, "while it is *To-day*," to turn unto the Lord with all your hearts, and "*hearken* to his *Voice*," in your own Conſciences, that calls you to Holineſs, and harden not your hearts againſt his reproofs, for "the Reproof of Inſtruction is the Way to Life;" Endleſs Life. Did *you* but ſee that *God ſees* you every where, and in every thing, and that *continually*, it would abundantly alter the caſe with you. Then would you ſay, as one of old, "The Lord was here, and I knew it not." Certainly, Fear, Holy Fear, would take hold of you, an Awe of the Omnipreſent

Gal. vi. 7, 8.
chap. v. 22.
chap. ii. 8, 9.
Pſalm xclv. 7.
Heb. iii. 7, 8, 13.
2 Cor. v. 10.
Prov. i. 23.
chap. vi. 23.
Pſal. xliv. 21.
Pſal. cxxxix. 7.

1692.

Majeſty would ſeize you, and you would not do that before God, which you would be aſhamed Men ſhould ſee you do. For no place is ſecret to Him: "The *Light* and "*Darkneſs* are *alike*:" His Witneſs is with you as much Alone, as in Company; and may perhaps be better heard by you.

Sin not, then, in the Face of God, in contempt of his Witneſs, in deſpite of his Spirit that is in you; but hear it, receive it, and love it, and you will be born of it, and become the children of him whoſe eye penetrates the darkeſt coverts, and findeth out the ſecreteſt corners. Even He that "ſearches the heart, and tries the reins of "man, and ſets his Sins in order before him, and telleth unto him his moſt inward "Thoughts."

This being the caſe, what manner of perſons ought you to be, O ye children of men! Do not ſatisfy yourſelves with *Out-ſides*, with a *Name*, a *Profeſſion*, a *Church-memberſhip*, &c. For it is not what you *ſay*, but what you *do*. But *turn in* and examine your own hearts, ſee how they ſtand affected towards God, and his Law and Truth in your inward parts. Be ſtrict and true in the ſearch, as you would ſave your ſouls. If your minds be ſet on Heavenly things, and that Holineſs and Charity be the zealous Bent thereof, well will it be with you for ever: To *live*, then, will be *Chriſt*, and to *die* will be your eternal *Gain*. "For bleſſed is that People and Nation whoſe God is the "Lord." But if the Love and Spirit of the *World* prevail; if *Pride*, *Covetouſneſs* and *Luxury*, *Envy*, *Bitterneſs*, and *Vain-glory*, that are ſo very oppoſite to the Will and Nature of God, and his Holy Lamb; if theſe things have power over you, flatter not yourſelves, you cannot be *true* Chriſtians, nor in favour with God, for you take his name in vain: And your very *Prayers* and *Oblations* are an *Abomination* to the Lord, in *that* ſtate. God calls for the *Heart*: "My Son give me thy Heart:" He has given Man the reſt; but *That* God will have for Himſelf, if man will have him for his God and Friend. Cozen not yourſelves, therefore, O ye ſons and daughters of Adam! For, believe it, "Such as you ſow, ſuch you muſt reap;" and "there is no Repentance in "the Grave." And a ſhort, but great work will God do in the earth; and great judgments, of divers kinds, will begin it, and they are at the door. Yea, they are begun, if ye could but ſee them.

O awake then, awake out of the ſleep of this World! Behold the Judge is at hand, and the Midnight cry is coming upon you as a thief in the night. Prepare, prepare, or you are excluded for ever! And remember, Salvation is from *Sin*, or it will never be from *Wrath*: So ſaid the Angel, "Thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his "people from their *Sins*:" For it is the "Pure in Heart that ſee God; and nothing "*unlike* him can *pleaſe* him, and leſs *live* with him for *ever*."

The Eternal God *reach* unto you by his powerful Spirit, *break* your peace in the broad way, *touch* you deeply with a Senſe of your Diſobedience to him, give you true contrition and repentance, and create in you a "*Clean Heart*," and renew a "*Right Spirit*" within you: To conclude; make you holy, make you zealous, and make you charitable; that you may *do*, as well as *ſay*, and not only *profeſs*, but *poſſeſs*, the Truth of the Living God in your *inward parts*; that Pearl of Price, that Hidden and Eternal Treaſure. So ſhall you know that the *Times* of *Refreſhing* are come from the *Preſence* of the *Lord*, and that the *Kingdom* is *again* reſtored unto *Iſrael*! ISRAEL, the Prince of Eternal Peace, who hath prevailed with God for Man; whoſe Scepter is "a Scepter of Righteouſneſs, and of whoſe Dominion there ſhall be no End." So come, Lord Jeſus; come quickly. Amen.

Written, in behalf of the ſaid People, for the Information and Good of all, by

WILLIAM PENN.

Jer. xvii. 22, 23.
chap. xxiii. 24.
Amos ix. 2, 3.
Rom. vi. 21.
Pſal. xciv. 12.
Pſal. cxxxix. 3.
Amos iv. 13.
2 Pet. iii. 11.

Iſa. li. 6.
Jer. xxxi. 33.
Heb. viii. 10, 11, 12.
Phil. i. 12.
Pſalm cxliv. 15.

Prov. xv. 8, 9.
Iſa. i. 15, 16, 17, 18.
Prov. xxiii. 26.
Gal. vi. 7, 8.
Rom. xiii. 11.
1 Cor. xv. 34.
Epheſ. v. 14.
2 Tim. ii. 26.
Joel ii. 3.
Mal. iii. 2.
chap. iv. 1.
Mat. xxiv. 42, 43, 44, 46
chap. xxv. 13.
chap. i. 21.
1 John iii. 5, 8.
1 Pet. ii. 9, 21.
Mat. v. 8.
Iſa. liv. 12.
chap. xxii. 12.
Jer. xxxi. 9.
Pſal. xxxiv. 18.
Pſal. li. 10.
Zach. xii. 11.
Rev. i. 7.
Mat. vii. 21.
Rom. ii. 13.
Mat. xiii. 46.
Prov. viii. 18, 22.
Iſaiah xlv. 3.
Acts iii. 10.
chap. i. 6, 7, 8.
Pſal. xlv. 6.
Heb. i. 8.
Iſa. ix. 6, 7.
Rev. xxii. 26.

A
REPLY
TO A
PRETENDED ANSWER,
BY A
NAMELESS AUTHOR,
TO
W. PENN'S KEY.

IN WHICH
The PRINCIPLES of the People called QUAKERS are farther
Explained and Confirmed.

By W. PENN.

1695.

THOUGH I ſubmit to Controverſy as my Drudgery, not my Pleaſure, otherwiſe than as it is my Duty; yet, I cannot but ſay, I am glad that the publick contradiction of a *Nameleſs Author*, to a ſmall Treatiſe of mine, called, *A Key*, clearing our Principles from Vulgar Apprehenſions, gives me farther occaſion to declare and juſtify them to the world: In the doing of which, I ſhall endeavour, with God's aſſiſtance, ſo to govern myſelf, that my Antagoniſt ſhall ſee it has not been in his power, with all his ſcornful and abuſive treatment of me, my Friends, and our holy Religion, to provoke me to any other towards him, in my *Reply*, than what is ſuitable to Chriſtianity; whilſt with great levity and prejudice, he will by no means allow us to be *Chriſtians*.

My Reply will be ſhort, but I hope clear and ſatisfactory; in order to which, I ſhall obſerve this method:

I. His Miſtakes in point of Fact, and the Uſe he would make of them.
II. His Inſinuations and Inſincerity.
III. His abuſive Terms and Taunts upon us.
IV. His pretended Anſwers and Interpretations of Scripture. And,
Our Principles, ſo far as declared, and by Scripture defended in the KEY, maintained againſt the attempts of this Author, and farther explained and confirmed for a publick good.

I.

His *Miſtakes* in point of *Fact*, and the *Uſe* he would *make* of them.

He begins his Anſwer with a paſſage merely perſonal, and not at all relative to the nature of the diſcourſe, viz. about a Pamphlet, writ in defence of the Bill for excluding

ing the Duke of York, intituled, "A few Words about the Touchy Point of Succeſſion:" Teaching the Parliament, That when they had made firſt an Addreſs to the Duke to relinquiſh his Right to the Crown; if he refuſed, then (but not before) they might not only juſtly, but civilly exclude him by Act.----'When,' (ſays he) 'I had peruſed this piece, without judging the Merits of the Cauſe, or the Wittineſs of the Argument, I concluded that W. P. was then a man principled for the Civil Liberties of his Country.'

Anſwer. But if I may be ſo bold with this author, pray, why *then* principled for civil liberties, and not *afterwards?* And why this upon me at all? But why at this Time, and upon this Occaſion, of ſo differing a Nature, to be brought in by Head and Shoulders, as the proverb is? But what if I never writ ſuch a pamphlet? (as to be ſure I did not) What is to be ſaid to, and of, ſuch an Author, in ſuch a Caſe, and in ſuch a Time, and to a man under *my circumſtances?* Let him know then, that I did not only never write ſuch a pamphlet, but I am ſure that I do not remember I ever read one of ſuch a title, or heard of it; nor was I of that principle, and therefore I return the civility of his concluſion to him again; for, I thank God, I was always ſo much for *Civil Liberties,* that I thought no man ought to loſe them for his *Religious Principles.* And farther, That they were never to be ſecured by this or that *Man,* but by a good and equal Conſtitution of *Government*; as ſome Papers by me, which I writ at that time, as well as divers Perſons yet living, of good reputation, can evidence for me.

But his next paragraph explains the matter; wherein he ſpeaks thus: 'I could no otherwiſe reconcile the folly of his Prevarication in the late reign, than by imputing them to his intemperate Zeal for a boundleſs Liberty of Conſcience, according to the doctrine of King James's Declaration.'

In this he would be Charitable; but let him firſt be Juſt: If there were no Prevarications, then there is no need of an intemperate Zeal for Liberty to ſhadow or reconcile them to my former principles. And I am ſo much a friend to him and his brethren, that I wiſh them free from *all* Intemperance, and Prevarications too, and that in *all Reigns*. And if it be poſſible, or worth while, to reconcile him better to my conduct, let him peruſe my "*Great Caſe of Liberty of Conſcience,*" printed 1671, and my "*Letter to the Eſtates of* Embden, 1672," and my "*Preſent State of* England, 1675," and he will find I was the ſame man then, and acted by the ſame principles. Not more intemperate in the reign that favoured it, than in the reign I contended with, that did not favour it: And no man but a Perſecutor, which I count a Beaſt of Prey, and a declared Enemy to Mankind, can, without great Injuſtice or Ingratitude, reproach that part I had in King James's Court: For I think I may ſay, without vanity, upon this provocation, I *endeavoured* at leaſt to do *ſome* good at *my own Coſt,* and would have been glad to have done *more:* I am very ſure I intended, and I think I did, harm to *none,* neither Parties nor Private Perſons, *my own Family* excepted: For which I doubt not this Author's Pardon, ſince he ſhews himſelf ſo little concerned for the Maſter of it.

Page 8. Our adverſary miſſes again notoriouſly in point of Fact, when he charges me, 'Of revenging myſelf upon J. Faldo and T. Hicks, for baffling of me twenty years ago.'

Anſwer. I had no Revenge in my eye when I writ that KEY; for it was writ in Pity, not in Anger; to inform, and not to be revenged. I muſt beg my *Reader* to peruſe it, who then can beſt judge if it taſtes of that rank ſpirit, and what ſpirit this man is of, that ſhews ſuch indignation at it; as well as ſee how meanly he has performed his pretence of an anſwer, that meddles not with the twentieth part of it, though on different ſubjects.

It is not in my nature to remember injuries twenty years ago, though this man commits them unprovoked: Nor had I any temptation to it, ſince I had all the ſatisfaction I could deſire, but their Converſion. Concerning the firſt, I muſt refer myſelf to impartial readers; and of the laſt, the Famous Barbican and Wheeler-Street Publick Diſputes do give this man the lye. For at the laſt, T. H. did not appear, and at the firſt he ſhrunk away. And if ever any ſuch publick diſpute determined with a viſible advantage on either ſide, the impartial, not of our communion, gave it us. And for the Encomium he beſtows upon them, with the *Poor Indian,* that deſired not to go to Heaven, if the *Cruel Spaniard* went thither, I muſt ſay, Let not my ſoul go where their ſouls are gone, if they did not heartily repent of their great wickedneſs, againſt the people of God called Quakers, and their holy profeſſion, before they died.

Page 9. He ſaith, 'The *Light Within* is no Scripture expreſſion; and the Nation had called nothing the Light Within, but the *Effects* of the *Perceptive Powers* of our *Minds,* that is, our *Thoughts.*'

Anſwer. By Nation, he muſt either underſtand a Parliament or Synod; for I preſume he has not ſpoke with *all* the Nation. But if the *Common-Prayer*, eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, have any ſhare in the ſenſe of the Nation, or the *Synod* or *Aſſembly* of *Divines*, that ſat between the years of Forty and Fifty at Weſtminſter, he will find *another* Light owned by them, than *Man's own Thoughts:* Which being *all* the Light Within that is owned by this oppoſer, I may well return upon him that Scripture, miſquoted by him, pag. 43. "If the Light that is in thee be Darkneſs, "how great is that Darkneſs!----Take heed that the Light in thee be not Darkneſs."

I ſhall conſider his abuſe of Scripture in another place; and ſhall ſay no more upon it at this time, than that this *Darkneſs* being our author's *Light*, he cannot *comprehend* the True Light; but with it *oppoſes* the True Light, and the Children of it. But that the *Light Within* ſhould not be a Scripture expreſſion, is very ſtrange: Pray, What is *Enlightening*, but *Light Within?* Can a man's mind be *lighted*, and have no *Light* there? The *Light* is ſaid to ſhine in our *Hearts:* Can that be, and not *Within?* But more of this when I come to conſider his oppoſitions to the Light.

Page 15, 18, 19. 'Notwithſtanding their empty pretence, the *Quakers* learn their 'religion not from the *Light Within*, but from *one another*. They cannot name one 'that was a *Quaker*, that was not made ſo by *hearing* them, or reading their *Books*. 'That *Quakeriſm* is erected by Art, Method and Management; by Conſults and Clubs; 'all ſubordinate to a General Aſſembly; and not from the ſufficiency of any *Principle* 'in *themſelves*, either of natural or ſupernatural donation.'

Anſwer. This is alſo falſe in fact; there being many that came in a good meaſure *ripe* to the Communion of that People, having for the moſt part the ſame ſentiment; as All did from their own Convictions by the *ſame Principle*, though *mediately* or *miniſterially*. But if this man had conſidered well, he would have ſpared this abſurdity; for *who* did the *Firſt* Quaker *hear?* He will ſurely allow us a *Beginning*. However, I would have him know, No man can ſee Divine *Truth* by another man's Speaking or Writing, but through Divine *Light*, that ſhines in *himſelf*, giving him the *Underſtanding* thereof: "For though the Spirit of Man knows the Things of a Man; yet "the Things of God knows no Man, but the Spirit of God:" And therefore it is upon Conviction, and not human Authority, that our Religion is built. And it is great uncharitableneſs in this opponent, as well as injuſtice, to charge a whole People with a Confederacy againſt themſelves, to their temporal woe, and eternal deſtruction: That ſo much ſobriety, patience, ſelf-denial, ſuffering, conſtancy through all times and conditions, ſhould be interpreted *Trick*, *Juggling*, *Legerdemain*, on purpoſe to cozen the World, and their own Souls; as this author is pleaſed to render them. But to inform him a little better, if yet he needs it; thoſe Clubs, as he is pleaſed to term them, that are ſubordinate to a General Aſſembly, are not Meetings to define and injoin *Faith*, or Uniformity of *Worſhip*; wherein Conſcience is more immediately exerciſed; but Meetings of *Order* and *Diſcipline*, to take care of the *Poor*, of *Fatherleſs* and *Widows*, and all that walk up to the holy Profeſſion they make: Which, I hope, is no argument againſt us, as if we embraced our religion by rote, and not by the Illuminations and Convictions of the Light and Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus.

Page 52. 'And *W. P.* thinks it conſiſtent with the honour that is due to the 'Scripture, to compare it with *Roman Legends*.'

Anſwer. He would have done well to have cited the place where I had done ſo ill. I muſt leave it to my reader to do me juſtice againſt this groſs writer, who ſays one of the worſt things without the leaſt proof. I am ſure I could no more have been guilty of ſuch an expreſſion, than of renouncing my own Belief: I pray God forgive him! But I would have him remember, that he is one day to be judged for this abuſe.

I come to the ſecond head of my reply; viz.

II.

His *Inſinuations* and *Inſincerity*.

Page 4. '*W. P.* aſſerting, in ſundry pieces, Liberty of Conſcience to be *ex jure* '*naturali*, has deſtroyed all *Morality*, confounded Bleſſings and Curſes, Good and 'Evil, ſomewhat worſe than *Hobbs* himſelf: For *he* only aſſerts a *Natural Liberty*, 'but this, a *Divine Privilege* to do *Wickedneſs* in the *Name* of the *Lord*.'

Anſwer. He has not quoted any one Book, leſs the Place, where he makes me capable of being guilty of ſo dangerous a principle; which, I hope, without being partial, I may ſay, is very diſingenuous. If he can point me to any part of my writings, in defence of that noble principle of *Liberty*, that has not in it a ſufficient *Saving* to *Morality*, I will aſk him and the world forgiveneſs; and if it has, I hope he knows whoſe part it is to cry *Peccavi*. But to inſinuate I write for Liberty of Conſcience, as a natural Right, for thoſe that ſhould plead Conſcience to *overthrow* it, becauſe I did maintain it in favour of thoſe that kept within the bounds of *Morality*, is to ſhew none towards me.

Page 6. He very weakly, as well as unworthily, inſinuates a *near Relation* betwixt *me* and the *Jeſuits*. Firſt, Some one of the Society may have had, at one time or other, a *Title-Page* with the words, *Miſrepreſented* and *Repreſented*, in it, which makes up a part of *mine*, with which he is ſo angry; as if *Title-Pages* were *Confeſſions* of *Faith*, or that the *ſame Words* might not be uſed by Men of *different Perſuaſions*. It is to ſay, ‘ Becauſe *Miſrepreſented* may be *miſapplied*, therefore it is not to be *uſed*.’ Any man may be *miſrepreſented*; muſt he not therefore repreſent himſelf *aright*, for fear of being a *Jeſuit*? This, to be ſure, gives a very ill Repreſentation of *him*.

In the next place he ſays, ‘ W. P. imping the *Jeſuit* again, he repreſents his *own* ‘ Religion as like *ours* as may be, by the new ſoftening method of *Meaux*.’

Truly, I do not know what Religion *he* is of; for he has no more told us *that*, than his *Name*; but a *Proteſtant*, I ſuppoſe, *at large*: And yet I am ready to think I can ſubſcribe as many of the doctrines of the *Reformation* as himſelf. But if our Religion be ſo *like* it, why does he labour in his whole Treatiſe to render ours ſo groſly *contrary* to theirs? Contrary things do not look *alike*, for then they cannot properly be ſaid to be *contrary*. And if we are of ſo ſoftening a diſpoſition, does he well to be ſo very *hard*? But truly I think it no fault to have a Religion unlike *his*, unleſs it had more of *Sobriety* and *Charity* in it. However, the *Jeſuits* are much beholden to him, whatever *I* am; it being the firſt time I have heard their methods eſteemed ſo *ſoft*: Nor had they now had, I believe, that compliment from him, but to render *us* Jeſuitical, or Popiſh at leaſt.

Page 7. He adds, ‘ For *W. P*'s. Scheme is, firſt to give the *Perverſion* of Quaker‘ iſm, and then to repreſent it in *Equivocal Terms*, after his *own Way*.’

By which he would have the reader think we are *inſincere*, as well as miſtaken; and that we have a Deſign upon *ourſelves*, to cozen *ourſelves*, as well as the *World*, in the great buſineſs of *Salvation*. But what muſt that man be that can have ſuch a Deſign? Certainly, a *Fool* to *himſelf*, and a *Devil* to *others*: But then what muſt *they* be, who render men ſo abſurd and impious, only to have their evil ends upon their *Character* and *Religion*? Doubtleſs they muſt be as *bad* every jot. I muſt needs tell him, that little Treatiſe was not intended for Criticks, but plain and ordinary Underſtandings; to remove common and vulgar Prejudices, and in a familiar Style; and not after the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s Copy, which was performed with much Addreſs and Exactneſs.

He ſays, ‘ My Terms are *equivocal*.’ I am ſure I have moſtly expreſſed myſelf in thoſe of the Holy Scripture: It is a ſingular and unjuſt reflection, to ſay I did it in my *own* Way; for it is in that way which is common to the writers of our Perſuaſion, and according to the language of the Holy Ghoſt. And it is plain, from more places than this of his Book, as *p*. 23, 41, *&c*. that he would have that little piece of mine the fruit of great Contrivance and Deſign: I know not why, unleſs that he might raiſe the greater Reputation to his *own* Undertaking; as he tells us *p*. 5. But that will depend upon the Concluſion, which will beſt ſhew how well he has acquitted himſelf.

Page 11, 12. He farther inſinuates, ‘ That we make the *Light Within* the Rule, ‘ not only to direct our *Belief* and *Practice* of the *Chriſtian Religion*, but to diſcover to ‘ men the *Hiſtory* of the *Coming* and *Performances* of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, and that he ‘ is *Chriſt* the *Lord*; and this without the *Help* of the *Scriptures*.’

Anſwer. Now this is very inſincere on his part: For though the Light of the *Eternal Word* be, without doubt, *ſufficient* to reveal or diſcover thoſe Facts where they are *not known*, if God pleaſeth; yet we never ſaid the Light was our Rule to *that* purpoſe, but to *judge* of that which *is* revealed; or, that the diſcoveries it made were of things *paſt* and *hiſtorical*, but of things *immediate* and *practical*, as of *Sin*, in *Thought*, *Word*, and *Deed*, and to be daily aſſiſted to live *ſoberly*, *righteouſly*, and *godly* in this world; to *pray*, and *preach*, and *worſhip* God; which relating to the *Service* of Jeſus, and the Service of Jeſus being by him allowed to be the *Chriſtian Religion*, the aſſerting of that Divine *Light* to be the Holy *Rule* of our Chriſtian *Conduct* to *perform* thoſe things, deſerves not ſuch abuſive Inſinuations and Innuendos as this author makes upon us.

Page 14. He would have his reader believe, as if there were not *One Paſſage* in all *my Part* of that book called, “ *The Chriſtian Quaker*,” he can *cite* before it be *corrected*, both *Style* and *Matter*, becauſe he only cites *One* which *he thinks fit* to correct; calling me for it a *Lewd Author*, and what elſe he pleaſes: But, according to his *uſual Practice*, he has inſerted no PAGE to direct us where to *find* this aſſertion. If *to* me he has thought it not *needful*, I muſt tell him, his *Amendment* is as *needleſs*; for when I ſpeak of *Chriſt*, I ſay HE; and when of his *Body*, I ſay *it*: Notwithſtanding, he charges me with other things: But, I think, through the many books I have written, it will never be found *My Practice* or *Miſtake*, whatever may be the *Printer*'s.

Pag. 23. ‘ Since the *Quakers* will have their *Light* to be common to *all Men*, and ‘ not *natural*, there is *no ſuch thing* in the *Univerſe*.’

Anſwer. By which he inſinuates, that a *Divine Light* cannot be communicated to *every Man*, and be *Divine*. Would he have ſhewn himſelf a candid author, one that deſired to have informed and not abuſed us, he would have firſt inſtructed himſelf what we have ſaid on this occaſion. By *Natural*, we mean *mere* MAN; his *Compoſitum*, or *Make*; that is, of the *Nature* of man, as he is *Man*: By *Divine*, what is *above* Man, and from GOD, to direct man in all Well-pleaſingneſs to him. Yet if by *Natural* may be meant, that every man that is *born* into the world has a *Portion* of this *Light*, or *Illuminating Principle*, to direct him in the way to bleſſedneſs, I ſhould not very much quarrel at the word; it being, in a ſort, *natural* to all men to *have it*; becauſe all men that are *born* (from whence the word *Nature* ſprings) as certainly *have it*, as that they are *born* into the world. See John i. 4, 19. 1 Cor. xii.

Theſe few inſtances I thought fit to give of the unjuſt Inſinuations and Inſincerity of this author; which brings me to my Third Head, viz.

III.

His *Abuſive Terms* and *Taunts* upon us.

Indeed almoſt every page is freighted with them. My *Key* is a *Picklock*, and we are *Imps* of the *Jeſuits*: Our Writings are *Apocryphal*, our Phraſes like *Gypſy-Gibberiſh* and *Beggars Cant*; our Arguments *Putid Sophiſms*; our Leading Men a Pack of *Jugglers*, *Sophiſtical*, of *Suborned* Senſe; Men of *Trick* and *Leger-de-main*, abuſing honeſt-meaning men, as *Jugglers* do plain Country People; *Ranting Cant*, and that I *debauch* the *Scriptures*; with much more of this ſtrain and ſtile; beſides that Scorn and Levity, which very much unbecomes one that pretends to correct others in matters of Religion. I would fain have this author to conſider whether he has acted like one that has any reverence towards God, or compaſſion to a miſtaken people, ſuppoſing us to be ſuch. Certainly, whether *we* are in the right or no, *he* muſt needs be in the wrong, and his Religion *vain*, that has no better Bridle to his Tongue or Pen: Which ſaid, I ſhall betake myſelf to my Fourth Head.

IV.

His Pretended *Anſwers* and *Interpretations* of *Scripture* conſidered.

The firſt Perverſion, mentioned in my *Key*, is pag. 1. viz. ‘ The *Quakers* hold, ‘ That the *Natural Light* in the *Conſcience of every Man* in the *World* is ſufficient to ‘ *ſave* all that *follow* it:’ Which, by the way after the flouriſh of an *Anſwer* to the *Key*, (at leaſt as to our doctrine of the *Light*) is all that is *cited* by him; ſo that my Explanations of our Principle, in anſwer to this, and Three other Perverſions upon this doctrine at the ſame time, are not ſo much as taken *notice* of by this man, that pretends to have conſidered them *all*. But let us hear what he ſays upon this Perverſion.

Pag. 7. ‘ This is no *Perverſion*; unleſs an *Objection* made againſt a Tenet be a ‘ *Perverſion* of a Tenet; which no body thinks beſides W. P. For we only ſay, That ‘ the Quakers believe that a *Natural* Light is *Supernatural* and *Saving*: We *miſtake* ‘ not their *Meaning*, but oppoſe it as an *Error*.’

Anſwer. He that changes the *Terms* of a *Queſtion*, abuſes his *Antagoniſt*, and perverts the *Argument*; which is the caſe: For the People called Quakers never ſaid, that a *Natural* Light was *Supernatural*, or ſufficient to *Salvation*: And if *Natural* be not their *Term*, then it is a *Perverſion* of their *Principle*. For whether they are *miſtaken* in their Principle, or no, is not the queſtion; but whether their Principle is not *miſgiven* by their Enemies. This author ſeems to make it *Natural* in another place, becauſe we affirm it is *Common* to All, or that All are *Enlightened*: But this begs the Queſtion in point of *Argument*, and will not rectify or defend a matter that is in fact falſe: For beſides that it is not fair in any to charge their Conſequences upon others for Principles, it is plain what any People *ſay* is their Principle, is the Rule for *us* to know whether what their Adverſaries *ſay* is ſo, *be* their Principle or not. Suppoſe it were true, that what is Common is Natural; yet if we do not *ſay* ſo, it is a *Perverſion* of what we ſay; and as ſuch I give it in my *Key*. For, as I ſaid before, what any People declare *is* their Principle, is the Rule for others to know whether what their Adverſaries *give* for their Principle

ciple be *theirs* or not: Now whether the *Light* we call *Divine* be *natural* or no, ſhall be conſidered in its place: But that a *Natural* Light ſhould be *Super*-natural and *Saving*, is not our *Principle*, but their *Perverſion* and *Contradiction*. Waving, then, any more of my *Key*, which he pretends to anſwer, he undertakes to ſtate our Religion, and the Controverſy between us, in his *own* terms and not *ours*; which I will not ſay is a *lewd*, but a *foul* way of treating any people or opponent, in my judgment; and I think I am not miſtaken.---His words are theſe:

Pag. 8. ‘If any thing they ſay deſerves *Conſideration*, this is the point; and of this they ſay, 1. That the *Light Within* is the *Rule* of the *Chriſtian Religion*. 2. That it is *God* and *Chriſt*. 3. That *Quakeriſm* is taught them *by it*.’

Anſwer. I could be glad this author ſaid any thing that deſerved the Conſideration of Good and Wiſe Men: I am ſure he deſerves their Reproof, that will not let us confeſs our *Faith* in our own *Words*, nor expreſs our *Religion* in our own *Way*. However, I will obſerve what he ſays, as diſingenuous as it is; and not write Forty Pages upon Four Lines, as he has partially cited out of my *Key*, and then call it an *Anſwer*. It is not *our* Way of ſpeaking to ſay, ‘The *Light within* is the *Rule* of the *Chriſtian Religion*;’ but, ‘That the Light of *Chriſt* within us is the *Rule* of true Chriſtians;’ ſo that it is not *our* Light, but *Chriſt*’s Light that is our *Rule*.” “For in him was Life, and that Life the Light of men,’ John i. 4, 9. chap. viii. 12. *Life* in the *Word*, *Light* in *Men*; and *Life* (too) where it is *obeyed*. For Chriſt promiſes “the Light of *Life* to all that follow *him*, the *True* Light that enlightens every Man that cometh into the World.” Chriſt *himſelf* hath made it the *Rule* of his Followers: “But he that doth Truth, cometh to the *Light*, that his deeds may be made *manifeſt* that they are wrought in *God*.” So that Chriſtians are to ſquare their Lives by the Light of Jeſus; therefore it is their *Rule*. It is the Chriſtian *Path* to bleſſedneſs. Chriſt exhorts his followers to *walk* in the Light. The beloved diſciple begins his Epiſtles, as he does his Hiſtory of the Goſpel, with the *Divinity* and *Doctrine* of the *Light*; telling us, “That *God* is *Light*; that if we would have Fellowſhip with *God*, we muſt walk in this *Light*; and that the blood of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſeth thoſe *only* that *walk* in this Light; and that Religion *without* it is a *Lye*,” 1 John i. To which let me add, That in his book of Revelations, conſonant thereunto, he ſaith, “That the nations of them that are *ſaved* ſhall *walk* in the Light (of the Lamb).” Rev. xxi. 23, 24. The Apoſtle Paul makes it Univerſal and Effectual, in his Epiſtle to the Epheſians, chap. v. 13. “But all things that are reproved (or *diſcovered*) are made manifeſt by the *Light*; for whatſoever doth make *manifeſt* is *Light*.” Now All being *reproved*, All have *Light*; and ſince that Light manifeſts every thing that is to be *known*, Chriſt *himſelf* was known *by it*, and the Religion he taught, diſcovered *by it*, to be of God; and ſuch *only* received him and it, as *obeyed* this Light in their Conſciences. The ſame Light is by the ſame Apoſtle rendered the Chriſtian’s *Armour*; “And let us *put on* the Armour of *Light*,” ſays he; “let us walk honeſtly, as in the *Day*; not in Rioting and Drunkenneſs, not in Chambering and Wantonneſs, not in Strife and Envying; but put ye on the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and make no proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof:” Making it the ſame thing to put on the *Armour* of *Light*, and to put on the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; certainly, then, *Chriſt* muſt be that *Light*, and that *Light muſt be Chriſt*. But he objects to this doctrine.

Page 11. ‘The *Chriſtian Religion* is nothing but the *Service* of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*. ---- Nothing, then, can be the *Rule* of this Religion, but what diſcovers to us that there is One *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, and that he is *Chriſt* the *Lord*. But never was any one man inſtructed by that *Light* that is in the *Conſcience* of every *Man*, that there ever was ſuch an one as *Jeſus of Nazareth*, much leſs that he was the *Lord*, and leaſt of all what he *required* of his *Servants*; therefore no *Light within*, common to *All Mankind*, can be the *Rule* of the *Chriſtian Religion*, ſince it was never poſſible for any man to learn the *leaſt Part* of the Chriſtian Religion by the *Light* that is in every Man’s *Conſcience*.’

To the firſt part of what he ſays, ‘That the *Chriſtian Religion* is nothing but the *Service* of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*,’ I ſhall eaſily agree: For the Service of Jeſus of Nazareth, is the Service of the *God* and *Father* of Jeſus of Nazareth; and that is, “to *fear God* and *keep his Commandments*; and to *love God* above *all*, and our *Neighbours* as *ourſelves*; this is the *Whole Duty* of Man,” Eccl. xii. 13. Matt. xxii. 37. 39. That which man has to do in the world for ſalvation.

To the ſecond part of his propoſition, viz. ‘That nothing can be the *Rule* of this Religion, but what diſcovers to us that there is one *Jeſus of Nazareth*, and that he is *Chriſt* the *Lord*;’ I ſhall likewiſe agree, upon Diſtinction. I diſtinguiſh, then, between an *hiſtorical* and *ſpiritual* diſcovery of Jeſus of Nazareth; and ſo of the *Rule* by which He and his Service are to be known. The *Scriptures* tell us of the Birth, Life, Miniſtry, Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of Jeſus of Nazareth; and, in brief, of the Miniſtry and Sufferings of his bleſſed Followers and Apoſtles; and it muſt be acknowledged to be a great mercy and privilege to us, that we have them: But *they* cannot ſavingly reveal Chriſt to a ſoul; neither can they give us the Soul and Subſtance of thoſe Things that are thereby *declared*. They are an exact *Map*, or *Picture* of Things, but not the *Things themſelves*. It is the office of the *Divine Light* and *Spirit* of *Chriſt* to ſhew men theſe ſecrets; and to none are they, or can they be known, but thoſe that walk according to the Convictions of it: Firſt, "In ceaſing to do *evil*, and "denying all Ungodlineſs and the World's Luſts;" and then, "in learning to do "*well*, and living ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world." So that thoſe that read the Scriptures of Truth, by which they have an *hiſtorical* knowledge of the Coming of Chriſt, and ſo are a Rule to *that* knowledge, as alſo to the Doctrines therein expreſly declared, they muſt come to the *Light* of the *Eternal Word* to *underſtand* them, and to ſee the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, as thoſe of old beheld it; elſe the Scripture is as a Sealed Book. Who knows *God*, by *reading* of him; or *Chriſt*, by *reading* of him; or *Regeneration*, by *reading* of it? unleſs God is pleaſed, by the *Light* of his *Son*, the true "*Key* of *David*," to come in upon the Soul, and open to it the deep Things of God, viz. the *New Creation*, or the *Regeneration*, of Man. Wherefore the *Light* or *Spirit* of *Chriſt*, (which are the ſame) is the Firſt Great Rule; even the Rule of *underſtanding* the Scriptures, which we own to be the Secondary Rule: And we ſay, That a *Meaſure* thereof is given to *all* to profit with; to *lighten* all, and ſearch and lead all in the Way of Holineſs, which is the Way of eternal Happineſs. His minor propoſition I muſt deny, viz. 'But never was any one 'man inſtructed by that *Light* that is in the *Conſcience* of every *Man*, that there ever 'was ſuch an one as *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, much leſs that he was the *Lord*, and leaſt 'of all what he *required* of his *Servants*.'

In this I muſt diſſent from him, eſpecially as to the latter part: For though, as I have already ſaid, the Scriptures are an *Hiſtorical* Rule, and *Doctrinal* too, ſo far as they are *plain* and *expreſs*; yet the trueſt and moſt powerful Evidence to authorize our belief of them, is the Teſtimony of the *Light* and *Spirit* of the *Eternal Word*, from whence they *came*, and that anſwers to its *own*. This the Martyrs aſſerted, as *Hooper*, *Bradford*, *Smith*, *Saunders*, *Rogers*, &c. alſo *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, and *Eraſmus* himſelf, refer to it in proof of the divine Authority of them; as may be ſeen in the "Book of Martyrs," as alſo in the Writings of theſe Authors upon the "Authority of the Scriptures." But if the Light we contend for does not *ordinarily* reveal the *Hiſtory* of Jeſus Chriſt, who dare ſay it *cannot* do ſo? Is it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that there may be no abſolute *neceſſity* of it; ſince then God would have left much the greateſt part of the world without the *Means* of Salvation? Yet if it reveal *that* which he commanded his ſervants both to *practiſe* and *preach*, it overthrows his propoſition; and plainly proves that the *Soul* and *Subſtance* of what Chriſt commanded his Followers, *is* revealed, more or leſs, to *All People*, in *All Nations*, by this deſpiſed *Light Within*. And, beſides *Experience*, (which I ſhall anon come to) the *Holy Scriptures* ſpeak as much; for, ſays the Prophet Micah, (Micah vi. 8.) "God "hath *ſhewn* to thee, O Man, what is *good*; and what doth the Lord require of thee, "but to do *juſtly*, and love *mercy*, and to walk *humbly* with thy God?" Here is both *Duty*, and the Way to *underſtand* it. Now this Duty and Service, is the Service of *God*, and ſo of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, who came to *teach* men ſo to do, viz. "To do "*juſtly*, love *mercy*, and walk *humbly* with God." The *Way* to know and do this, is God's *Illumination* of Man. "GOD has *ſhewn* unto thee, O Man!" How does God *ſhew* Man? "Whatſoever makes *manifeſt* is *Light*," ſays the Apoſtle Paul to the Epheſians, Eph. v. 13, 14. So that it is by the *Light* of the *Word*, by which he made all things, that he *ſhews* unto Man all things neceſſary to Salvation, viz. "What is *good*, "and what he *requires* of him:" What Service, Homage, and Obedience he expects. So that here we have both the *Univerſality* and *Sufficiency* of the Light. Correſponding herewith is that great ſaying of the ſame Apoſtle to the Romans, Rom. i. 19. "For that which may be *known* of God is *manifeſt* in them, for God hath *ſhewn* it "unto them." Which Way, I pray, does God *manifeſt* the knowledge of himſelf in men, but by the *Light* of the bleſſed *Word*, by whom he *made* man, and without whom nothing was made that is made? "In him was Life, and that Life the Light of "Men; and this is the true Light that enlightens every man that cometh into the "World." John i. 4, 9.

Now that the *Chriſtian Religion* is this Duty, Service, and Knowledge of God, we may ſatisfy ourſelves, from that bleſſed Sermon of Bleſſings, preached by Chriſt upon the Mount, Matt. v. "Bleſſed are the poor in Spirit; bleſſed are they that mourn; "(for their *Sins*, and for want of feeling Peace with God) bleſſed are the Meek; "bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt after Righteouſneſs; bleſſed are the Merciful; "bleſſed are the pure in Heart; bleſſed are the Peace-makers; and bleſſed are they "which are perſecuted for Righteouſneſs Sake." If theſe *States* were *bleſſed*, and thoſe who were under theſe bleſſed Qualifications; then, to be ſure, ſuch were in the *Service* of Jeſus of Nazareth, though he was not then *offered-up*, and that they knew not his

Hiſtory. Now that all have a *Light* to ſhew them the *Happineſs* of theſe States, the *Univerſal Teſtimony* of all *Ages* and *Nations* aſſures us; and, to deny it, is to ſay, 'The Sun did never ſhine, ſince there was a Man in the World!'

The ſame may be ſaid of the reſt of his excellent Sermon: 'As that we ſhould ſeek *God,* in the *firſt* place, and truſt Providence for the *reſt,* and live by Faith in his Goodneſs: Be Charitable and Devout without Oſtentation: Not ſo much as Luſt in the Mind, and ſpeak Truth without an Oath; bear Abuſes; forgive Enemies; be ſparing of cenſuring others; and finally *do,* as well as *hear,* the Word of God, and to all Men as we would be done to.' Theſe excellent things, more naturally and excellently expreſſed in that *Sermon,* than in the Writings of the moſt enlightened *Gentiles,* are yet to be found up and down in the account given us of their Lives and Doctrines by *Strabo, Laertius, Herbert, Stanly, Cudworth,* and my Part of the *Chriſtian Quaker.* By all which it may be ſeen, that the *Bleſſed Word,* who did *himſelf* preach ſo plainly and fully, yet conciſely, this admirable doctrine, had enlightened *Thoſe Gentiles* with great knowledge, and inſtructed them therein; and that, ſeveral hundred years before he came in the *Fleſh.* I hope the keeping of theſe *Commands,* and obeying the *Precepts* of Jeſus of Nazareth, will be allowed to be the *Service* of Jeſus of Nazareth, or elſe nothing is; and if ſo, then I muſt conclude, he *may* be ſerved and obeyed of thoſe that are *not acquainted* with his Coming in the Fleſh, and becoming *perſonally* an holy *Miniſter* among the *Jews,* and, in concluſion, an holy *Offering* for the *World.* For it is very poſſible that a man may receive *Benefit* by a Medicine, of whoſe *Compoſition* he may be ignorant. And in *General Pardons,* it is not commonly known, by thoſe that ſenſibly have the Advantage thereof, by *whoſe* Favour and Advice the Prince was influenced to *grant* it.

Since, then, Humility, Mercy, Patience, Purity, Brotherly-Kindneſs, Faith in God, Hope of Life Eternal, Charity to Men, Doing as a Man would be done to, and that with a diſtinct and religious reference and regard to Him that muſt finally judge all men, muſt neceſſarily belong to the *Service* of Jeſus of Nazareth, ſince it is the *Subſtance* of what Jeſus of Nazareth *preached,* and the *End* of the Labour, Travels and Writings of his bleſſed Apoſtles, (and that theſe things were, in a meaſure, in the World, before the Coming of Jeſus of Nazareth in the Fleſh, and that even thoſe that knew him, and received him when he did come, were thoſe that walked up to the *Light* of the *Word,* by which alone his inward Beauty and Glory were ſeen) we may reaſonably conclude, againſt this author, That the *Light* with which the *Word-God* enlightened *Men,* was a *divine, ſpiritual,* and Saving Light, becauſe it revealed theſe Truths to *Gentiles* as well as *Jews,* that had an *immediate* tendency to *Salvation*; and that in *All Ages.* And that whoſoever have walked according to its righteous dictates, as well *before,* as ſince the Coming of Chriſt (the Eternal *Word)* in the Fleſh, did ſo far perform the *Service* of Jeſus of Nazareth, as they thereby ſerved the *God* and *Father* of Jeſus of Nazareth; for ſays Chriſt himſelf, "He that doth the Will of my *Father,* the ſame is my Mother, my Brother, and my Siſter."

To ſum up this; once more, I ſay, We never ſaid the Light Within is given to all mankind to reveal Facts *done,* or *Hiſtorical* Accounts of Perſons and Actions, though we cannot ſay it is not *able* to do it; but, ordinarily, the *Nature* of Things, as to *Truth* and *Falſhood, Obligation* and *Duty, Commiſſion* and *Omiſſion:* And therefore we ſay, That though *all* did not foreſee the Coming of Chriſt, with the circumſtances that attended him, as ſome of the *Prophets* did, (that being an *extraordinary* Manifeſtation of this Light) yet *all* had the *ordinary* Manifeſtation of it, to do *juſtly,* love *mercy,* and walk *humbly* with the Lord: And ſo they have *now,* though they have not the *extraordinary* revelation of the *Hiſtory of* JESUS of *Nazareth:* In which reſpect we confeſs the Scriptures to be a *Secondary* Rule, an *Hiſtorical* Rule, and a Rule of the Form of Sound Words in *Doctrinal* Truths: But the Firſt and *Great* Rule is the *Light* and *Spirit* of God; as *that* was the Rule to *them,* by *whom* the Scriptures were given forth, in their *giving* them forth: And we alſo affirm, The Light and Spirit of God a rule to read and *underſtand* the Scriptures by; and this was plainly ſeen in Chriſt's Time: For the Jews that *rebelled* againſt the Light, had the *Veil* over their Underſtandings, ſo that they could not *ſee* his glory, but judged of him according to *outward* Appearance, which was not righteous judgment; but thoſe that *loved* the Light in that day, the truly conſcientious to God, they brought their deeds to the Light: They knew him to be the *Eternal Word,* manifeſted in the *Fleſh,* and thereby ſaw his *inward* glory to be that of "the Only Begotten of the Father, full of Grace, and full of Truth."

If he *object,* 'If all *had* this *Light,* why did not all *know* him?' As, indeed, that is the weight of his Objection, and other adverſaries oppoſitions,

I anſwer; All have *Reaſon,* but all are not *reaſonable;* all do not *uſe* it: So all have *Light,* but all do not *obey* it. It is not the Light's Inſufficiency, but Man's Diſobedience, that renders him *uncapable* of the knowledge of divine Truth. Chriſt told the

Jews, "If you do my Will, you ſhall know of my Doctrine, whether it be of God or "no." Obeying the Convictions, and firſt Motions, of this Divine Light, will *increaſe* our Light and Knowledge. Diſobedience makes an *unfruitful Ground,* though the *Seed* be *good* that is ſown in it: So that the *Ignorance* of thoſe that *have* the Light, is not chargeable upon the *Light,* but their own *Darkneſs,* which comprehends it not, through Unbelief and Diſobedience. The Scriptures, then, are the Rule to us of the *Hiſtory of Jeſus* of *Nazareth,* and neceſſary to be believed where they are known; but the *Divine Light* and *Spirit,* the Firſt and Great Rule by which they are to be truly and *profitably* read and believed; and without which Chriſt could not have been *ſavingly* known when he was in the world; nor can he be known *now,* nor the Scriptures that *declare* of him: He is the Common Rule to Mankind, who by his Light reveals common and eſſential Truths, relating to the Fear of God, and working of Righteouſneſs: And it will be hard for this man to name one nation or perſon in the world, that knows not the Reproofs of this Principle in *Evil*-doing; and, in doing that which is *Right,* has not a reference to the pleaſing of Him, who is the great Rewarder and Preſerver of Men, notwithſtanding his cavil to the contrary, pag. 12, 13. But I ſhall attend his farther exceptions.

Pag. 13. 'They affirm the *Light within* is *Chriſt*; and I ſay then, it is nothing elſe 'but *Jeſus of Nazareth.* If they make the Light Within to be *Chriſt,* and not *Jeſus* '*of Nazareth,* they make it *Antichriſt:* And becauſe they worſhip God in this Ap'pearance (as they ſpeak) they are *Antichriſtian Idolaters.*'

Anſ. This way of arguing is very dark, as well as injurious. If by *Jeſus of Nazareth* he only means what he took of the Virgin *Mary,* and will not conſider him as the Eternal *Word,* but as *Man,* like to us in all things, Sin excepted, he is *not* the Light Within, that we declare of, and worſhip God in.

But this author, at the ſame time, declares not to believe that Chriſt *is* the Eternal Word, for he ſeems to deny his Pre-exiſtence; much more, that the World, and all that is therein, was *made* by him. And how orthodox that is, let the impartial judge. If he owns Chriſt to be the *Word-God* manifeſted in the *Fleſh,* then I ſay, the Light is *Chriſt,* as much as Chriſt can be called the *Light*; and ſo not only *John* calls him, John i. 4, 9. but he calls himſelf ſo, John viii. 12.

This antagoniſt ſeems too eager and raſh, or he would have reflected better upon the *Way* of the Holy Ghoſt's ſpeaking in *Scripture*; for ſometimes Chriſt is ſo called with relation to his Divine Nature, and ſometimes with reſpect to his Manhood. As he was of the *Seed of Abraham,* he is not *God over All, Bleſſed for ever*; he is not the *Eternal Word,* in whom is *Life,* and that *Life* is the *Light* of Men. And as he *hungered, thirſted, ſorrowed, wept, died,* he was not the *Divine Light* that lighteth *every* man that cometh into the World: Yet he is alternatively called *Chriſt,* ſometimes *Chriſt without Man,* ſometimes *Chriſt* in *Man,* the Hope of his Glory; according to the double reſpect he ſtood and ſtands in. Let not men ſeparate what God has joined; which has been too much the practice of our oppoſers, to draw a line of reflection over our religion, as if it denied *Jeſus of Nazareth* to be *Chriſt* the *Lord,* becauſe we aſſerted him the *Light of the World,* and as ſuch to be *In Man:* Whereas they who conſider him but in *one* capacity, are too ſtrict with the text, to wrong us, and ſo in the end draw the reflection upon themſelves. But to run this abuſe on the Holy Ghoſt, as well as Us, ſo high, as therefore to ſtile us *Antichriſtian Idolaters,* ſhews a Bitterneſs, as well as Miſtake, that by no means becomes a Critick upon other mens Religion.

But that he may apply this injuſtice home, he is pleaſed that it ſhould light upon me, and therefore he quotes a Paſſage out of my Part of the *Chriſtian Quaker,* though not the *Page.* I wave the *ſcurrility* of his Introduction to it, pag. 14, 15. This is the Paſſage, as he gives it:

"*The Power, Life and Light which inhabited that Holy Perſon, which (or who) was "born at Bethlehem, was, and is, chiefly and eminently the Saviour, as prepared for the "Work which Chriſt had to do in him.*" '*By which* (ſays he) *he makes the Light Within 'to be their Chriſt, and Jeſus of Nazareth the prepared Inſtrument of this Chriſt.*

Now by this, the *Reader* will have a clear taſte of the juſtice of this writer.

My words are thus laid down by me, (*Chriſtian Quaker,* pag. 104. chap. 21.) "*We "confeſs, that though the Eternal Power, Life, Light, which inhabited that Holy Per"ſon which was born at* Nazareth, *was, and is, chiefly and eminently the Saviour,* Hoſ. "xiii. 4. (For there is no Saviour beſides me, *ſaith God,*" *this he left out*) "*yet that "it was inſtrumentally a Saviour, as prepared and choſen for the work which Chriſt had 'then to do in it, which was actually to the Salvation of ſome, and intentionally of the whole "world, then, and in Ages to come; ſuitable to that Scripture,* Heb. x. 5, 6. Lo I come, "in the Volume of the Book it is written of me, to do Thy Will, O God! A Body Thou "haſt prepared me." By which it is plain with what unfairneſs he gave my words before: Firſt, he left out my Quotation out of Hoſea, "*For there is no Saviour beſides "me,* ſaith God;" whereby it appears that the eternal power, life and light, was eminently

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Thus much of his conſtruction of the words he quotes out of the "Chriſtian Quaker," before cited: But if he will allow us to ſpeak our own Mind in our own Words, and had rather we were in the right, than in the wrong, which does but become an ingenuous author (though it thereby appear that we are not what he had ſaid us to be) then let him know, we do not *divide*, or *diſtinguiſh*, between *Chriſt*, and *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*. Nor did we ever ſay, that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* is Chriſt's *Inſtrument* to appear in, and by, for man's ſalvation; but, that the "*Word* took Fleſh," and *this* is the *Chriſt*, or *Anointed* of God: And though ſometimes the term *Chriſt* is given to the *Word*, ſometimes to the Prepared *Body* he took, as when he is ſaid to *die*, and be *buried*, and *raiſed again*, &c. yet "*God* manifeſt in the *Fleſh*," and "Immanuel," God *with us*, in our *Nature*, is that *Chriſt of God*, or *Chriſt the Lord*, that God hath, and will exalt; the Enlightener, Redeemer, and Saviour of the world, both an Offering for All, and the Mediator and Sanctifier of all, that deſire to come to God by Him.

But he farther urges againſt us, and our doctrine of the Light Within, as what is fallacious on our part to draw in proſelytes, and which he terms a *Putid Sophiſm*, pag. 21,22. viz. 'Is there not a *Light* in every man's Conſcience? You experience one in your *own*. And is not *God* Light? And *Chriſt* Light? And is not *God* within, and *Chriſt* within? Now this is all very true: But when from hence they infer, God is the Light Within, it is *Putid Sophiſm*. God being *Light*, and being *within* Men, proves not that God is a *Light* within Men. God *is* Light, and God is within *other* things as well as *Men*: Is then God a *Light within* to every *Tree*, every *Beaſt*, every *Star*? If this be abſurd, then God's being *Light*, and being *within*, proves but ſophiſtically that He is the *Light within*. And yet this is the conſtant method the *Quakers* uſe to teach their people the *Divinity* of the *Light within*.'

Anſ. I hope he will find no cauſe to blame me for *imperfect*, and leſs for *perverted* quotations: I cite him fairly and fully. Now, for Anſwer, I ſay, I never ſaw or heard of that way of reaſoning or tampering, as he ſtiles it, that he charges upon us to make Proſelytes by. And I think I ought to be at leaſt as well verſed in our way and writings as himſelf. All reaſonable people will readily allow, they have ſuch a Light; and in reading the Holy Scriptures, they find the Enlightened Penmen call *God* Light, and *Chriſt* Light, and are naturally led to believe, that their Light is from *God*, the Fountain of all Light, eſpecially when they read the firſt chapter of John, and that of his Firſt Epiſtle alſo. And it is granted by this man, that God is *in* Men, and that God is a *Light* within Men. Indeed his argument does not prove it, for it is not regularly formed to make ſuch a concluſion, which is his fault, becauſe it is of his own making: But neither is it a Sophiſm, or Sophiſtical in us, nor is the reaſon good that he gives againſt it, viz. Becauſe it is abſurd to ſay, 'That God is a Light within Trees, Beaſts, and Stars,' becauſe God is within them, and God is Light; therefore it is ſo to ſay, That God is a Light within *Men*. For Trees, Beaſts, and Stars, &c. are not of Man's Nature and Capacity, they are not *capable* of ſuch a Manifeſtation of the Light of God, as Man is: God is in them after another and lower Manner, and to other Ends and Purpoſes. But why *God*, who is confeſſed to be *Light*, and *in* Man, ſhould not be A Light then *to* Man, I cannot comprehend. I do not ſay that it ſtrictly follows in the Argument, but the Reaſon given againſt it is *no* Reaſon; and Reaſon and Scripture judge for us. For Man being a *reaſonable* creature, it is his duty, and the end of his being, to *know* and ſerve God, the Author of it; but this he cannot do, unleſs God *manifeſt* himſelf unto him: And ſince this Man grants, 'That God is Light, and in ſome ſort *in* man,' to what better purpoſe, or which way more properly and beneficially, can he be ſaid to be *in* man, than as a *Light* ſhining there, to give him the *knowledge* of God? So that he is not only there as the Creator and Supporter of his Being, but as his *Illuminator* and *Inſtructor* to his Well-being. The Scriptures already cited ſufficiently prove, That *God* is Light, and *Chriſt* is Light, and, that All Men are *enlightened* by him; and to be ſure it muſt be with his *own* Light. Now, though with a fair adverſary, one might ſay, without offence, 'That *God*, or *Chriſt*, is the Light within man,' yet it is not the common way of our expreſſing ourſelves.

To be ſure we have no ſuch meaning in that way of ſpeaking, as ſome adverſaries ſtrain our words to, as if God and Chriſt were comprehenſible *in* and *by* Man, to render us abſurd and blaſphemous. But we rather chuſe to ſay, 'That God, or Chriſt, who is Light, hath *lighted* Man; and by the Light of *Chriſt* in Man, Man comes to know God and Chriſt: And that the Light in Man, is the Light of *God*, or of *Chriſt*;' and not that God, or Chriſt, is the *Light* in man. The Light in a Room at noon-day, is the Light of the *Sun*; but the SUN cannot ſo properly be ſaid to be in the Room, becauſe its *Light* is there; for the Glorious, Unapproachable BODY of it is elſewhere. I hope this will not paſs with the ſober reader for a *Putid Sophiſm*.

He farther ſays, p. 24. 'I may not now adays, therefore, tell Quakers their own Religion is *falſe*, without telling them what is the *Truth*; leſt I ſhould tempt them to leave *Quakeriſm* for Impiety and Irreligion, and not for the Service of *Jeſus Chriſt*.'

Anſwer. We are beholden to him, that he thinks our Religion a bar to Impiety and Irreligion; and I wiſh neither had appeared in his oppoſing of it. The Truth he has a mind to tell us, lieth in a few words, upon which he beſtows no leſs than fifteen pages, (viz.) 'That the Light which God hath given to man for ſalvation, generally ſpeaking, is, beſides Creation and Providence, the Writings of the inſpired men of the Old and New Teſtament, which we call the Scriptures of *Truth*; no Light, Spirit or Grace, commonly or ordinarily opening and aſſiſting our Underſtandings in the reading of them; but that the Light which is in men, is the Effects of the *Perceptive* Faculties of our Minds, that is, our *Thoughts*,' as he alſo tells us, pag. 9. So that what we read and hear with our outward Eyes and Ears, is thereby reported to our Mind or Judgment, whoſe *Concluſion* thereupon is this man's *Light Within*.

But, methinks, before he had been ſo poſitive and voluminous in his own notion, (where he will find very few abettors, I believe) he ſhould have been ſo fair as to have conſidered what I have ſaid in my *Key*, p. 1, 2. That ſeems to me to have more materially referred to *another* Light within, than he has yet brought himſelf to. I will give the paſſage at large as it lieth, that it may ſpeak for itſelf:

"The Quakers belief and aſſertion is, That Chriſt, who is the Word, that was with God, and was God (John i. 4, 9. and is ſo for ever) hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, with his *own* Light; as he is that *True* Light, or ſuch a Light as there is no other to be *compared* to him; Which is the meaning of the emphaſis *True* in the Text. And that ſuch as follow the Reproofs, Convictions and Leadings of that Light, with which he enlightens the Underſtandings and Conſciences of Men, ſhall not walk in Darkneſs: That is, in *Evil*, and *Ignorance* of God; but ſhall have the Light of Life: That is, be in an holy and *living* State or Condition towards God: A ſtate of Acceptance and Salvation, which is from *Sin* as well as from *Wrath*; (See Iſa. xlix. 6. John i. 4, 9. c. iii. 21. c. v. 40. c. viii. 12. c. x. 10.) And for which end Chriſt was given of God. So that they aſſert the Light of *Chriſt* to be ſufficient to Save; that is, to convince of Sin, lead out of it, and quicken the ſoul in the ways of holineſs: And not a *Natural* Light, otherwiſe than as *All Men*, born into the World, have a Meaſure of *Chriſt's* Light, and ſo it may, in a ſenſe, be ſaid to be *natural* to all Men, becauſe all Men *have* it. For this Light is *ſomething* elſe than the bare *Underſtanding* Man hath as a Rational Creature: For as ſuch, Man cannot be a Light to himſelf; but has only a *Capacity* of *ſeeing*, by means of the *Light* with which *Chriſt*, the *Word*, enlighteneth him. For we can no more be a *mental* or *intellectual* Light to ourſelves, than we are an *external* and *corporeal* Light to ourſelves: But as the *Sun* in the Firmament is the Light of our *Bodies*, ſo the Light of the Divine *Word*, is the Sun of our *Souls*; the Glorious Luminary of the Intellectual World; and they that walk in it, will, by it, be led to bleſſedneſs, Rev. xxi. 24."

Of all which, he takes this imperfect notice, 'The Concurrence of many Cauſes being requiſite to produce Faith, the *Quakers* confound theſe Inſpirations with the *Light*, and attribute the Efficiency of *one* Cauſe to *another*; which muſt needs pervert all ſound judgment of things, and make them ſpeak inconſiſtencies; As when W. P. ſays, "*Man* cannot be a Light to *himſelf*," as if the Denial of the *Divinity* of the Light Within, implied any ſuch thing; and "Man has only a *Capacity* to *ſee*;" as if the Defect was in God's Works in Nature, and in the Scripture, and not in Man's *ſeeing* Faculty. Now ſuch expreſſions ſhew his apprehenſions are much perverted about theſe things.'

Anſwer. But this ſhews my opponent to be either ſhallow, or worſe. I would be ſo charitable as to think he miſtakes me, and in the concluſion abuſeth himſelf. For why do the Quakers confound thoſe Inſpirations with the Light? We never limited all Divine Inſpirations and Operations to the Light, meerly as it is *Light*, as Phyſically, and by his Natural Philoſophy, he ſeems to explain it. We ever meant a *Principle* in Man, that is not *of* Man, that is variouſly denominated by its various Operations: *Light*, from Diſcerning and Diſtinction: *Spirit*, from Life and Power: *Word*, as it Speaks forth God's Mind to Man: *Truth*, in the inward parts, as it deals Truly with man, and would redeem him from Lying Vanities: And *Grace*, as it is God's Gift, and not man's Underſtanding, or man's Merit. I ſhall not therefore quarrel with his Natural Philoſophy, p. 37. when he ſays, ‘ The Sun generates all Life, and its ‘ Faculties in Bodies, but not by its Light;’ for we never ſaid it did, with reference to the Light Within: Elſe all men would have divine *Life* as well as Light; which was never our aſſertion, nor a juſt concluſion from that which is, it being Scripture, viz. John i. 4. “ In Him, the Word, is Life, and that Life the *Light* of Men;” not the *Life* of Men, but as they *obey* it: According to that clear and full expreſſion of our bleſſed Lord, John viii. 12. “ I am the Light of the World; he that followeth me “ ſhall not walk in Darkneſs, but ſhall have the Light of Life;” that is *Life*, as well as Light. They that read him, will ſee who keeps neareſt to the text, and who walks cloſeſt to the Rule and Form of Sound Words; which, we hope, neither he, nor any of his abettors, ſhall ever be able to draw or drive us from.

For the uſe he makes of thoſe words of mine; “ And Man has only a *Capacity* to “ *ſee*,” (viz.) ‘ As if the Defect was in God's Works in Nature and in the Scriptures, ‘ and not in Man's *ſeeing* Faculties;’ he utterly miſtakes me; I will not ſay, wilfully; but upon that he makes a great pother, and depends the ſtrength of his concluſion: For I ſpeak of Man in his *Creation*, and he of Man in his *Fall*. The concluſion cannot be right, that is drawn from wrong premiſes; and I hope he, when he thinks again, will think ſo too; and that his pains, p. 36, 37. might have been ſpared. For I hope he will not think there was any Defect in Paradiſe! as there muſt have been, if Man had been defective in his Seeing Faculty; for even there he was but *Man*, and, as ſuch, he could not be his *own* Light; which is plain, in that when he Erred, he erred from Something elſe than *Himſelf*, Himſelf *erring*; therefore that Something elſe muſt be the *Divine Light* he erred from; in which if he had kept, the ſubtil inſinuations of the Serpent had never prevailed.

Man, then, had only the *Capacity* of ſeeing all Divine Objects; as Truth, Wiſdom, Goodneſs, Mercy, Juſtice, Power, &c. which were only diſcernible by the Inſhinings of this Divine Light of the Word of God. And ſince he alludes ſo ſtrictly in his inſtances from the Creation and Natural Philoſophy, I hope he will allow me to ſay, That as the *Eye* of man, though ever ſo capable of ſeeing, cannot ſee any object before it in the Dark, unleſs an Outward Light give it the ſight thereof; ſo no man's *Soul* can ſee divine objects, though its Eye, or Seeing Faculty, were ever ſo capable, unleſs the divine Light ſhined *in* it, to give unto it the knowledge of the glory of God therein. And I have not only my own Experience, but that of *good* Men in all ages of the world, according to the Degree of the Manifeſtation of the Divine Light, wherein they agree, and cannot err: Humility, Obedience, Love, Patience, Meekneſs, Purity, Charity, &c. are ſenſibly wrought in men by this Divine Principle. *Senſibly*, I ſay, for all his “ *Inſenſible Dogmas*,” pag. 37, 38, 39. as that man is not ſenſible of the Divine Agency or Inſpiration of the Almighty. ‘ For we know,’ ſays he, ‘ by *Reaſoning*; ‘ but not by *Senſe* or *Conſcience*:’ Abuſing that Scripture to countenance his inſenſible aſſertion, “ The Wind bloweth where it liſteth, and we hear the Sound thereof, but “ know not whence it comes, nor whither it goes;” which is not ſpoken of the *regenerate* man's not knowing *how* he is regenerated, but that *other* men know it not with all their wiſdom and knowledge, that are not ſpiritually illuminated and experienced in the ſame work: Anſwerable to that place in the Revelations of John, “ That he “ that overcomes, ſhall have a White Stone, and a New Name, that none ſhall know “ but he that *has it*;” that is, but ſuch Conquerors: For they that are overcome of the World, can never taſte or judge of the Rewards of thoſe that do overcome it.

And very ſorry I am for this Oppoſer, that he allows man no Spiritual Senſes, or that which anſwers to our Outward Senſes; and if he does, ſurely they are to See, Hear, Smell, Taſte and Feel ſomething elſe than *himſelf*. How groſs, then, is his poſition, p. 37. ‘ But this I may ſay, that neither is the Illuminating, or Renewing, ‘ or Regenerating, or any other Divine Inſpiration, immediately perceptible to any ‘ Senſe, inward or outward, in Human Nature; and if ſo, it is certain none of theſe ‘ can be a Light within us.’ But why it is *not* ſo, he has not told us; he *cannot* tell us, nor any man elſe. To all which I ſhall oppoſe a few ſcriptures, and then attend his abuſe of thoſe I cited in my KEY, and me, for the Application of them.

That there is *another* Light and Spirit that attend men, than the ‘ *Effects* of the ‘ *Perceptive Faculties* of their *own Minds*,’ as this man calls it, I urge that paſſage in Geneſis, vi. 3. “ My Spirit ſhall not always ſtrive with Men.” A plain proof that God ſtrove with the Old World by his Holy Spirit; which could not be, if they had it *not*, or were *unſenſible* of any ſuch thing. *Nehemiah* ix. 20. it is ſaid, that “ God “ gave them his good Spirit, but they rebelled againſt it;” therefore they *had* it. David prays that God “ would not take his Holy Spirit from him;” which ſhews it was *with* him, and that not as a Prophet, but ordinarily ſpeaking; for his tranſgreſſion was too heinous for that dignity, without a courſe of Repentance, and a Reſtoration to his former State, which in the ſame Pſalm he prays for: But it is evident, as bad as he was, he had yet the Holy Spirit in *that* ſenſe, in which we aſſert a " Meaſure of it " to be given to *all* to profit with," as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, 1 Cor. xii. 7. Elſe he could not have ſaid, " And take not thy Holy Spirit from me;" as much as to ſay, ' For if thou doſt utterly deprive me of it, I ſhall grow dark, hard and impenitent, ' and be undone for ever.'

The Lord, by the Prophet Iſaiah, proves, That his Spirit ſhould ſucceſſively attend his People: Theſe are his words. " And as for me, this is my covenant with them, " ſaith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee, *(Chriſt)* and my Words which I have " put in thy Mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy " Seed's Seed, ſaith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever, chap. lix. 21." And, I pray, who are Chriſt's Seed and Off-ſpring, but true Chriſtians? And, as ſuch, they are intituled to this promiſe, and therefore have the Spirit of God, and the freſh and living Revelation of it, whoſe Words are " Spirit and Life."

Thus the Prophet, chap. xliv. 3. " I will pour Water upon him that is thirſty, and " Floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my *Spirit* upon thy *Seed*, and my Bleſſing " upon thine Off-ſpring." A moſt ample and cloſe proof to my point, that God gives his *Spirit* to men, and that there is *Something more* than the Light of Reading and Hearing of Men and Books, or the *Perceptive Faculty* of the Mind, to *inſtruct* men: And that, not only in extraordinary Caſes, and on ſingular and eminent Occaſions, (which our Opponent allows, as to *Moſes*, the *Prophets*, and *Apoſtles*) but ordinarily, commonly, ſucceſſively: For to that the text plainly reaches.

The Prophet Joel is yet more comprehenſive, ch. ii. 28. " And it ſhall come to " paſs afterwards, that I will pour out my Spirit upon *all Fleſh*;" Young and Old, Hand-maids and Servants: No Age, no Sex, no Degree ſhall be exempted. The Apoſtle Peter applied this very text to the dawning of the Primitive Chriſtian days, as then begun to be accompliſhed, *Acts* ii. 17. Not that that which befel the Apoſtles and Diſciples of Jeſus in *that* time, was the *compleat* anſwering of that prophecy, for that was not *All Fleſh*. Beſides, the very ſame Apoſtle, in the ſame Sermon, ver. 39, tells his auditors, that were made up of no leſs than Fourteen ſeveral Nations, " That the Promiſe was to *Them* and to their *Children*, and to All that were *afar off*, " whom the Lord ſhould call:" So that the gifts of the Spirit were the Fulfilling of the Goſpel-promiſe, and conſequently the great Goſpel-Privilege and Qualification.

The Apoſtle Paul tells us, Rom. viii. That there is an abſolute neceſſity that people ſhould have the Spirit of God *dwelling* in them, and that they ſhould be *led* and *conducted* by it, or they cannot be the Children of God. Ver. 1, " There is no " Condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, who walk not after the Fleſh, but " after the Spirit." Here it is the Chriſtian *Rule*.

Again, ver. 12. " But if the Spirit of him that raiſed Jeſus from the dead, *dwell* " *in you*, he that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead, ſhall alſo quicken your mortal Bo" dies, by his Spirit, that *dwelleth in you*:" So that the Indwelling of the Spirit did quicken and comfort the Ancient Chriſtians, and was Apoſtolical Doctrine.

Again, Ver. 14, 15, 16. " For as many as are *led* by the Spirit of God, they are " the *Sons* of God;" which they cannot be, if they have it *not*: " For ye have not " received the Spirit of Bondage again to fear, but the Spirit of Adoption, whereby " we cry Abba Father. The Spirit *itſelf* beareth witneſs with *our* ſpirit, that we are " the children of God:" So that it is plain they *had* the Spirit. And I wonder what Witneſs Chriſtians muſt have *now*, that they are the children of God, if not the *ſame* Spirit; ſince, if this adverſary ſay true, there is no ſuch Gift common to Chriſtians now, but only the ' *Notices* God has given to All, of his Thoughts and Mind, by ' *Creation* and *Scripture*.' But, alas! too apparent it is that this man knows little of the Working of God's Spirit, that ſo unſpiritually ſpeaks of it. Did not our bleſſed Lord ſay, John iii. 5. " That unleſs Man be born of the Spirit, he could not en" ter into the Kingdom of God?" Was this only for the Primitive Times? Then men ever ſince have not been *ſaveable*, for they have wanted the *Means* of Salvation, to wit, REGENERATION. And if Regeneration be neceſſary to All, how can a man be rationally ſaid to be *born* of the Spirit, and not to *have* the Spirit he is *born of*; or be (as Peter phraſeth it) a *Partaker* of the DIVINE *Nature*, 2 Pet. i. 4. But more than this, Chriſt told his Diſciples, that the *Spirit of Truth* he would ſend them, though it ſhould be a *Comforter* to them that believed in him, and followed him, yet it ſhould *Reprove* the *World* of Sin; which could not be, if the World had not ſuch a Meaſure of the Spirit, as to *reprove* them in their Evil-doing. And, indeed, all that will be ſerious and reflect, muſt confeſs, from Experience, they have enough of it to reprove them for that which is Evil, and to bear a true and faithful witneſs againſt every Evil Way.

Memorable is that ſecond chapter of the Apoſtle, in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, (a Worldly-wiſe People, whoſe Faculties were as perceptive as our Opponent's, I doubt not) concerning the Office, Efficacy and Neceſſity of the Holy Spirit, to know God, and our Duty to him, in order to ſalvation.

And what has been ſaid of the HOLY SPIRIT, may be ſaid of the DIVINE LIGHT: As one of the earlieſt books in Scripture tells us: Job. xxiv. 13. "They are of "thoſe," ſays Job, ſpeaking of the Wicked, "that *rebel* againſt the *Light*." Then they *had* it: And if *They* had it, *All* had it: For, to be ſure, the *Righteous* were not without it.

Again, "The Spirit of Man is the Candle of the Lord," Prov. xx. 27. But it muſt be *lighted* by that Light we ſpeak of, or it is a *dark* Candle. Now God lights the Candle of the wicked; much more is he the Light of the Candle of the Righteous.

Again, he ſays, "How often is the Candle of the Wicked *put out*!" Job. xxi. 17. Prov. xiii. 9. Which ſhews it is often *lighted*; and if *they* have the Light, the *righteous*, to be ſure, are not without it: For, "The Way of the Juſt is a ſhining *Light*, "which ſhines more and more to the perfect Day." Obedience to Light received, *increaſes* Light. Now, if the Way of the Juſt be a ſhining Light, to be ſure the Light is Saving, or is the Way to Salvation: And ſo the beloved Diſciple has it, Revel. xxi. "The Nations of them that are ſaved ſhall walk in the Light."

David ſays alſo, in proof of our point, "The LORD is my Light and my Salva- "tion," Pſal. xxvii. 1. Then he had an higher and clearer Light than his own *Perceptive Faculties*.

Again, "Thy WORD is a Light to my Feet, and a Lanthorn to my Paths," Pſal. cxix. 105. Which was an Inward and Spiritual Word; for it was ſuch an one as he could *find* in his *Heart*, according to Moſes, *Deut*. iii. and the Apoſtle, *Rom*. x.

David alſo, Pſal. xlii. prayed, that the Lord would "ſend forth his *Light* and his "*Truth*," which were the ſame thing, "that it might lead and bring people to his "Holy Hill and Tabernacle." This was *more* than *Man*, or what was of Man's Conſtitution or Compoſition: More than the Perceptive Faculties of the Mind.

Moreover, God declared by the Prophet Iſaiah, That he had given "CHRIST for a "Light to lighten the Gentiles;" which was more than Man's *Wit* or *Underſtanding*, to be ſure. And though Chriſt was a *Light* in his *Doctrine*, *Miracles* and *Example*, yet he was, and is, a Light *within* alſo, to enlighten the *Mind*, as John i. 4. 9. with many more, before obſerved. And this Light and Spirit are of the ſame *Principle*, or the ſame *Principle* that is both Spirit and Light; though, it may be, ſtrictly ſpeaking, not Both in One and the Same *Act* or *Operation*, as has been already noted. Nevertheleſs, the Scripture makes them to have one Operation, comparing John xvi. 7. with Eph. v. 13. For the firſt makes it the Office of the *Spirit* to "*convince* the "World of *Sin*;" and the latter place tells us, "That whatever is *reproved* is made "manifeſt by the *Light*:" And the Apoſtle gives this for the reaſon, "becauſe, ſays he, "whatever makes *manifeſt* is *Light*:" An aſſertion that can never be denied. And as true it is, that it muſt be a Divine Light, that reveals Divine Truths. And becauſe it is neceſſary that all ſhould *know* them, for their ſalvation, (ſince God would have all come to the Knowledge of the Truth, and be ſaved) the conſequence muſt be good, That all *have* this Divine Light, more or leſs, for ſalvation, though all do not obey it.

I might proceed to enumerate ſcriptures through the Prophets, Evangeliſts and Epiſtles; but I think what I have ſaid is a double portion: And therefore I recommend it to the candid reader's ſerious peruſal and obſervation; and I doubt not but he will diſcern the Verity and Charity of our Principles, and the Unjuſt Exceptions of our Opponent to them.

I come next to conſider his cavils againſt our citation of ſcripture, and indeed againſt the Scripture itſelf, which will not be hard to evince.

Page 41. He is angry, becauſe I ſay that Chriſt has enlightened men with his *own* Light; calls this very hard names; and ſays, 'It is the Quakers Apocrypha:' But we abide by it; and are taught ſo to do by the Scriptures, that he would have the world believe we deny, and make apocryphal. John i. 4. "In him *(Chriſt)* was Life, "and the Life the Light of Men." Now if this be not *Man*'s Light, and if this Light, which is the Life of the *Word*, be not the *Light* of the Word, let me be blamed: If it be, how prepoſterous muſt this man be, to uſe me ſo harſhly for a truth ſo plain as well as important?

The next ſcripture is that in Prov. xx. 27. "The Spirit of Man is the Candle of "the Lord, ſearching all the inward Parts of the Belly."---'That is,' ſays he, 'the 'Spirit of Man, which God hath made, hath, in its Nature, a Conſciouſneſs of all 'his Thoughts, Purpoſes and Counſels within him.' But this word Conſciouſneſs ſuppoſes a Knowledge, together with *Something elſe*, that *gives* us that Knowledge: It is the very import of the words: And what is that, but that Divine Light which gives *Light* to the Candle? For a Candle cannot light *itſelf*; and, by the Repetition of Sin, is ſaid to be often *blown out*. For though it cannot blow that *Light* out, it blows out its *Enlightenings*. Thus Sin Quenches the Spirit; that is, the *Enlivenings* and *Quickenings* of it; for the Spirit ITSELF cannot be quenched. Now this note of his is ſo far from overthrowing our uſe of this ſcripture, that it eſtabliſhes it, and defeats him of the end he propoſed in oppoſing us.

Thus he abuſes us, and that paſſage of our Saviour Chriſt, "If the Light that is in you be Darkneſs, how great is that Darkneſs?" as if Chriſt meant any Light but that of Man's *Miſtake* and *Preſumption*; or that we could aſſert GOD to be that Light in us, which Chriſt ſaid might be *Darkneſs*: For this man ſays, 'If the Light in us, here mentioned, was the Light that is *good*, the ſuppoſal that it might poſſibly be Darkneſs, would be a blaſphemous ſuppoſition.' He is to be pitied, as well as reproved, that can rave after this manner.

The uſe I make of that Scripture, 2 Cor. iv. 6. "God, that commanded the Light to ſhine out of Darkneſs, hath ſhined in our Hearts, to give the Light of the Knowledge of the Glory of God, in the Face of Jeſus Chriſt;" was thus: 'That God had lighted the *Hearts* of Men, by breaking through the Darkneſs there, with his Divine Light.' This author, p. 43. limits this Light to the Apoſtles and Fellow-Labourers; and all the reſt are to ſee with *their* Eyes, and without that Divine Light in themſelves: In fine, to be concluded by their Authority, and not their own Conviction; for what he ſays centers there. Whereas the Apoſtle's miſſion and buſineſs, was "to turn people from the *Darkneſs*, (that was in Themſelves) to the *Light*," that had ſhined there uncomprehended: Alſo to be made manifeſt, in their Preaching, to the *Conſciences* of People; which could not be, in divine Truths, without a Divine *Light*. I muſt leave this way of our Opponent's treating of Scripture to my Reader's conſideration.

Page 45 to 57. His next abuſe is, that of John i. 9. about which he beſtows room for Reaſon, being no leſs than twelve pages. He that can make more of them than theſe three following heads, has a better underſtanding than mine.

1. 'That the Life that is come by Chriſt is, that we ſhall *out-live* the *Grave*:' Not, that the Soul is made Spiritually alive to God, while in this World, by Divine Quickenings, to the Uſe of her ſpiritual Senſations, that Sin had taken away, by bringing her under a Spiritual Lethargy or Death: Which, how agreeable it is to that ſaying of Chriſt, John viii. 12. "That they that follow him ſhould have the Light of Life;" and, John vi. "Unleſs you eat my Fleſh and drink my Blood, you have no Life in you," (which implies an Inward and Living State of the Mind towards God on this ſide the grave) I muſt alſo leave with my conſiderate reader, that has any reliſh or taſte of divine things.

2. The ſecond thing he objects upon our uſe of this ſcripture, (John i. 9.) is our making "*Coming into* the *World*" to refer to *Man*, and not to *Chriſt*; 'which,' ſays he, 'is firſt a Redundancy of Speech; and next, *dangerous*; for it is as if a Man came from *another* World into *this*.' Now I would have this Critick know, if he can be ignorant of it, That divers learned Proteſtant Commentators have taken that way, as have ſome of the Fathers, and all the Tranſlators that I can compaſs, be it into the Latin Verſions, or our Vulgar European Tongues; as my reader may pleaſe to ſee at large, in a book of mine, called, *The Spirit of Truth Vindicated*, from p. 52, to p. 62. So that he muſt allow we are in good company, if miſtaken; ſince ſo many Criticks and Commentators are with us; as ſingular and erroneous as he is pleaſed to repreſent us. But where is the *Redundancy?* Why, it is, 'that *every Man* would have ſerved, without the words *coming into the World*, which follow them.' No wonder he is ſo churliſh to *our* Writings, that affords the *Holy Scripture* no more reſpect. If he will read ſeveral chapters of that beloved Diſciple's Writings, and, indeed, of many other of the Holy Penmens, he may, if he pleaſe, make the like exceptions. Thus that ſaying of Job, uſed in the Liturgy, in the Office for the Dead, '*Man that is born of a Woman*,' &c. for, according to this Critick's Learning, *Man* had been enough; and the addition, *That is born of a Woman*, dangerous; for that it implies there are Men that are *not born* of Women: Which, I think, would not mightily recommend his Skill or Judgment; as his Exception cannot juſtly impeach the Propriety of the Holy Scriptures. And if this adverſary did believe that Chriſt *made* Man, he would believe he *enlightens* him, as well as made him; and that the firſt ten verſes of that chapter refer to his *Divinity*: What he was in *himſelf*, and what he was and is to *Man*, as the *Word-God*, by whom the whole World was made, and Man, in an excellent manner, *enlightened*; and this before any mention is made of his taking Fleſh, or coming of the Seed of Abraham.

3. But he would have *lighteth* limited to Chriſt's Coming in the *Fleſh*, and that all were enlightened *then* by him: Now, I will not ſay, he was not a glorious *Light* in his Miniſtry and Miracles, in his Life and Sufferings; for if his *Diſciples* were by him called the "*Lights of the World*," doubtleſs it may be better ſaid of him, their Lord and Original, that *He* was the *Light* of the World. But this hinders not that he ſhould be the Light of the World in a more proper and *immediate* manner, by his ſhining in the *Underſtandings* of Men, and giving them thereby the knowledge of their Duty to God, and one to another. I muſt refer him to what I have ſaid in my former book upon this head alſo; in anſwer to one that denied the Pre-exiſtence of Chriſt, or that he had a Being before he was born of the Virgin *Mary*; in whoſe

1695. ſteps this man ſeems to tread. If he will read from page 62 to 86, and the reaſons and numerous authorities, theſe may, perhaps, perſuade him that the 9th verſe of the firſt of John, wholly relates to the *Word* before he took Fleſh, and as he is the *immediate* Enlightner of the Souls of Men. “In him was Life, and the Life the Light of Men,” verſe 4. This was neither Sun, Moon, nor Stars; nor yet the Effect of the *Perceptive Faculties* of our *Souls*, nor yet any *Outward* and *Miniſterial* Light whatever; of all which I leave the ſober reader to judge.

Page 52, 53. As for the groſs abſurdity that he would run us into, of being *Be-Godded* and *Be-Chriſted*, according to our Principle, he has ſhewn ſufficiently he does not underſtand it; and therefore no matter for his wild conſequences, by which he would diſgrace it: But if by being Be-Chriſted, we are to underſtand *Divine Kindred* and *Memberſhip*, through *true Chriſtening*, which is the *Anointing*, 1 John ii. 20, 27. we ſhall not ſhrink from the word, becauſe of his out-cries at us for it. I have already declared what we intend by being Enlightened; and that our Principle is not capable of any of the wild inferences, this man, through great ignorance or malice, charges upon it. But before I leave this head, I muſt obſerve one Diſtinction of his, page 54, 55, 56. that, to himſelf, doubtleſs, looks very apt and determining, viz. ‘That we are not enlightened by what God *is*, but what God *does*.’ This is upon my ſaying, “That God enlightens Men with his *own* Light;” calling me all to naught for that phraſe, as unſcriptural, and of a meditated Temperament, to amuſe my readers with: Rendering the Light, which we ſay true Chriſtians ought to walk by, to be no otherwiſe God's *own* Light, than the Sun and the Rain are his *own* Sun and Rain: Not of his *Nature*, but of his *Creation* only: That I take to be his meaning, a little plainer than he has expreſſed it. To which I reply, in that famous and ſuitable text of the beloved Diſciple, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. “This, then, is the meſſage which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, *That God is Light*, and in him is no Darkneſs at all: If we ſay that we have Fellowſhip with him, and walk in Darkneſs, we lye and do not the truth: But if we walk in the Light as he is *in* the Light, we have Fellowſhip one with another, and the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſeth us from all Sin.” Here I leave him to conſider of this *Light*; whether it be a *created* one; ſuch an one, as is not what God *is*, but what God *does*; and ſhall attend his Perverſion of my preſent Uſe, and our common Senſe, of ſeveral Scriptures, cited in favour of our *Inward Principle:* And then ſhall conclude my Reply to his pretended Anſwer to that part of my KEY, which relates to the Light Within.

That I may make the point plainer to the reader, I ſhall firſt lay down the *Perverſion* mentioned in my KEY, then our *Principle* upon it, with thoſe Scriptures he takes occaſion to twiſt and turn from our true ſenſe and end in citing them, and of which he is ſo conſcious to himſelf, that, to anticipate my Reply, he gives it *for* me, as I ſhall anon obſerve, and not a great way from our true ſenſe.

Perverſ. ‘The *Quakers* hold, That the *Light* within them is *God*, *Chriſt*, and the *Holy Spirit:* ſo that every *Quaker* has *Whole God*, *Chriſt* and *Holy Spirit* in him; which is groſs blaſphemy.’ KEY, p. 2, 3.

By this my reader will ſee what we except againſt, viz. The Blaſphemy of making every *Quaker* comprehend *whole God* and *Chriſt*, and *Holy Spirit* in him. Now I muſt deſire him to obſerve what our *Principle* ſays to this ſuggeſtion.

Principle. ‘This is alſo a miſtake of their belief: They never ſaid, That every *Divine Illumination* or *Manifeſtation* of Chriſt, in the hearts of men, was *whole God*, *Chriſt*, or the *Spirit*; whereby to be guilty of that groſs and blaſphemous abſurdity, ſome would faſten upon them: But that *God*, who is *Light*, or the *Word-Chriſt*, who is *Light*, the *Quickening Spirit*, and God over all, bleſſed for ever, hath *enlightened* Mankind with a *Meaſure* of *Saving Light:* So that the *Illumination* is from *Chriſt*, the *Divine Word*; but not therefore *whole* God or Chriſt in *every Man*, any more than the *whole Sun* or *Air* is in *every Houſe* or *Chamber*. There are no ſuch harſh and unſcriptural words in their Writings: It is only a frightful Perverſion of ſome of their Enemies, to bring a ſcandal upon their holy faith. Yet, *in a Senſe*, the Scriptures ſay it, and that is their (the Quakers) ſenſe, in which they only ſay the ſame thing.’ “He that is *with* you ſhall be *in* you: I will not leave you comfortleſs, I will come to you: I in *them*, and they in *us:* Chriſt in us, the Hope of Glory: Unleſs Chriſt be *in* you, ye are Reprobates. Little Children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Chriſt be formed *in* you.”

This is my Explanation of our Principle about the Light, from the Perverſions of our Adverſaries: By which the uncandid dealing of this man muſt be very obvious; ſince, beſides his Silence, and that he ſeems to ſhut his eyes to our Explanation and Vindication of what we hold, from what he charges, he doubles the Perverſions, by changing and miſgiving the End for which the Scriptures were cited by me: For he makes us to quote them to prove what we expreſly deny, as a falſe charge upon us;

and carries them at leaſt beyond, if not againſt, the intent and reaſon of their quotations, which he knows deſerves a black name, ſince they were never quoted to prove *whole God* and Chriſt to be in *every Man*, or to be *ſo* in *any* man: But that God, Chriſt, and the Spirit, were, in ſome near Manner, in the People of God. For the very Perverſion runs it no farther than the People called *Quakers*; that every one of us are ſuggeſted to have whole God, and whole Chriſt, and the Spirit in us: Which is to improve, as I ſaid before, upon the very Perverſion.

Hear him, pag. 58. ‘ Chriſt ſays not here, that any man, except his *Diſciples*, ſhall ‘ have him *in* them; that Chriſt is in *none*, but thoſe that are in *him*; that he is not ‘ in Reprobates, ſo not in *every* man; that he was not in the Galatians; that they muſt ‘ be *new* creatures that have him; ſo all againſt W. P's purpoſe.” But what *was* my purpoſe, I pray? Hear the KEY again.

“ Yet, *in a Senſe*, the Scriptures ſay it, and that is *their* (the Quakers) ſenſe, in which “ they only ſay the ſame thing.” What fair or wiſe adverſary would have been guilty of ſo ill a thing, and ſo eaſily to be detected? Is any thing plainer than, Firſt, That *every Quaker*, and not *every Man*, is in the Perverſion? Secondly, That I deny, in the name of that People, any ſuch blaſphemous principle, as that *every Quaker* has *whole God in him*, but much the contrary; explaining our Principle, of which he takes no notice. Thirdly, That yet we own God, Chriſt, and Holy Spirit to be in the People called Quakers; but that it is according to a *Senſe*: In what Senſe do I ſay it? Why, the Senſe in which the *Scriptures* ſay it.

Now, reader, judge thou, and not I, what to call this man, that with ſo much falſhood obtrudes upon us the untrueſt things and unworthieſt abuſes for the Principles of the People called Quakers. And to ſhew him to himſelf yet more plainly, he has provided me with the means of doing it, which I touched upon before, viz. ‘ That the ‘ Quakers uſe to ſay, None but *Believers* have Chriſt in *Union*, but *all others* have Chriſt ‘ *in them*.’ Which, at leaſt, gives away the point: For if Chriſt be, in ſome ſenſe or other, in *every* Man, yet he is not ſaid by me, in the foregoing ſcriptures, to be in any but believers. And he makes too bold with us alſo, in ſaying, in our name, ‘ That ‘ *Chriſt* is in all Men;’ for we chuſe rather to expreſs ourſelves otherwiſe, as, ‘ That ‘ a *Manifeſtation* of Chriſt is in every Man,’ or ‘ That the *Light* of Chriſt is within ‘ every man:’ And in ſo ſaying, I have, by many plain ſcriptures, proved, that we ſpeak but the Truth, and that which is every man's Bleſſing: And it were well all would prize it, and live up to it. For that is the *Gift* of *God* to men for their ſalvation, and the *Convictions* of it the Day of their *Viſitation*; and though Tradition, Form and Formality, in many countries, as well as Wickedneſs, have darkened the Underſtandings of people, ſo that they ſeem more ſolicitous about their Forms, than zealouſly obedient to this Divine Principle; yet there is none without a Senſe of the Reproofs and Convictions of it, more or leſs, at one time or other: Which cannot be, without *Light*; ſince all that is *reproved* is made *manifeſt* by the *Light*, Epheſ. v. 13. But before I cloſe this ſubject, I muſt touch upon his Interpretation of ſome of thoſe Texts before cited, p. 58, 59.

He ſays this paſſage of the apoſtle's, “ Chriſt in us, the Hope of Glory,” is againſt me: becauſe it was only to *Believers* that he wrote. Grant it; yet why may not Chriſt be a *Condemner* in the Conſciences of the *Wicked*, as well as the *Hope* of *Glory* in *Believers*? However, it is not againſt me, ſince I cited it only to ſhew the Enjoyment of Believers: And ſince he allows *Chriſt* to be in Believers, I hope his *Light* and *Spirit* are there with him; which is more than the Effects of the Perceptive Powers of their Souls, or Outward Miniſterial Help in the buſineſs of Religion; a thing he has ſo often denied to any but the Holy Penmen, and here and there an extraordinary perſon, that has had the Power of Miracles, to confirm the Truth of their Inſpiration: “ For if he “ has given us his *Son*, how much more with him ſhall he give us *all* things?” So that our adverſary has herein granted, what he has ſo often denied and oppoſed.

The like in that paſſage of the apoſtle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xiii. 15. “ Unleſs “ Chriſt be in you, you are Reprobates.”--- ‘ This,’ ſays he, ‘ proves, no *Reprobates* ‘ have Chriſt in them: How, then, is Chriſt in *every* man, if he be in none of *theſe*?’ But then, ſay I, he is in all *but* Reprobates, by this man's conceſſion: And *we* can ſay no more. For if by Reprobates we are to underſtand a *Judas's* State; a *ſeared* Conſcience; one that has abſolutely *crucified* to himſelf afreſh the Lord of Life and Glory, and has ſinned the Sin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt*; in ſhort, an *Apoſtate*, or an *obſtinate Oppoſer*, and *Perverter* of the right Way of the Lord; then, I ſay our Principle of Chriſt being, in ſome ſenſe, in *every* Man (viz. as a *Light* lightening *every* Man) receives no diſadvantage from his objection: For therefore *Reprobates* have not *Chriſt*, becauſe they have *finally blown out* the Candle, *extinguiſhed* Conſcience, and are become *dead* to all Senſe of Religion; which is, becauſe they have out-lived the Day of God's Love and Mercy to them: They *would not* be gathered; they would have none of him; they would not have this Man to reign over them. But then, *all others*, by this text, and this man's arguing from it, *have* Chriſt in them; and ſo it makes greatly for us, ſince

1695. it plainly concludes, ‘ That if all that *have not* Chriſt in them are Reprobates, then thoſe that are *not* Reprobates *have* Chriſt in them : But ſuch is *every Man* that cometh into the World ; therefore, *every Man* that cometh into the World, *hath* Chriſt in him :’ For, to be ſure, men come not *Reprobates* into the world. They have a Day of Grace ; God calls ; his Spirit ſtrives ; his Long-ſuffering waiteth, as in the days of Noah, for their Repentance. And this is that which will give the greateſt weight in the ſcale againſt the Rebellious, at the great Judgment, that they had a *Talent* ; a *Seed* was ſown ; *Grace* did appear ; and *all had Light*, but ſuch loved Darkneſs rather than Light, becauſe their Deeds were evil.

The laſt ſcripture he would turn upon us, is that in the Galatians ; “ My little Children, of whom I travel in birth again until Chriſt be formed in you :” Upon which he ſays, ‘ The Perſons ſpoken to *then*, had not *Chriſt* in them.’ Thus does this man walk in a circle, and contradict himſelf. One time, all but *Reprobates* have Chriſt ; another while, the Galatians, though *not* Reprobates, had him not. But when he conſiders, that there is a great difference between a *Seed* and an *Ear*, a *Plant* and a *Tree*, he may better underſtand the Apoſtle, and what he now ſays. For the poor man, after ſo often allowing Chriſt to be in the People of God, ſays, pag. 59. ‘ But neither in *Believers* is Chriſt a *Light within*.’ I wonder, then, *what* he is there, ſince he is the *Light* of the *World*, John i. 4. 9. and that *true Light* that lighteth *every* man that cometh into the *World* ; and yet not to be a *Light* within Man, though he *be* within Man, is ſurprizing. I ſhall leave it with my reader, to do our Principle juſtice ; and I hope he will find reaſon to think I have aſſerted no *Errors*, nor *prevaricated* with my Friends, nor *loſt* my Point, nor acted with *Leger-de-main*, or *Meditated Temperament*, to deceive ; and that all the *Wards* of my KEY, after his many Strainings, Wreſtings and Forcings, keep their Places, and anſwer the End for which the KEY was firſt made ; viz. ‘ To open, to every Common Underſtanding, the Difference between the Principles of the People called Quakers, and the Perverſions and Miſrepreſentations of their Enemies :’ Wiſhing this Adverſary, for all his Scoffs, Scurrility, and Abuſe upon us and our Religion, Repentance to Salvation.

His Exceptions *to our* Refuſal *of* OATHS, *and his* Arguments *for them*, conſidered.

PAGE 62. ‘ To their (the *Quakers)* Scruple about *Oaths*, I ſhall only hint theſe few Thoughts : Becauſe *True Speaking* is not only a Part of *Honeſty*, but *Religion* ; therefore not only Honeſty, but Religion, is engaged, with its full Force, to ſupport itſelf : But if a Man engage *all* his *Religion* for the Support of a *True Speech*, he takes an *Oath*.’

If this be true arguing, then we *ſwear* as often as we ſay *Yea* and *Nay* in evidence ; ſince we acknowledge we ſtake the Credit of our Religion and Conſcience for the verity of it ; and then, methinks, there needs no diſpute in the matter : For it is certain we *do*, and that Swearers can do no more : And ſince that is our Principle, it is as binding on us, as Swearing is upon thoſe that give themſelves the liberty of ſwearing. But pray let us hear what follows.

‘ I ſhall not,’ ſays he, ‘ inſiſt upon the Nature of an Oath, but conſider its Place in the *Political* State of Chriſt's Kingdom.’

If he will not inſiſt upon the Nature of an Oath, I have no reaſon to inſiſt upon the Uſe or Diſuſe of it at this time ; ſince here it is an arguing upon an *Individuum Vagum* ; a Nothing. He ſhould firſt have aſcertained us, what an Oath *is* ; and when that had been adjuſted and ſettled, then he ſhould have proved ſuch an Oath *lawful*, and us unreaſonable for refuſing it upon all accounts. However, I will both obſerve, and anſwer, his notions of it.

Firſt, he ſays, ‘ He cannot underſtand how Swearing can be wholly *put down*, where People may ſwear by *Law*, as in England.’ True, unleſs that Law be repealed, that requires it. But it is a great Bull to ſay, That they who *make* a Law cannot *repeal* it. If the Legiſlative Power is pleaſed to make *Yea* and *Nay* have the force and acceptance of an *Oath*, they may have it in *any* Government ; and that is what the People called Quakers deſire in *this*, for all of their Communion : And to ſhew him how much he is miſtaken, the higheſt Judicature in England ſits upon *Honour*, and not *Oaths*, viz. The *Houſe* of *Lords* : So Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, that judge Life, are rarely, if ever, upon *Oath*. So that I have herein anſwered his queſtion, pag. 63. ‘ *If an Order againſt all Swearing were not*, Ipſo Jure, *Void*.’ He carries it higher than any body ever did, that I have met with. It is, with him, the great Hinge or Axle-tree upon which Religion turns ; and explodes my reaſon as falſe, that I gave for the Riſe of Oaths, viz. Want of Faith, either in him that Swears, or in him to whom the Oath is Sworn.

‘ For,’ ſays he, God the *Father* Swears to the *Son*, *Heb*. vii. where there is Infinite *Faithfulneſs* on *both* Sides.’

But to this I ſay, That, ſtrictly ſpeaking, God cannot be ſaid to Swear; for he that Swears, Swears by the Greater, *Heb.* vi. 16. So that it is called *Swearing*, that it might ſtrike Unbelieving Man with the greater Aſſurance of God's *Love* to him. And though there was Infinite Faithfulneſs between God and Chriſt, yet it referring to *Man*, it is termed an *Oath*, to heighten and augment Man's *Credit* and *Confidence* in God, as to the Means of his ſalvation; and not that God did properly Swear, or can do ſo.

But he tells us, 'That Chriſt anſwered upon *Adjuration* before a *Judge*, which is the way of Swearing in our Engliſh Courts.'

I cannot allow it, ſince he does not prove that Chriſt Swore in his Anſwer; for all he ſaid was, "Thou haſt *ſaid*," Mat. xxvi. 63. Now that is putting it *back* to the High Prieſt; as if he had ſaid, 'What need I anſwer that upon Oath, which thou thyſelf *ſayeſt*? Doſt thou firſt *accuſe* me, and then query to confirm it? Thou haſt *ſaid*.' But next, if it be ſaid, 'That it was an Anſwer uſual, and the Propriety or Peculiarity of that Language ſo to ſpeak,' he ſhould have proved it: For, as the Words are in the Scripture, there appears no Oath in them: But if it were as he ſays, (which I cannot grant) yet it concludes nothing againſt us; for as he was in the State of a Servant, a *Jew* of the *Jews*, made and born under the *Law*, Gal. iv. 4. He was to fulfil the *Righteouſneſs* of it, and ſo might act as a *Jew*; as he did in the inſtance of Circumciſion, the Paſſover, &c. Yet after his Reſurrection, we hear nothing of an Oath, any more in example than in doctrine; which, with all other cuſtoms of the Jews, that in old time were practiſed, was, as it were, left with the Grave Cloaths behind; and he aſcended in his Evangelical Righteouſneſs and Glory, triumphing over Principalities and Powers, and vanquiſhing Hell, Death and the Grave, and brought in a better Hope, Sanctuary and Tabernacle, where *Yea* and *Nay* ſucceeded, and ſuperſeded all Oaths. So that the very Baſis this man builds upon is unſound, and his Premiſes precarious. How, then, can he build well, or conclude rightly againſt us? But he ſays, 'The *Angels* "Swear;" which, I conceive, is more than he knows; for no body can think, by his Writings, he is very converſant with *good* Angels. However, I grant that the Angels *have* ſworn; but that is no reaſon to continue Oaths among *Men*, if Chriſt, the Bleſſed Author of the Chriſtian Religion, hath *forbid* them: For the Angels, as well as Men, muſt worſhip *him*, Heb. i. 6. and therefore *Chriſt* and not the *Angels*, are to be followed by *us*: But whenever an Angel hath Sworn, it hath been in condeſcenſion to the Incredulity and Diffidence of Man, and to heighten his Credit of the Mind and Will of God; and is therefore an inſtance *for* us, becauſe it refers to a low and imperfect ſtate, propoſed as an expedient and remedy againſt Untruth; which is out of the queſtion; Truth leaving *no* Room for Swearing; which, in its Nature, is but a Terrifying of the Mind into True Speaking; as, in ſome countries, in default of Evidence, they uſe Racks, to extort Confeſſions from the ſuſpected parties: An inſtance of which we have near us, in the *Scotch Boots* and *Thummikins*.

He alledges alſo, 'That the *Apoſtles* Swore:' But he has not mentioned any One of them, nor any Place: However, that I may not leave *my* reader as much in the dark as he has done *his*, I refer him to my book intitled, "The Spirit of Truth Vindicated," from page 86, to page 91, where he may ſee how much ſofter Tranſlations may be given of the Apoſtle's Expreſſions, than that of our Vulgar Verſion. Nevertheleſs, thoſe extraordinary ways of Speaking were in extraordinary Caſes, and cannot be a Rule to Others, but under the ſame Circumſtances and Authority: And till this Author has given us an Authentick Definition of an Oath, he cannot juſtly call the Apoſtle's Expreſſions *Oaths*, or Proofs of Oaths; unleſs he will allow that binding any Affirmation, or Negation, by the Name of the Lord, is an Oath: But, if that were the caſe, it differs mightily, to uſe the Name of the Lord to inforce the Verity of Divine Things, and to make it a Witneſs and Voucher for us in our Low and Temporal Affairs: A diſtinction as old as ſome of the moſt eminent Fathers of the Primitive Ages of the Church.

But he adds, 'That all Chriſtians take *Sacramental Oaths*:' Which is not true in fact; for, among the *Proteſtants* of the *Low Countries*, there is a Great People, who, in any caſe, will not *Swear*, as well as we; and yet we know no other name, Blood, Power and Spirit by which we can be ſaved, than that of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Again, many of the Followers of *John Wickliff*, would not *Swear* in *any* Caſe; and divers alſo of our *Engliſh Martyrs* refuſed to *Swear*, upon the ſame principle. And if this man will call to mind, he may remember, that ſome of the beſt of the *Ancient Fathers* were of the ſame judgment, believing it unlawful for a Chriſtian Man to take an Oath; which in my "Treatiſe of Oaths" may be ſeen at large.

Now, for what he alledges, Why Chriſt's prohibition, Mat. v. doth not extend to *all* Oaths, I think it will not be hard to ſhew it is ſlight, and concludes nothing againſt us.

Firſt, He ſays, 'The Expreſſion whereby the particular Law is ſuppoſed to forbid *all* Oaths, does frequently, in the Law-books, ſignify no more than *falſe* Oaths or Swearing otherwiſe amiſs; as may be ſeen by comparing Mat. v. 34. with Levit. v. 1. Eccleſ. ix. 2. Jer. xxiii. 10. Zach. v. 3. Hoſ. iv. 2.' But this is rather againſt him

1695. than for him; ſince if Chriſt only forbids what was *not* lawful *before*, his Righteouſneſs riſes no higher than that of the Law of *Moſes*. But it is plain from the text Mat. v. that Chriſt forbids ſuch Swearing as *was* lawful before, and therefore more than the texts before mentioned expreſs.

Secondly, Page 64. He limits Chriſt's Prohibition to thoſe Oaths which had no 'Sacredneſs in them, but which the Phariſees thought they might make and violate without Impiety.' This alſo is a meer conjecture, for which he offers us no proof; the contrary being evident, as before; for Chriſt treated of Oaths that were to be *performed* to the Lord: Were they not, then, Sacred?

But, Thirdly, for his third particular, it is as unintelligible as his '*Gypſy Gibberiſh*' in pag. 10. and he muſt explain it before it can be anſwerable.

His fourth particular is this, 'When he divides this Prohibition into its Parts, Mat. v. 35, 36. he does not divide it as againſt Swearing in *all* Caſes, but ſets the bounds of his diſtribution directly to oppoſe this corrupt Gloſs of the Phariſees: For he doth not ſay, "Ye have heard that it hath been ſaid, Ye ſhall ſwear in Truth, in Righteouſneſs and in Judgment:" *But* "I ſay unto you, Swear not at all:" For ſo far as concerned Swearing by God, the Phariſees doctrine was ſound: But what does Chriſt ſay? Why, "I ſay unto you, Swear not at all; neither by Heaven, nor by Earth, or Jeruſalem, or the Head," Directly contrary to Swearing by the Temple, the Altar, the Heavens, which the Phariſees taught to be Lawful to do, and not be bound by ſuch kind of Oaths.' Which, in my opinion, is very weak and groſs; for if it be plain, as it is, that Chriſt forbad ſuch Oaths as men ought not to break, but to perform to the Lord, then it was not ſuch Oaths as the Phariſees taught to be lawful to take, and not be *bound* by them when they had done. So that he forbids ſuch Oaths, as (he ſays) 'The Phariſees Doctrine was Sound in;' becauſe it was what they ought not to break but perform to the Lord: So that Chriſt was ſo far from limiting his Prohibition to the *Phariſees* Oaths, by *Heaven*, *Earth*, *Jeruſalem*, or the *Head*; which, this man ſays, they made not Obligatory; that he *forbids* them, by forbidding *thoſe* Oaths, that, according to the ancient Doctrine of the Jewiſh Law, men ought not to *break*, but perform to the Lord; that as every Major includes its Minor, ſo Chriſt, by his prohibition of the uſe of Lawful Oaths, includes the prohibition of the practice of Unlawful Oaths.

Page 67. His fifth allegation is every whit as much beſide the matter as what he ſaid before, viz. 'That Chriſt did not condemn Swearing by *Jeruſalem*, the *Throne*, the *Foot-Stool*, &c. *Holily*, but as *Vainly* and *Unholily*, uſed: Which is to exceed the bounds of all other writers; ſo very heartily does this man love Swearing. But now I muſt tell him, that he has much wreſted the text, and perverted the plain and obvious ſenſe of it, and miſ-repreſented the mind and doctrine of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; for it is evident, to every conſiderate reader, that Chriſt, in that chapter, was not reproving what was reproveable under the *Law*; nor was he exhorting his auditors and diſciples to live up to the Righteouſneſs of *it*, which was the way of the Prophets, that were under that Diſpenſation; but Chriſt plainly introduces a *New One*; even the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel, the Righteouſneſs of his Kingdom; and that is the difference between them, as in the caſe of *Killing*, *Adultery*, &c. as well as of *Swearing*, Mat. v. 21, 22, 27, 28, 33, 34. "Ye have heard that it was ſaid to them of Old Time, Thou ſhalt not kill: But I ſay unto you, That whoſoever is Angry with his Brother without a Cauſe, ſhall be in danger of the judgment; Yea, whoſoever ſhall ſay, Thou Fool, ſhall be in danger of Hell-fire. Ye have heard that it was ſaid, by them of Old Time, Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery; but I ſay unto you, That whoſoever looketh upon a Woman to Luſt after her, hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart." Again, "Ye have heard that it hath been ſaid of Old Time, Thou ſhalt not Forſwear thyſelf, but ſhalt perform thy Oaths to the Lord; but I ſay unto you, Swear not at all." Now I would fain know if *Chriſt*'s prohibition goes no farther than *Moſes*'s; and, if he does not intend by theſe words, That the Righteouſneſs of the Goſpel ſhould *exceed* that of the *Law*? The parallel runs thus: "Thou ſhalt not Kill, thou ſhalt not commit Adultery," ſays *Moſes*: "Thou ſhalt not be Angry, thou ſhalt not Luſt," ſays *Chriſt*. Now this was no falſe Gloſs of the Phariſees in that time, which Chriſt reprehended or reformed, as this adverſary would ſuppoſe; but a plain Improvement upon the righteouſneſs of the Law, viz. "Thou ſhalt not Forſwear thyſelf, but ſhalt perform to the Lord thine Oaths," ſays *Moſes*. "But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all," ſays *Chriſt*; "neither by Heaven, for it is God's Throne; nor by the Earth, for it is his Footſtool; neither by Jeruſalem, nor thy Head; but let your Communication be Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay; for whatſoever is more than theſe, cometh of Evil." Upon which even Beza ſays, 'That by *Forſwearing*, we are not to underſtand a *Falſe* Oath; but, that it is Beſt not to Swear *at all*: And that what Speech is of an higher nature than this, is too *much*, and cometh of *Evil*:' And Tremellius, out of Maimonides, ſays, 'He is the Beſt Man that will upon no Account Swear.' And the Annotation upon this place, of a Tranſlation, Anno 1599, ſays, 'Whatever ye Vouch, Vouch it barely; and whatſoever ye Deny, Deny it barely, without any more Words;' that is, Let your Affirming and Denying be *ſimple*, and upon the Authority of your own Word and Truth, without going about to bind it by the Authority of a *Greater* and *Holier Thing*; which is not a bare and ſimple, but a *compounded* ſpeech, and ſo *more* than Yea, Yea; and Nay, Nay; and therefore cometh of *Evil*. To which that paſſage of the Apoſtle James aptly refers, James v. 12. "But, above all things, my brethren, Swear not, nei-"ther by Heaven, nor by Earth, nor by any *other* Oath;" which is to ſay, 'As by no-'thing *elſe*, ſo not by *God*:' "But let your Yea, be Yea; and Nay, Nay; leſt ye fall "into Condemnation."

One would think this man had hardly ever read the Bible, to make Oaths ſo Eſſential a part of the Religion and Kingdom of *Chriſt*; when Chriſt himſelf makes it a part of the Righteouſneſs of his Kingdom, *Not to Swear at all*. Or is it candid in him, to limit Chriſt's prohibition to the then Falſe Gloſſes of the Phariſees, when Chriſt looks over their heads, back to the very *Decalogue*, or *Ten Commandments*, for an inſtance, to ſhew, by Compariſon, how much the Righteouſneſs of his Kingdom excels that of the Law, that came by *Moſes*. I could wiſh there was nothing but Weakneſs to be charged upon this man, in this particular; but his Abilities look too conſiderable elſewhere, for that; as well as his diſingenuity too frequent, not to conclude it of a '*Meditated* '*Temperament*' to force the Text, rather than not have his ends upon us: But with what ſucceſs he has managed it, we muſt leave to the Judicious Reader.

HIS
APPENDIX
ABOUT
BAPTISM, and the LORD'S SUPPER, (ſo called) Conſidered: And the KEY, with the People called QUAKERS, Defended againſt his Exceptions in thoſe Two Particulars.

OF Baptiſm he writes thus: 'Baptiſm is a Rite of Admiſſion into the Family of 'God, making perſons Citizens of Heaven, and free of the Kingdom of the 'Meſſias. It conſiſts of an Outward and Viſible Sign, and an Inward Spiritual Grace. 'Theſe are the Two Parts of the ſame Baptiſm, but not Two Baptiſms.'

One would think that this man had never read the Third of Matthew, or the Firſt of the Acts. For, in the firſt, *John* diſtinguiſhes his Baptiſm from *Chriſt*'s, as plainly as he does his Perſon (viz.) "I, indeed, baptize you with *Water* to Repentance: But He that "cometh after me, is Mightier than I, whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to bear: He ſhall "baptize you with the *Holy Ghoſt*, and with *Fire*:" Which ſhews their difference in nature, excellency and efficacy. In the laſt ſcripture Chriſt himſelf, juſt before his parting with his Diſciples, does very expreſly and emphatically diſtinguiſh betwixt *His own* Baptiſm, and the Baptiſm of *John*: "For," ſays he, "*John* truly baptized with "*Water*, but ye ſhall be baptized with the *Holy Ghoſt* not many days hence."

I ſhall not inſiſt upon the force of this place and context ſo fully as by and by; yet nothing can well be plainer, than that Chriſt's words imply *Two* Baptiſms, That the Water was *John*'s, and the *Holy Ghoſt* HIS: And that his intention was to leave that diſtinction upon the minds of his people, not only that *John*'s and *His* were Two Baptiſms, but, 'That Water was *John*'s, and not *His*.' And this too, after all, is granted by our oppoſer himſelf, page 89, where he ſays, 'Can any man believe that Jeſus uſed '*John*'s Baptiſm, and not *His own*, in making of diſciples?' But he adds, page 78, 'For neither is the Viſible Part alone, or the Inviſible by itſelf; but both in Union by 'the Divine Appointment:' But where this Divine Appointment is, he does not tell us. Again, page 87. '*John* did the *Outward* Part, and *Jeſus* the *Inward* Part the ſame 'Moment.' But, ſurely, he is miſtaken, when *John* tells us, The Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt was to come *after*, not to *go along with*, his: And Chriſt told his diſciples, "That it was *to come*," (ſo that His and John's went not together); and bid them "ſtay at Jeruſalem till they *received* it," viz. "The Promiſe of the Father;" which "was, "the Pouring-fourth of the *Holy Ghoſt*;" as the Firſt Chapter of the Acts informs us: And that was nigh Three Years after they had been baptized, and baptized others, with *Water*: So that both did not go together, as this man dreams.

But he proceeds, page 80. ‘ For *John* admitted men into the Faith of the *Meſſias*; ‘ that is, into the State of Subjects, owning, and acknowledging, Allegiance to Chriſt. ‘ And Chriſt owns this Grant and Admiſſion Valid in his Kingdom, and that they were ‘ Legally Inſtated in the Rights of his Kingdom, whom *John* baptized: This being ‘ done by a publick authorized Herald of his Kingdom.’

But it is ſtrange that John had the power to admit men into the *Faith* of him, when, at firſt, he ſent his Diſciples to him, “ To know if HE were the Meſſiah, or “ they were to look for *another*.” This is to give John the Keys of David, and to make Regeneration an abſolute and neceſſary Adjunct, or Concomitant, of his Water-Baptiſm. But thoſe baptized by *John*'s Baptiſm, were ſo far from being admitted into the ſtate of ſubjects, and enjoying the rights of Chriſt's kingdom, that in Acts xviii. *Apollos* is ſaid “ to know only *John*'s Baptiſm.” And chap. xix. Certain Diſciples to *John*'s Baptiſm, declared to Paul, “ they had not ſo much as *heard* if there were “ any ſuch thing as the Holy Ghoſt:” So that when Paul aſked them, “ To what, “ then, were you baptized?” they anſwered, “ To *John*'s Baptiſm,” by way of diſtinction from Chriſt's. And the Apoſtle's queſtion led them to that anſwer, being founded upon a diſtinction between the Baptiſm of *John*, and that of *Chriſt*. And laſtly, I muſt take leave to wonder how he can think to word upon us ſo great an untruth; as that of ‘ Chriſt's *owning* an Admiſſion into his Kingdom by *John*'s Bap‘ tiſm, and that ſuch are Legally Inſtated in the Rights thereof, becauſe they were ‘ baptized of *John*,’ when Chriſt himſelf ſays, “ That the Leaſt in the Kingdom of “ God, is Greater than John;” which implies, that *John* himſelf was not of that Kingdom: And becauſe that cannot be underſtood of the *Perſon*, or *Soul* of John, (for ſo he was certainly a Glorious Subject of it) it muſt refer to his *Adminiſtration*, which, he himſelf tells us, alſo “ muſt *decreaſe*, and Chriſt's *increaſe*.” Beſides, Chriſt told Nicodemus, “ That unleſs a man be born again, he cannot *ſee* the Kingdom of God:” How, then, is he a Subject, and inveſted in the Rights of that Kingdom? Again; Did *John*'s Baptiſm *regenerate*? If it did, What need of *Fire* and *Holy Ghoſt*, that John ſaid was to come after? What need of any thing after *John*'s, if it was ſo effectual, or was he always attended with ſuch a power as is affirmed? Where, now, is our adverſary's haughty aſſertion, ‘ That John's Diſciples, as ſuch, were the Subjects of ‘ Chriſt's Kingdom, and Legally inveſted in the Rights thereof,’ when it is plain, that the *Leaſt* of that Kingdom is Greater than their very *Baptizer*, the *Great-Herald* of the *Kingdom*? But that Expreſſion itſelf gives away the Cauſe, being well conſidered; for the *Forerunner ends* in *Him he foreruns*; and the *Herald* in the Preſence of the *King*. He has forgot, ſure, who it was that ſaid, or that it was ever ſaid, “ The “ *Prophets* laſted till *John*,” and he ended *them*, but he did not *begin* the *Chriſtian Diſpenſation*; that was *Chriſt*'s work. *John*'s Baptiſm left men in that Old World of *Jewiſh Rites*, where it found them; but it is *Chriſt*'s “ that makes all things New;” *New Heavens*, *New Earth*, and *New Creatures*, to *inherit* them.

But ſays this author, ‘ Chriſt declares, That being baptized with *Water*, was a Part ‘ of Righteouſneſs: Which it could not be, unleſs there was a Law of the Kingdom ‘ for it.’ As if it might not be Righteouſneſs without ſuch a Law: For, with his favour, there is as much to be ſaid for Chriſt's *Circumciſion*, and eating the *Paſchal Lamb*, &c. ſince that was to *fulfil* all righteouſneſs too; and yet there was no Law of the kingdom of Chriſt for them, unleſs this be one, ‘ That Chriſt was to fulfil the ‘ Righteouſneſs of the Law,’ which he did in general, to introduce the Kingdom of God. For Chriſt's *fulfilling* of the Law and the Prophets, of which *John* was the *Laſt*, made way for the Kingdom to come, which was not of *this* World, nor are its Rights, by conſequence; but, of its own Nature. That Chriſt *did* fulfil all Righteouſneſs, in condeſcending and conforming to divers Rites, is ſo far from ratifying, or confirming the Practice of them, as this man ſuggeſts, that it diſcharges and *aboliſhes* them. This appears very plain, in that Chriſt's *performing* of the Rites of the Law, was in order to *end* them, being *made under the Law* for that very *purpoſe*. So that *his* being baptized by John, does not eſtabliſh, or any more confirm that *Baptiſm*, than his being circumciſed after *Moſes* does perpetuate *Circumciſion*. On the contrary, it rather *ends* John's Baptiſm. *Moſes* and the *Prophets* were until *John*, and John was till *Chriſt*; both had their Times, and both their Periods in *Him*.

“ I am not He,” ſays *John*; but “ *John*'s Baptiſm is *It*,” ſays this opponent; which is to put *John*'s Baptiſm in the Room of *Chriſt*'s; and *John*'s Miniſtry, though not his Perſon, in lieu of *Chriſt*'s. Now *Moſes* and the *Prophets* were as the *Stars* of the *Night*; *John*, as the *Morning Star*, the Forerunner of the Day. He roſe *laſt*, but ſhined *moſt*: But though the Morning-Star be the moſt burning and ſhining of all the Cœleſtial Lights, and next to the Riſing of the SUN himſelf, yet his Time is ſhorteſt, his Light is ſoon ſwallowed up of the Sun.

Page 81. But this man tells us, ‘ That Chriſt gave Commiſſion to his Diſciples to ‘ baptize with Water, Mat. xxviii. 19. And that they did underſtand it ſo by their ‘ Practice.’ But is it practicable or poſſible, that any Scripture can reaſonably be ſaid to declare an Inſtitution, or be the Commiſſion, of any thing which it does not expreſs? Now in that text there is not a Word of *Water*; how then is Water-Baptiſm inſtituted by it? I cannot help wondering, and this man muſt allow it me, that the only Text to prove the Commiſſion of ſo celebrated a practice in our times, ſhould not declare a word of it. But I ſhall next ſhew, notwithſtanding he produces following practice, to prove Chriſt meant, and his diſciples underſtood it ſo, that the Text means it no more than it expreſſes it; and that Chriſt, that gave that Commiſſion, never intended it to refer to Water. This is the Text, "Go ye, Teach all nations, Baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghoſt," Mat. xxviii. 19. Now Chriſt, by this Commiſſion, muſt mean his *own* Baptiſm of the *Spirit*, and that from the nature and force of the words, as well as compariſon of them with other places to which they relate, and that are alſo lately explanatory of them. The Words are not *In* the Name, but *Into* the Name of the Father, &c. Which muſt refer to the *Power* and *Spirit* of Chriſt; *Water* being too feeble to *change* and *waſh* a *Heart*, which is the import of Baptizing into the *Name*, or *Nature*, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: That is, by the Miniſtry which is from the *Spirit*. So Mark xvi. where Chriſt ſaith, "They ſhall caſt out Devils in my *Name*;" that is, by my *Power*, or by the Virtue or Force of my *Spirit*, which ſhall attend you for that work and ſervice, that many may be turned from the evil of their ways, and made heirs of an endleſs kingdom.

In fine, After you have received the *Spirit*, you ſhall Teach and Baptize, or Dip, Plunge, and Intereſt them that believe, into the Name and Power of God, unto Holineſs, Righteouſneſs, Mercy, Truth, &c. Qualifying them to bear the holy and excellent Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

And that this is not ſtrained, but natural, and no *Allegory* upon the Text, I ſhall deſire my reader to look forward, to the Firſt of the Acts, and the Firſt Nine Verſes, which plainly expounds this Commiſſion, and conſequently reſolves us what Baptiſm it refers to; particularly the 4th, 5th, 8th, and 9th verſes, viz. "And being aſſembled together with them, he commanded them that they ſhould not depart from Jeruſalem, but wait for the Promiſe of the Father, which, ſaith he, ye have heard of me. For *John* truly baptized with *Water*; but *ye* ſhall be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, not many days hence. But ye ſhall receive power, *after* that the Holy Ghoſt is come upon you: And ye ſhall be Witneſſes unto me, both in Jeruſalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermoſt parts of the Earth. And when he had ſpoken theſe things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their ſight."

In which three things are obſervable: Firſt, That Chriſt *diſtinguiſhes* his Baptiſm from *John*'s.

Secondly, That he aſſigns *Water* to *John*'s, and the *Holy Ghoſt* to *his own* Baptiſm. Not that John and He had *Two Water-Baptiſms*, yet *Two* Baptiſms; but that *John*'s was the Water-Baptiſm, and His the Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt. Therefore His is *not* a Water-Baptiſm, but a Baptiſm *contradiſtinguiſhed* from that of Water, as much as the Perſon of John was from the Perſon of Chriſt.

Thirdly, By comparing the 28th of Matthew with this place in the Acts, we may ſee that the Commiſſion in one, is to be conſtrued by the Qualification in the other, which is not expreſſed at all in Mat. xxviii. There they are bid *To Go*; here they are bid *To Stay*; that is, 'Stay before you go, and have your Qualifications before you Qualify;' viz. *The Promiſe of the Father*, to wit, *The Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt*; that is to ſay, *Power from on High*. Why, Had they been preaching Two or Three Years, and been baptized, and baptizing, with Water, which this man ſays, 'is followed, *That Moment*, with the Baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*,' and yet had not been themſelves baptized with it, nor as yet received Power from on high to *diſciple* and *baptize* any into Chriſt's Kingdom, with *Chriſt*'s Baptiſm?

This muſt be ſtrange to our opponent, and who can help it? But ſo it is, Reader. For that as one *Evangeliſt*, and one Part of Scripture, ſupplies and explains another, this in the *Acts* ſhews, that the Commiſſion in *Matthew* ſuppoſes the Qualification, mentioned in the Firſt of the *Acts*, to precede it; elſe they were to go, before they were qualified to perform.

If, then, it is rational to ſuppoſe, that what paſſed at Chriſt's Farewel, as rehearſed by the Evangeliſts, ſhould be all laid together, for our more plain and compleat underſtanding of the import of it, we muſt needs conclude, That the Diſciples were to ſtay at Jeruſalem, till they had received the Promiſe of the Father; that is, till they were *Baptized with the Holy Ghoſt*; and *then* the Commiſſion took place, for them to "Go and Teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt."

Now then, if in order of time, and from the nature of the diſcourſe, it muſt be ſo, how is the Baptiſm in *Matthew* a *Water*-Baptiſm? "*John* truly baptized with *Water*, but *ye* ſhall be baptized with the *Holy Ghoſt* not many days hence:" *Then* "Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, Son, and

1695. “ Holy Ghoſt, &c.” It is plain, this is the true order of the diſcourſe, not only from what I have already ſaid, as to Qualification *preceding* Commiſſion (for they needed no ſuch to baptize with *Water*, having done that Two or Three Years before, without it) but for that Baptizing ſtands *alone* in Mat. xxviii. 19. which would have been ambiguous, had not that paſſage in Acts i. 5. preceded, which made it needleſs to tell us what *Sort* of Baptiſm they were to baptize with, and what they were *not*; “ For “ *John* truly baptized with *Water*, but *ye* ſhall be baptized with the *Holy Ghoſt* not “ many days hence:” ‘ Therefore not with *John*'s Baptiſm *any more*, but with the ‘ Baptiſm of the *Spirit*, do you Go Teach all Nations, baptizing them, through the ‘ Holy Spirit, into the Name of the Father, of the Son, and Holy Ghoſt: Make ‘ them *True Jews*, *True Iſraelites*, in whom there is no guile.’ And it is certain it was a New Scene and Part they had to act; as much ſuperior to what was before, as Form is to Power, Letter to Spirit, Shadow to Subſtance. “ Greater things than theſe “ ſhall ye do,” ſaid our bleſſed Lord, “ becauſe I go to my Father.” I think I have not ſtrained the text, or extorted a wrong meaning. I write what I believe, and take to be, the genuine ſenſe of the place, without partiality, or paſſion.

But our adverſary will have it, that the Apoſtles uſed *Water-Baptiſm* in purſuance of this Commiſſion; and inſtances the words of Peter, in the caſe of Cornelius, for proof thereof. The Words are theſe, “ Can any man forbid Water, that theſe ſhould “ not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghoſt, as well as we?” Upon which ſays our opponent, pag. 82. ‘ If it had not been an Ordinance, any one might have ‘ forbid it; therefore the Apoſtles accounted themſelves obliged by God to do ſo; ‘ and that it was not in their power to refuſe it, unleſs they would reſiſt God.’ To which I ſay, as before: Firſt, That Water-Baptiſm was *John*'s, and not Chriſt's. Secondly, That *Practice* is no *Inſtitution*. Thirdly, That the Apoſtle Peter did but continue a practice introduced by *John*, not eaſily left among a Ceremonious People; it having obtained reputation among them, and was the diſcriminating ſign, or mark, of a change of diſpenſation at hand; and this Peter could not but know, after thoſe diſtinguiſhing and emphatical words of his Lord and Maſter, Acts i. But the Diſciples having before been actually engaged in the practice of John's Baptiſm, in order to call people to the expectation of a farther thing, continued it afterwards; not of Authority, but in their Chriſtian Liberty and Condeſcenſion, as what had a reference to the Chriſtian Diſpenſation; inaſmuch as John, whoſe Miniſtry concluded the Prophets, became herein the Forerunner of Chriſt, “ whoſe kingdom,” John ſaid, “ was “ at hand,” and the more excellent diſpenſation thereof. Laſtly, The Reaſon of Peter's words, “ Can any man forbid Water,” &c. referred not to the Inſtitution, Authority, or Force of Water-Baptiſm, but to Peter's Caution about Cornelius, that was a *Gentile*, for fear he ſhould give any publick diſtaſte to the *Jews*, whoſe prejudices againſt the *Gentiles*, like ſome Predeſtinarians of our times, excluded them any pretence to religion; inſomuch that we ſee Peter himſelf, without a Viſion, was not yet large enough in his ſpirit, to credit Cornelius's Convictions and Devotion; as much as if he had ſaid, ‘ Why may not this man, though a *Gentile*, be baptized with Water, ‘ ſince he has received the *Holy Ghoſt*, which is the requiſite Qualification of a *True* ‘ *Chriſtian*; and that the Promiſe of the Father is to them that are afar off, even to ‘ all that the Lord our God ſhall call, as well as to the Seed of Abraham, after the ‘ Fleſh?’ So that the reaſon of Peter's uſing thoſe words, was not to give Authority to Water-Baptiſm, as an Ordinance of Chriſt's Kingdom, but to excuſe himſelf againſt *Jewiſh-Exceptions*, that he feared would be ſcandalized at his owning of a Gentile, which, to them, was Unclean, Prophane and Reprobate.

His other Scripture in defence of what he aſſerts, is Acts ix. 18. which ſays, “ That “ Paul received his ſight, and was baptized by Ananias.” But not a word of *Water* is in the text, or in the foregoing or following verſes. On the contrary, there is reaſon to believe it was not meant. “ And Ananias putting his hands on him, ſaid, “ Brother Saul, the Lord, (even JESUS that appeared unto thee in the way as thou “ cameſt) hath ſent me, that thou mayeſt receive thy Sight, and be filled with the “ Holy Ghoſt: And immediately there fell from his eyes, as it had been ſcales, and “ he received his Sight forthwith, and aroſe, and was baptized.” Now here is, firſt, Sight, and Holy Ghoſt, to be given to Saul, by the miniſtry of Ananias: Next, he received *Sight*, and was *Baptized*. Now muſt not this be the Baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt?* ſince “ being filled with the Holy Ghoſt,” and “ being Baptized,” are, by the text, made *One* and the *Same Thing?* Eſpecially, ſince it is paſt all controverſy, that there was ſuch a thing as the Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt.

His other Scripture, to prove the authority of Water-Baptiſm among Chriſtians, is, Acts xi. 15, 16, 17. “ And as I began to *ſpeak*, the Holy Ghoſt fell on *them*, as “ on *us*, at the beginning. Then remembered I the Word of the Lord, how that he “ ſaid, *John* indeed baptized with *Water*; but *you* ſhall be baptized with the *Holy* “ *Ghoſt*. Foraſmuch, then, as God gave *them* the like Gift, as he did unto *us*, who “ believed on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, what was *I* that I could reſiſt *God?*”

Which is ſo far from weakening, that it confirms, our ſenſe and aſſertion: For the Bent of Peter's words is to juſtify himſelf, in going to, and communing with, the *Uncircumciſion*, and not to vindicate Water-Baptiſm. And that which he offered in his own vindication to his brethren, was, 1. His Viſion. 2. Cornelius's Righteouſneſs and Devotion. And, 3. God's *owning* of him, in that the Holy Ghoſt fell upon *him*, as it had upon *them* in the beginning. "Foraſmuch, then," ſays Peter, "as God gave them the like Gift, what was I, that I could withſtand God?" As if he ſaid, 'How could I refuſe to own them, and have fellowſhip with them, that *God* owned, and had fellowſhip with, and gifted and ſanctified, as well as the believing *Jews*?' Speaking not one word, in his account to the brethren, of *Water-Baptiſm*: But, on the contrary, he makes it *John*'s, by way of diſtinction from *Chriſt*'s Baptiſm, by remembering, and repeating, the words of his Lord and Maſter, viz. "*John* indeed baptized with *Water*, but *ye* ſhall be baptized with the *Holy Ghoſt*." I appeal to every indifferent reader, if I have not done juſtice to the text.

I ſhall next conſider his Exceptions to what I ſay in my KEY, in defence of our Diſuſe, or Ceſſation, of Water-Baptiſm, &c.

Page 83, 84. The firſt reaſon he makes me give for it, is, 'That all Proteſtants are againſt Figures and Shadows.' To which he anſwers, 'But *Baptiſm*, and the *Lord's Supper*, being no Figures nor Shadows, all Proteſtants are for them; unleſs the *Quakers* are to be accounted Proteſtants, that diſown all Proteſtant Churches, and are owned by none.'

This is all he quotes of mine; and this is what he ſays, on what he has quoted: So that they *may be* of the Nature of Shadows and Figures, for all him; and, conſequently, Proteſtants practiſe againſt Judgment. For he only *denies* them to be Figures and Shadows, and leaves us there. But he had done well, if he had given us his Reaſons, and had alſo taken notice of what I ſay, page 22 in my KEY, which immediately foregoes what he has cited out of it; viz. 'That *Practice* only is no *Inſtitution*; and that is all he can alledge in favour of *John*'s Baptiſm. That which ſeems my part to perform, though he preſſes it not upon me, is to ſhew, That Water Baptiſm, and the Lord's-Supper (ſo called) are of the Nature of *Figures* and *Shadows*, of which *Chriſt* was the *Subſtance*.

Now, that they are ſo, we muſt conſider, That if *Chriſt* was the END of *John*, (as John renders him, Matt. iii. 11. John iii. 30. and Chriſt himſelf ſuggeſts to us, Mat. xi. 7. to 12.) then *Water-Baptiſm* was but a *Forerunner*, and ſhewed forth what was to come, "*that* which the Leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven *exceeded*," and therefore not *of* the Kingdom; and, conſequently, no longer of force in point of Inſtitution. Though, by being the *Obſervation* peculiar to *John*'s miniſtry, it had obtained Credit, and therefore was continued, *Ex Gratiâ*. But it is plain, from Chriſt's own words, "The Kingdom of God *came not* with *Obſervation*," Luke xvii. 20. At leaſt, therefore, Proteſtants ought to be modeſt upon Us, with reſpect to the reaſon we render for our *Ceſſation* of *Water-Baptiſm*. And though he ſays, 'We ought not to be accounted *Proteſtants*, that diſown all Proteſtant Churches, and are owned by none of them:' I would have this author to know, We are *True Proteſtants*: Proteſtants upon thoſe Reaſons, that were the *firſt Motives* to that *Character*; and can compare, in our *Negatives*, with *any* Species of *Proteſtants*. And do challenge this author, without vanity, upon that head, begin when he will.

At the ſame time, we cannot but have Charity for the *Perſons* of *Roman Catholicks*, and would, by that, teach them the Truth and greater Excellency of our Religion.

And next, 'for our *diſowning* of all other Proteſtant Churches, and not being *owned* by them;' Firſt, It is not upon the *ſame grounds* that the *Roman Catholicks* diſown them: And, ſecondly, Experience tells us, it is what *all ſorts* of Proteſtants do to *one another*; and therefore not ſo ſingular in Us, as is ſuggeſted by this ill-willing author.

But, he is mightily diſpleaſed with me, 'For being againſt all *Figures* in the Time of the *Goſpel*;' adding, 'That we, Mortals, cannot think, or ſpeak, or work without Figures;' diſtinguiſhing between '*prenunciative* and *commemorative* Signs:' Ridiculing me for ſuch an aſſertion. But if my reader will turn to page 24. of my KEY, cited by this author, he will find, I *only* deny, under the Goſpel, the *Neceſſity* and *Service* of *prenunciative* or *forerunning* Signs; joining to Signs, *Figures* and *Shadows*; and promiſcuouſly uſing them to one and the ſame purpoſe, and therefore not *all* Signs, but Signs of ſomething *to come*, and to be *accompliſhed* by the *Coming* thereof; as the following words, he makes another quibble upon, plainly ſhew; viz. 'That the Nature of the *Goſpel* is *inward*, *ſpiritual* and *eternal*.' But he leaves out, 'That therefore the continuing to practiſe Figures, Signs and Shadows, as ſtill in Force, (which *forerun* Chriſt and his Diſpenſation) make his *Coming* of none *Effect*.' For then he had given too ſtrong a reaſon for our Diſuſe, and diſappointed himſelf of the unfair advantage he endeavours to gain upon me, by letting his reader ſee that I did not deny the continuance of *all* ſigns, but *prenunciative* or *forerunning* ones; ſuch as are of the Nature of *Figures* and *Shadows*, and therefore can have no Commiſſion to *perpetuate* them; of which I take *Water Baptiſm* and the *Supper* to be Two. For *Chriſt*, as well

1695. as *John*, declares Water Baptiſm a *Forerunner* of a more *excellent* Baptiſm. And one thing wherein that excellency of Chriſt's Baptiſm conſiſts, is the *Durableneſs* of it. But if John's is to laſt as *long* as Chriſt's, Chriſt's does not excel John's in *Duration*; quite contrary to John's own diſcrimination and teſtimony, viz. "He *(Chriſt)* ſhall *increaſe*, and I *decreaſe*."

But if it be conſidered, that this adverſary would make me deny *all* Signs, as Exodus vii. 8, 9. Numb. xi. Pſal. lxxvii. Jer. xxxii. (juſt as his friend J. Faldo, and ſome of that Ingenuity, have made us to deny all Scripture Commands, becauſe ſome of us have ſaid, (in *temporary* and *extraordinary* caſes, as that of *Jeremiah*, *Jonas*, *Amos*, &c.) 'That which is a Command to *another*, is no Command to *us*, unleſs the ſame Spirit *require* the ſame, or the *like* thing of us;' therefore the Moral Law, or Decalogue, is no Law or Command to Us, nor are we obliged to yield Obedience to it, (though it be general and perpetual); I ſay, they that conſider the Juſtice of my Parallel, and Injuſtice of his Inſinuation, will perceive he is not a fair enemy, nor ought to have credit with his reader, to our prejudice.

I am, then, no more againſt *Figures*, than againſt *Forms*. We cannot, I know, live, ſpeak, or act without them: But theſe are not *forerunning* Signs or Forms, *temporary* and *ſhadowy* Obſervations; but ſuch *neceſſary* and *eſſential* ones, as are coupled to our very Being, and requiſite Converſe among men.

But from this he falls hard upon me, becauſe I ſay, The Goſpel is *Inward*, *Spiritual* and *Eternal*: 'For,' ſays he, 'without many Figures, this is not Senſe; and with them, is either not true, or not to the purpoſe. The Goſpel, being the New Covenant, is neither Inward nor Outward. Will W. P. never leave talking of Inſide and Outſide of things that have *no* Sides?' This language, I doubt not, will ſound harſh, as well as light, to other people's ears, as well as ours: And truly he is a daring and adventurous perſon; for till now, I thought *Truth* had an *Inſide*: If he had read the 31ſt of Jeremiah, he would have found there, that the Goſpel is an *inward* State, and has an Inſide; where God, ſpeaking by that Prophet of the Goſpel, or New Covenant Time, ſays, "Behold, the days come that I will make a New Covenant with the Houſe of Iſrael, and with the Houſe of Judah; Not according to the Covenant that I made with their Fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the Land of Egypt (which my Covenant they brake, although I was an Huſband unto them, ſaith the Lord): But this ſhall be the Covenant that I will make with the Houſe of Iſrael; After thoſe days, ſaith the Lord, I will put my Law in their *inward* Parts, and write it in their *Hearts*, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my People. And they ſhall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, ſaying, Know the Lord: For they ſhall *all* know me, from the Leaſt of them to the Greateſt of them, ſaith the Lord: For I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their ſin no more." Now here is Truth with *both* its Sides: Truth in its *outward* appearance, according to the low and carnal ſtate of man: And this may be called, comparatively, the *Out-ſide* of Truth. Here, alſo, we may learn, that Truth has an *Inſide*; a more ſpiritual and eternal part; and that is what I call the *Goſpel-Diſpenſation*: Or, that this more Inward and Spiritual Appearance of the Truth, is the New Covenant, or Goſpel. What elſe did our Lord Jeſus intend by the *Goſpel of the Kingdom*, than the Bleſſing of the *Power of God*, to deliver man from the power of Sin and Satan, the Original of it? So the Apoſtle phraſes it, "The Goſpel is the Power of God to Salvation." That is, the Power of the Kingdom of God, and that is the Goſpel of the Kingdom. Now if this be not of an Inward, Spiritual, and Eternal Nature, nothing can be: Which, I preſume, the reader will, with me, think an abſurd, as well as unchriſtian concluſion.

But he ſays, 'It is partly *inward* and partly *outward*.' I ſay, It is *inward*, but it may be outwardly *expreſſed* by a Godly Converſation; and ſo far, and no otherwiſe, it may be ſaid to be *outward*. Nor does this weaken my aſſertion, or the conſequence I have obſerved from it; viz. That the Goſpel, and New Covenant, came not with *Outward Obſervations*; and that *Water-Baptiſm* was ſuch; therefore no Ordinance of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah.

But if it be an Ordinance, as this author ſays, p. 87, and that the Inward Part *keeps time* with the Outward (for there he allows of *Inſide* and *Outſide*) then it would do ſo to as many as have the Outward Part adminiſtered to them: But we have no Evidence of ſuch Concurrence of the Holy Ghoſt. We have never found it in ourſelves, nor do we ſee it in others, that are in the practice of it, but much the contrary; in that Envy, Pride, Luxury, and Covetouſneſs prevail, and little of the true Croſs of Chriſt, Self-denial, dying daily, or the New Creature appears; How, then, does the Inward Grace make up but One Baptiſm, if it accompany not *Water*? But of that I have already treated before; and, it is plain, it is but *gratis dictum* on our adverſary's ſide. He begs the Queſtion.

Laſtly, pag. 90. finding himſelf a-ground about the paſſage of the apoſtle Paul, 1 Cor. i. 7, "For Chriſt ſent me not to *baptize*, but to *preach* the *Goſpel*;" he endeavours to gloſs away its force, what he can, from the end for which I cited it, and the Apoſtle writ it. The firſt thing he oppoſes is, ‘ That ſince Water-Baptiſm was *Peter*'s and his Brethren's Commiſſion, which Chriſt gave them before his Aſcenſion, ‘ to the End of the World---it is not to be imagined that Matthias and Paul were ‘ without it.’ But in this alſo he begs the queſtion.

I have already ſhewed that Commiſſion is miſtaken by him, and that *Water* is no ways concerned in that text; and that Water-Baptiſm was *John*'s, and not *Chriſt*'s; and that they were not *One* Baptiſm, or inſeparable in their Adminiſtration. Alſo, that *Practice* is no *Inſtitution*; and that Water-Baptiſm is a *prenunciative* Sign, and has its *Accompliſhment* in that Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt, as *John* had in *Chriſt*; the *Two Adminiſtrators* of the *Two Baptiſms*.

But next, he ſays, ‘ Paul ſpoke an Ellipſis, Elegantly; meaning, that he was not ‘ ſent *only* to baptize, but chiefly to *preach*;’ citing two or three Scriptures, that he imagines parallel, and illuſtrating that place, as Hoſ. vi. 6. “ I will have Mercy, and “ not Sacrifice.” And, “ Let women adorn themſelves, not with putting on Apparel,” &c. 1 Pet. iii. 34. ‘ Now,’ ſays he, ‘ Theſe places prove, that the Iſraelites were not ‘ to ſacrifice to God, and Women muſt go naked,’ &c. (as ſome Quakers did) with ‘ the ſame evidence that Paul's words teach, That Chriſt ſent him not to baptize.’ He might, if he had pleaſed, have cut it all ſhort, and (like what L. Muggleton once ſaid of Moſes) have told us, Paul did not *mean* what he *writ*. But theſe places are ill applied by this man; for when God ſaid, “ He would have Mercy, and not Sa- “ crifice,” he meant, not to have *Sacrifice* at that Time, and in thoſe Caſes, wherein he called for *Mercy*. He would not be ſo put off, nor have Duties *exchanged*: That ſpeech is limited to, and to be interpreted by, the preſent State of the people he ſpoke to, who were unqualified for Sacrifice, becauſe they were unmerciful and cruel; and the merciful God, in that State, would have none of their Sacrifices. What is this to the Apoſtle's words about Baptiſm, that denies it *any Part* in his Commiſſion? There is no parallel in the caſe; but if any, it is for us, rather than againſt us: For that of not putting on of Apparel, it is evident, for ſo the Apoſtle intended by Ἐνδύσεως Ἱματίων κόσμος, as the words themſelves plainly import, viz. Garments of *Finery* and *Ornament*, and not uſeful Clothing. So that the Apoſtle meant what he ſaid, in the Uſe of the word; for ſuch Apparel is not to be ever uſed by true Chriſtians.

For his ſaying ‘ That ſome of our Women have gone naked;’ it is affirmed with lightneſs; though ſome few of our friends have gone naked, for a Sign to this Generation, in token of God's *ſtripping* ſome Perſecutors of their Power, and in particular that Generation of the Clergy, that preceded the Reſtoration; which, having riſen through Perſecution, forgot their pleas, when they had power, towards thoſe that diſſented from them; and teſtified againſt the ſame evils in them, that they had juſtly inveighed againſt in the former Biſhops days. And now he may ſee we are not againſt all SIGNS.

To conclude: It is plain the Apoſtle had no Obligation upon him to this Expreſſion, from a Compariſon any had made between Water-Baptiſm and the Preaching of the Goſpel. Nor does he uſe any, though this man makes him to do ſo, to juſtify his imagined elegancy. The Occaſion of this expreſſion, the text ſhews, was the Vanity of ſome Diſciples, that were comparing and boaſting of their *Baptizers*; not a word of Baptiſm itſelf, to over or undervalue that Tradition. Why, then, does Paul take occaſion, not only to ſtrike at them, but *Baptiſm* too? What had Baptiſm done, to be ſo coarſely treated? ‘ So ſacred an Inſtitution; the very Rite or Door of Admiſ- ‘ ſion (ſays this man) into the kingdom of the Meſſiah,’ p. 80. Why, without doubt, it was to let them ſee, that they had ſo little cauſe to boaſt of their reſpective *Baptizers*, (for, “ who is *Paul*, and who is *Apollos*?”) that they ought not to value themſelves upon that very *Baptiſm*, ſince it was not what he had in *Commiſſion*, but what he had uſed as a *Tradition*, that had obtained ſome credit among them: Elſe, the Apoſtle muſt not have had the *ſame* Commiſſion that the other Apoſtles had; who yet ſaid, “ he was behind none of the reſt of the Apoſtles.”

Again, Baptizing, in Matt. xxviii. 19. was as much the Apoſtle's Commiſſion as Teaching or Preaching: Nay, the preferable part. For though Preaching opened their Underſtandings, it was *Baptiſm* that gave them Admiſſion into the Kingdom of the Meſſiah; made them Subjects thereof; and inſtated them in the Rights of it: Yea, the Seal of the Covenant that God made by Chriſt with Mankind, without which no Remiſſion of Sins, or entering of God's Kingdom. Can *ſuch* a Baptiſm (and ſuch an one this adverſary renders *Water*-Baptiſm) be no Eſſential Part of Paul's Commiſſion, or not upon equal terms with Teaching, when by it people are to be intereſted in the Sacred Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; that is, to be made, qualified, admitted and ſealed, True Chriſtians, Subjects of Chriſt's Kingdom, Citizens of Heaven, and endowed with all the Privileges thereof. How *little* is this man willing to allow Baptiſm to be, that he may keep it any thing in force, and excuſe it from the genuine ſenſe of the Apoſtle's words? Were there as much difference between Preaching and Baptiſm, as between Mercy and Sacrifice, it might have helped him better. But inaſmuch as the Apoſtle denies *Water*-Baptiſm to be in his Commiſſion, and that it is certain he had the ſame Commiſſion the reſt had, whatever was his Practice, in condeſcenſion (as in Circumciſing of Timothy) *that* Baptiſm that is indeed *in* Chriſt's Commiſſion, Matt. xxviii. muſt be the Baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*. And this is the leſs to be doubted, ſince the ſame Apoſtle, that denies *Water-Baptiſm* any place in his Commiſſion (which he could never, if an *Ordinance* of *Chriſt*, and the *Rite* of *Admiſſion* into the *Kingdom* of the *Meſſiah*) makes *Baptiſm* an Article in his *Epitome* of *Chriſtianity*, viz. That there is (Eph. iv. 5, 6.) " One Lord, One Faith, One Bap-" tiſm: One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you " all." This Baptiſm being therefore Eſſential, muſt be that of his Commiſſion, and conſequently the Baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*, Acts i. 15.

But, after all, I know not what right this man has to argue upon the head of *Water-Baptiſm* againſt us; ſince, if I miſtake him not, he is of thoſe that make *Children* the Subjects of that Practice, who cannot *believe*, nor be *taught*, in order to it; and therefore, not within the ſcope and direction of the text. If it ſhould be ſaid, ' That Children may be as well *baptized* as *circumciſed*;' I ſay, no: For *Faith* was not ſo perſonally required to Circumciſion as it is to Baptiſm: Nor are the *Covenants*, or *Kingdoms* the ſame, to which they refer; therefore an improper and unjuſt alluſion. Upon the whole matter, we let fall the Baptiſm of Water, as *John*'s, and not *Chriſt*'s; therefore, not in contempt of a Chriſtian Ordinance, the Lord knows, but in honour of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation: And the rather, becauſe of the great Abuſe of it; both *Sprinklers* and *Dippers* laying, as we apprehend, a dangerous *Streſs* upon it: As indeed they do upon the Uſe of the *Lord's-Supper*; far beyond *Signs*, and as if they were the inward *Graces* themſelves; too often referring thither, rather than to the *Obedience* of *Faith* in *Chriſt*; and falſly quieting their uneaſy Minds under Diſobedience, and Neglect of the Croſs of Jeſus, with the Performance of theſe Outward *Signs* of Inward *Graces*; the Generality of them being but too barren of any *true* Sign of the Power of Grace upon them.

But to that Little he has ſaid about the Lord's-Supper, ſo called, I muſt ſay ſomething before I cloſe this Treatiſe. He tells us,

Page 92. ' The ſame, in Subſtance, may be ſaid of the *Lord's Supper* as of Bap-' tiſm.'

Reply. Then the ſame, in Subſtance, may ſerve in Defence of the other. He adds,

' Chriſt celebrates it with his Diſciples, ſignifying, That his meaning was, they ' ſhould perform this Service at other Times, after his Death, by conſtraining them to ' do it in Remembrance of him; which is a full Inſtitution of this Service.'

Reply. That which Chriſt celebrated, was the *Paſchal Lamb*, or *Paſſover*, which he told his Diſciples " he ſo much longed to eat with them." And this was the Jews great *Anniverſary Supper*, in Commemoration of their Fore-fathers mighty Deliverance from *Pharoah*, and paſſing at Night out of *Egypt*, towards the Land that God had promiſed their father Abraham he would give to his Off-ſpring. And it was alſo the Concluſion or Winding-up of the Courſe of our Saviour's Life; the Fulfilling of the Shadowy Ordinances and Miniſtration he was born under (he being the *Antitype*); at the cloſe of which he was graciouſly pleaſed to intimate to them that unwelcome and uneaſy news of his Departure and Death, by bidding them eat that Bread, and drink that Cup, and ſo do the like, as a " *Memorial*, or in *Remembrance* " of him," viz. his *Death*, " until he came to them again."

He did thereby,

I. Inform them of his Departure and Death, by giving them a Memorial of him; which was ſo hard for them to think of.

II. He tells them, That he will not leave them comfortleſs; he will come to them again; and he will drink New Wine with them in the Kingdom of his Father; which, in its due ſeaſon, ſhould be made manifeſt to them.

III. That they were to look to that Coming, as an Accompliſhment of that Memorial.

IV. That this muſt refer to his Spiritual Coming, as the Bread of Life; and that it was only to hold them up in their Minority, whoſe weakneſs, incredulity, and doubting, were well known to him, and which, Luke xxiv. 11, 25. are enough obſerved; even after all they had heard and ſeen of the Power of Chriſt.

That this practice laſted longer, I grant; but that it laſted of Authority, I find not, but rather of Weakneſs: Signs generally have a reſemblance of the things they ſignify or repreſent: There ſeems none, in any other reſpect, to me ſo proper and ſuitable, as of Chriſt being the " Bread that came down from Heaven," John vi. and as ſuch he came to his Diſciples ſome time after his Aſcenſion; for as yet they were, as before obſerved, in ſeveral reſpects weak, yea, carnal, and to be ſtirred up and inſtructed in Sacred Myſteries, by Outward and Senſible Things.

Page 93. As to what this author ſays, ‘ That the apoſtle Paul had a Commiſſion to ‘ adminiſter this Sacrament,’ 1 Cor. xi. to 26. It is his miſtake; for it was not a Commiſſion, but a *Tradition*. He tells us what he *received* of the Lord's Doings; but neither commands nor recommends it, only reproves Indecency, and requires more Reſpect in performing, “ as often as they do it.” But if that chapter be well read, the poor and mean Condition of the people he writ to will be ſeen; to whom Signs, well underſtood, might be of benefit. But that neither proves their Continuance under the New Covenant, nor their Service to thoſe that were come to diſcern well the Lord's Body; what it is, and what it is made of; as chapter x. 15, 16, 17.

Page 94, 95. But our adverſary will have it, ‘ That Chriſt's Coming, is to Judg‘ment, at the End of all things; and 'till then, this Sacrament, as he calls it, is to ‘ continue:’ Telling me, ‘ That when Chriſt ſaid, he would not drink any more of the ‘ fruit of the Vine, 'till he ſhould drink it new, with them, in the kingdom of his ‘ Father, Chriſt indeed means it of a Spiritual Wine; but that the Kingdom of his ‘ Father was Heaven; and therefore the Sign was not to ceaſe, 'till that Kingdom be‘gan; which was not to be, 'till Chriſt had delivered up the Kingdom unto God, even ‘ his Father, at the End of the World.’

Reply. But he has forgot, ſurely, that in the ſame Page he allows the kingdom of God was then among the *Jews*, though not *in* them; and ſo come *before* the End of the World. And if he would have called to mind the firſt ſentence of John the Baptiſt's Sermon, and the Drift of the Diſciples Miniſtry, that Chriſt ſent forth, he muſt have found that it was, “ Repent, for the Kingdom of God, *or* of Heaven, is *at hand*,” as Matt. iii. 2. chap. x. 7. Then, not ſo far off as the End of the World. Again, the Apoſtle declared, Heb. xii. 22, 23, 24, the true believers of his day were “ come to “ Mount Zion, to God, the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of the Juſt made perfect;” and alſo, that they “ ſat in heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus;” which muſt be an attainment above Signs of inviſible Grace; being the Life and Subſtance of Religion, and ſo the Period and Conſummation of Types, Shadows, and ſuch ſort of Signs or Significations as are in queſtion. They that *perſonally* enjoy their deareſt Friends will not repair to their *Pictures*, (though drawn ever ſo much to the Life) to quicken their Remembrance of them.

Chriſt did promiſe his, That he would *come again*, he would not leave them *comfortleſs*, and that he would drink of the Cup or Fruit of the Vine after a *new*, or *other* Manner with them, even “ in the Kingdom of his Father.” And in the Revelations, chap. iii. he makes an holy proclamation, as it were with an Oyez! “ Behold,” ſay he, “ I “ ſtand at the Door and knock; if any Man hear my Voice, and open the Door, I “ will come in to him, and SUP with him, and he with me.” This, we are not aſhamed to ſay, is our Supper, or the Supper of the Riſen and Glorified Jeſus, which the People called Quakers do acknowledge, profeſs and practiſe as the *Lord's Supper*; the True Goſpel, New Covenant Supper: The Supper *of* and *in* the *Kingdom* of *God*; which is come up in thouſands, bleſſed be his name! and is coming more and more, among, and in the hearts of, the children of men. And though the Seed of this Kingdom be ſown in *all*; yet the *good* ground alone knows it to grow to advantage. Thoſe that *obey* the Manifeſtation of the *Light* of the Lord Jeſus in their ſouls, the “ Seed of the Kingdom,” are the true and ſenſible witneſſes of it: The Government of their Hearts and Affections being upon his Shoulders, according to that bleſſed promiſe, Iſaiah ix. 5, 6, 7. And ſuch can ſay, “ Thy Kingdom is come, and thy Will “ is done, in Earth as it is in Heaven.”

Even ſo come, Lord Jeſus! more and more ſet up thy Kingdom in the ſouls of the children of men; that the holy Will of thy Father may be done in Earth; that Mercy and Truth, and Righteouſneſs and Peace, may embrace and kiſs each other; ſo ſhall the Kingdoms of this World become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Chriſt; who is God over all bleſſed for ever.

7 AP 59

SOME

FRUITS

OF

SOLITUDE,

BRITISH MUSEUM

IN

REFLECTIONS and MAXIMS

RELATING TO THE

CONDUCT OF HUMAN LIFE.

In TWO PARTS.

The PREFACE.

READER,

1693. THIS Enchiridion I preſent thee with, is the Fruit of Solitude: A ſchool few care to learn in, tho' none inſtructs us better. Some parts of it are the Reſult of Serious Reflection: Others, the Flaſhings of Lucid Intervals: Written for private ſatisfaction, and now publiſhed for an Help to Human Conduct.

The author bleſſeth God for his Retirement, and kiſſes that Gentle Hand which led him into it: For tho' it ſhould prove barren to the world, it can never do ſo to him.

He has now had ſome time he could call his own; a property he was never ſo much maſter of before: In which he has taken a view of himſelf and the world; and obſerved wherein he hath hit and miſſed the mark: What might have been done, what mended, and what avoided in his human conduct: Together with the Omiſſions and Exceſſes of others, as well ſocieties and governments, as private families and perſons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his life again, he could not only, with God's Grace, ſerve Him, but his neighbour and himſelf, better than he hath done, and have ſeven years of his time to ſpare. And yet, perhaps, he hath not been the Worſt or the Idleſt man in the world; nor is he the Oldeſt. And this is the rather ſaid, that it might quicken, thee, Reader, to loſe none of the time that is yet thine.

There is nothing of which we are apt to be ſo laviſh as of Time, and about which we ought to be more ſolicitous; ſince without it we can do nothing in this world. Time is what we want moſt, but what, alas! we uſe worſt; and for which God will certainly moſt ſtrictly reckon with us, when Time ſhall be no more.

It is of that moment to us in reference to both worlds, that I can hardly wiſh any man better, than that he would ſeriouſly conſider what he does with his Time: How, and to what ends, he employs it; and what returns he makes to God, his neighbour and himſelf for it. Will he never have a Leger for this? This, the greateſt Wiſdom and Work of Life.

To come but once into the world, and trifle away our true enjoyment of it, and of ourſelves in it, is lamentable indeed. This one Reflection would yield a thinking perſon great inſtruction. And ſince nothing below Man can ſo Think; Man, in being Thoughtleſs, muſt needs fall below himſelf. And that, to be ſure, ſuch do, as are unconcerned in the Uſe of their moſt precious Time.

This is but too evident, if we will allow ourſelves to conſider, that there is hardly any thing we take by the right End, or improve to its juſt Advantage.

We underſtand little of the Works of God, either in Nature or Grace. We purſue Falſe Knowledge, and miſtake Education extremely. We are violent in our Affections, confuſed and immethodical in our whole Life; making that a burthen, which was given for a bleſſing; and ſo of little comfort to ourſelves or others: Miſapprehending the true Notion of Happineſs, and ſo miſſing of the right Uſe of Life, and Way of Happy Living.

And until we are perſuaded to ſtop, and ſtep a little aſide, out of the noiſy crowd and incumbering hurry of the world, and calmly take a proſpect of things, it will be impoſſible we ſhould be able to make a right judgment of ourſelves, or know our own miſery. But after we have made the juſt reckonings which Retirement will help us to, we ſhall begin to think the World in great meaſure Mad, and that we have been in a ſort of Bedlam all this while.

Reader, whether young or old, think it not too ſoon, or too late, to turn over the leaves of thy paſt Life: And be ſure to fold down where any paſſage of it may affect thee: And beſtow thy remainder of time, to correct thoſe faults in thy future conduct: Be it in relation to this or the next life. What thou wouldeſt do, if what thou haſt done were to do again, be ſure to do as long as thou liveſt, upon the like occaſions.

Our Reſolutions ſeem to be vigorous, as often as we reflect upon our paſt Errors: But, alas! they are apt to flag again upon freſh Temptations to the ſame things.

The author does not pretend to deliver thee an exact piece; his buſineſs not being Oſtentation, but Charity. It is miſcellaneous in the Matter of it, and by no means artificial in the Compoſure. But it contains hints, that may ſerve thee for texts to preach to thyſelf upon, and which comprehend much of the Courſe of Human Life: Since, whether thou art Parent or Child, Prince or Subject, Maſter or Servant, Single or Married, Public or Private, Mean or Honourable, Rich or Poor, Proſperous or Improſperous, in Peace or Controverſy, in Buſineſs or Solitude; whatever be thy Inclination or Averſion, Practice or Duty, thou wilt find ſomething not unſuitably ſaid for thy Direction and Advantage. Accept and improve what deſerves thy notice; the reſt excuſe, and place to account of Good-will to thee, and the whole Creation of God.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS.

PART I.

1. **IGNORANCE.**] IT is admirable to conſider how many millions of people come into, and go out of the world, ignorant of Themſelves, and of the World they have lived in. 1693.

2. If one went to ſee Windſor-Caſtle, or Hampton-Court, it would be ſtrange not to obſerve and remember the ſituation, the building, the gardens, fountains, &c. that make up the beauty and pleaſure of ſuch a ſeat: And yet few people know *themſelves:* No, not their *own Bodies*, the Houſes of their Minds, the moſt curious ſtructure of the world; a *living*, *walking* Tabernacle: Nor the *World*, of which it was made, and out of which it is fed; which would be ſo much our benefit, as well as our pleaſure, to know. We cannot doubt of this, when we are told that the "inviſible Things of "God are brought to light by the Things that are *ſeen*;" and conſequently we read our Duty in them, as often as we look upon them, to Him that is the Great and Wiſe Author of them, if we look as we ſhould do.

3. The World is certainly a great and ſtately Volume of natural things; and may be not improperly ſtiled the *Hieroglyphicks* of a better: But, alas, how very few leaves of it do we ſeriouſly turn over! This ought to be the Subject of the Education of our Youth; who, at Twenty, when they ſhould be fit for Buſineſs, know little or nothing of it.

4. **EDUCATION.**] We are in pain to make them Scholars, but not *Men!* To *talk*, rather than to *know*; which is true Canting.

5. The firſt thing obvious to children, is what is *ſenſible*; and that we make no part of their Rudiments.

6. We preſs their Memory too ſoon, and puzzle, ſtrain and load them with Words and Rules; to know *Grammar* and *Rhetorick*, and a ſtrange *Tongue* or two, that it is ten to one may never be uſeful to them; leaving their natural Genius to *Mechanical* and *Phyſical* or *Natural* Knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding uſe and pleaſure to them through the whole courſe of their life.

7. To be ſure, Languages are not to be deſpiſed or neglected. But *Things* are ſtill to be preferred.

8. Children had rather be making of Tools, and Inſtruments of Play; *Shaping*, *Drawing*, *Framing* and *Building*, &c. than getting ſome Rules of Propriety of Speech by heart: And thoſe, alſo, would follow with more judgment, and leſs trouble and time.

9. It were happy if we ſtudied *Nature* more in natural Things; and acted *according* to Nature; whoſe rules are *few*, *plain* and *moſt reaſonable*.

10. Let us begin where ſhe begins, go her pace, and cloſe always where ſhe ends, and we cannot miſs of being good *Naturaliſts*.

11. The Creation would not be longer a riddle to us: The *Heavens*, *Earth*, and *Waters*, with their reſpective, various and numerous Inhabitants; their Productions,

Natures, Seaſons, Sympathies and Antipathies; their Uſe, Benefit and Pleaſure, would be better underſtood by us: And an Eternal *Wiſdom*, *Power*, *Majeſty* and *Goodneſs*, very *conſpicuous* to us, through thoſe ſenſible and paſſing *Forms*: The World wearing the Mark of its MAKER, whoſe Stamp is every where viſible, and the Characters very legible to the children of Wiſdom.

12. And it would go a great way to caution and direct people in their Uſe of the World, that they were better ſtudied and knowing in the Creation of it.

13. For how could men find the confidence to abuſe it, while they ſhould ſee the Great Creator look them in the face, in all and every part thereof?

14. Therefore Ignorance makes them inſenſible; and to that Inſenſibility may be aſcribed their hard Uſage of ſeveral parts of this noble Creation, that has the Stamp and Voice of a DEITY every-where, and in every thing, to the Obſerving.

15. It is pity, therefore, that Books have not been compoſed for Youth, by ſome curious and careful Naturaliſts, and alſo Mechanicks, in the *Latin* Tongue, to be uſed in ſchools, that they might learn *Things* with *Words*: Things obvious and familiar to them, and which would make the Tongue eaſier to be attained by them.

16. Many able Gardeners and Huſbandmen are yet ignorant of the Reaſon of their Calling; as moſt Artificers are of the Reaſon of their own Rules that govern their excellent Workmanſhip. But a Naturaliſt and Mechanick of *this* ſort, is maſter of the Reaſon of *both*, and might be of the Practice too, if his Induſtry kept pace with his Speculation; which were very commendable; and without which, he cannot be ſaid to be a complete Naturaliſt or Mechanick.

17. Finally, if *Man* be the Index or Epitome of the *World*, as Philoſophers tell us, we have only to read *Ourſelves* well, to be learned in it. But becauſe there is nothing we leſs regard, than the Characters of the POWER that made us, which are ſo clearly written upon us, and the World he has given us, and can beſt tell us what we are and ſhould be, we are even ſtrangers to our own Genius: The Glaſs in which we ſhould ſee that true, inſtructing, and agreeable Variety, which is to be obſerved in Nature, to the admiration of that Wiſdom, and adoration of that Power, which made us all.

18. PRIDE.] And yet, we are very apt to be full of Ourſelves, inſtead of Him that made what we ſo much value; and but for Whom, we can have no reaſon to value ourſelves. For we have nothing that we can call our own; no, not Ourſelves: For we are all but Tenants, and at Will too, of the Great LORD of ourſelves, and the reſt of this great Farm, the World that we live upon.

19. But, methinks, we cannot anſwer it to Ourſelves, as well as our Maker, that we ſhould live and die ignorant of ourſelves; and thereby of Him, and the obligations we are under to him for ourſelves.

20. If the Worth of a Gift ſets the Obligation, and directs the Return of the party that receives it; he that is ignorant of it, will be at a loſs to value it, and the Giver *for* it.

21. Here is Man, in his Ignorance of himſelf. He knows not how to eſtimate his Creator, becauſe he knows not how to value his Creation. If we conſider his Make, and lovely Compoſiture; the ſeveral Stories of his wonderful Structure; his divers Members, their Order, Function and Dependency; the Inſtruments of Food, the Veſſels of Digeſtion, the ſeveral Tranſmutations it paſſes; and how Nouriſhment is carried and diffuſed throughout the whole Body, by moſt intricate and imperceptible paſſages: how the Animal Spirit is thereby refreſhed, and with an unſpeakable dexterity and motion ſets all parts at work to feed themſelves: And, laſt of all, how the Rational Soul is ſeated in the Animal, as its proper houſe, as is the Animal in the Body: I ſay, if this rare Fabrick alone were but conſidered by us, with all the reſt by which it is fed and comforted, ſurely man would have a more reverent ſenſe of the Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, and of that duty he owes to him for it. But if he would be acquainted with his own Soul, its noble Faculties, its Union with the Body, its Nature and End, and the Providences by which the whole Frame of Humanity is preſerved, he would admire and adore his good and great God. But Man is become a ſtrange *Contradiction* to himſelf; but it is *of* himſelf; not being by Conſtitution, but *Corruption*, ſuch.

22. He would have others obey him, even his own kind; but he will not obey GOD, that is ſo much above him, and who made him.

23. He will loſe none of his Authority; no, not bate an ace of it: He is humorous to his wife, he beats his children, is angry with his ſervants, ſtrict with his neighbours, revenges all affronts to extremity; but, alas! forgets all the while, that *he is the Man*; and is more in arrear to God, that is ſo very patient with him, than they are to him, with whom he is ſo ſtrict and impatient.

24. He is curious to waſh, dreſs and perfume his Body, but careleſs of his Soul. The one ſhall have many Hours, the other not ſo many Minutes. This ſhall have three or four new Suits in a year, but that muſt wear its *old* Cloaths ſtill.

25. If he be to receive or ſee a great Man, how nice and anxious is he that all things be in Order? And with what Reſpect and Addreſs does he approach and make his court? But to GOD, how dry, and formal, and conſtrained in his Devotion?

26. In his Prayers he ſays, "*Thy* will be done;" but means his *own:* At leaſt acts ſo.

27. It is too frequent to begin with *God*, and end with the *World*. But he is the *good* Man's Beginning and End; his *Alpha* and *Omega*.

28. LUXURY.] Such is now become our Delicacy, that we will not eat ordinary Meat, nor drink ſmall, palled Liquor; we muſt have the Beſt, and the Beſt-cooked, for our Bodies, while our Souls feed on empty or corrupted things.

29. In ſhort, Man is ſpending all upon a bare Houſe, and hath little or no Furniture within to recommend it; which is preferring the Cabinet before the Jewel, a Leaſe of ſeven years before an Inheritance. So abſurd a thing is Man, after all his proud pretences to Wit and Underſtanding.

30. INCONSIDERATION.] The Want of due Conſideration, is the Cauſe of all the Unhappineſs Man brings upon himſelf. For his Second Thoughts rarely agree with his Firſt; which paſs not without a conſiderable retrenchment or correction. And yet that ſenſible Warning is, too frequently, not precaution enough for his future conduct.

31. Well may we ſay, 'Our Infelicity is of ourſelves;' ſince there is nothing we *do* that we ſhould *not* do, but we *know* it, and yet *do it*.

32. DISAPPOINTMENTS *and* RESIGNATION.] For Diſappointments, that come not by our own *Folly*, they are the Trials or Correction of *Heaven*: And it is our own fault, if they prove not our Advantage.

33. To repine at them, does not mend the matter: It is only to grumble at our Creator. But to ſee the Hand of God in them, with an humble Submiſſion to his Will, is the way to turn our *Water* into *Wine*, and engage the greateſt Love and Mercy on our ſide.

34. We muſt needs diſorder ourſelves, if we only look at our Loſſes. But if we conſider how little we deſerve what is *left*, our Paſſion will cool, and our Murmurs will turn into Thankfulneſs.

35. If our Hairs fall not to the ground, leſs do We, or our Subſtance, without God's Providence.

36. Nor *can* we fall *below* the Arms of God, how low ſoever it be we fall.

37. For though our Saviour's Paſſion is over, his Compaſſion is not. That never fails his humble, ſincere diſciples: In Him they find more, than all that they loſe in the World.

38. MURMURING.] Is it reaſonable to take it ill, that any body deſires of us that which is their own? All we have is the Almighty's: And ſhall not God have his own when he calls for it?

39. Diſcontentedneſs is not only in ſuch a caſe Ingratitude, but Injuſtice, for we are both unthankful for the Time we had it, and not honeſt enough to reſtore it, if we could keep it.

40. But it is hard for us to look on things in ſuch a glaſs, and at ſuch a diſtance from this low world; and yet it is our Duty, and would be our wiſdom and our glory, to do ſo.

41. CENSORIOUSNESS.] We are apt to be very pert at cenſuring Others, where we will not endure advice Ourſelves. And nothing ſhews our weakneſs more, than to be ſo ſharp-ſighted at ſpying other mens faults, and ſo purblind about our own.

42. When the actions of a Neighbour are upon the ſtage, we can have all our Wits about us, are ſo quick and critical we can ſplit an hair, and find out every failure and infirmity: But are without *feeling*, or have but very little *ſenſe* of our own.

43. Much of this comes from Ill-Nature, as well as from an Inordinate Value of ourſelves: For we love Rambling better than Home; and Blaming the unhappy, rather than Covering and Relieving them.

44. In ſuch occaſions, ſome ſhew their Malice, and are witty upon Misfortunes; others their Juſtice, they can reflect apace; but few or none their Charity; eſpecially if it be about Money matters.

45. You ſhall ſee an old Miſer come forth with a ſet gravity, and ſo much ſeverity againſt the diſtreſſed, to excuſe his Purſe, that he will, ere he has done, put it out of all queſtion, That RICHES is *Righteouſneſs* with him. 'This,' ſays he, 'is the Fruit 'of your *Prodigality*, (as if, poor Man, *Covetouſneſs* were no fault) or, 'of your *Projects*, or graſping after a great *Trade*:' While he himſelf would have done the ſame thing, but that he had not the courage to venture ſo much ready money out of *his own*

1693. *truſty hands*, though it had been to have brought him back the Indies in return. But the proverb is juſt, “ Vice ſhould not correct Sin.”

46. They have a Right to *cenſure*, that have an Heart to *help*: The reſt is Cruelty, not Juſtice.

47. BOUNDS *of* CHARITY.] Lend not beyond thy Ability, nor refuſe to lend out of thy Ability; eſpecially when it will help others *more* than it can hurt *thee*.

48. If thy Debtor be honeſt and capable, thou haſt thy Money again, if not with increaſe, with praiſe: If he prove inſolvent, do not ruin him to get that, which it will *not* ruin thee *to loſe*: For thou art but a Steward, and another is thy Owner, Maſter and Judge.

49. The more merciful Acts thou doſt, the more mercy thou wilt receive: And if with a charitable employment of thy Temporal Riches, thou gaineſt Eternal Treaſure, thy purchaſe is infinite: Thou wilt have found the art of Multiplying indeed.

50. FRUGALITY *or* BOUNTY.] Frugality is good, if Liberality be joined with it. The firſt, is leaving-off ſuperfluous Expences; the laſt, beſtowing them to the Benefit of others that need. The firſt without the laſt begins Covetouſneſs; the laſt without the firſt, begins Prodigality: Both together make an excellent Temper. Happy the place where that is found.

51. Were it univerſal, we ſhould be cured of two extremes, *Want* and *Exceſs*: And the one would ſupply the other, and ſo bring both nearer to a Mean; the juſt degree of earthly happineſs.

52. It is a reproach to Religion and Government, to ſuffer ſo much Poverty and Exceſs.

53. Were the Superfluities of a Nation valued, and made a perpetual Tax or Benevolence, there would be more Alms-houſes than Poor; Schools than Scholars; and enough to ſpare for Government beſides.

54. Hoſpitality is good, if the Poorer Sort are the ſubjects of our bounty; elſe too near a Superfluity.

55. DISCIPLINE.] If thou wouldſt be happy and eaſy in thy family, above all things obſerve Diſcipline.

56. Every one in it ſhould know their Duty; and there ſhould be a Time and Place for every Thing: And whatever elſe is done or omitted, be ſure to *begin* and *end* with God.

57. INDUSTRY.] Love *Labour*: For if thou doſt not want it for Food, thou mayeſt for *Phyſick*. It is wholeſome for thy Body, and good for thy Mind. It prevents the Fruits of Idleneſs, which many times comes of nothing to do, and leads too many to do what is worſe than nothing.

58. A Garden, an Elaboratory, a Work-houſe, Improvements and Breeding, are pleaſant and profitable diverſions to the Idle and Ingenious: For here they miſs ill Company, and converſe with Nature and Art; whoſe varieties are equally grateful and inſtructing; and preſerve a good Conſtitution of Body and Mind.

59. TEMPERANCE.] To this a ſpare Diet contributes much. Eat therefore to live, and do not live to eat. That is like a Man, but this below a Beaſt.

60. Have wholeſome, but not coſtly Food; and be rather cleanly than dainty, in ordering it.

61. The Receipts of Cookery are ſwelled to a Volume; but a good Stomach excels them all; to which nothing contributes more, than Induſtry and Temperance.

62. It is a cruel Folly, to offer up to Oſtentation ſo many Lives of Creatures, as make up the State of our Treats; as it is a prodigal one, to ſpend more in Sauce than in Meat.

63. The proverb ſays, ‘ That Enough is as good as a Feaſt:’ But it is certainly *better*, if Superfluity be a Fault; which never fails to be at Feſtivals.

64. If thou riſe with an Appetite, thou art ſure never to ſit down without one.

65. Rarely drink but when thou art *dry*; nor then, between Meals, if it can be avoided.

66. The ſmaller the Drink the clearer the Head, and the cooler the Blood; which are great benefits in Temper and Buſineſs.

67. Strong Liquors are good at *ſome* times, and in *ſmall* proportions; being better for Phyſick, than Food; for Cordials, than common Uſe.

68. The moſt *common* Things are the moſt *uſeful*: Which ſhews both the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of the Great LORD of the Family of the World.

69. What, therefore, He has made *rare*, do not thou uſe too commonly: Leſt thou ſhouldeſt invert the Uſe and Order of Things; become wanton and voluptuous; and thy Bleſſings prove a Curſe.

70. “ Let nothing be loſt,” ſaid our Saviour: But that is *loſt* that is *miſuſed*.

71. Neither urge another to that thou wouldeſt be unwilling to do thyſelf; nor do thyſelf what looks to thee unſeemly and intemperate in another.

72. All Exceſs is ill; but Drunkenneſs is of the worſt ſort: It ſpoils Health, diſmounts the Mind, and unmans Men: It reveals Secrets, is quarrelſome, laſcivious, impudent, dangerous and mad: In fine, he that is drunk is not a *Man*; becauſe he is ſo long void of *Reaſon*, that diſtinguiſhes a Man from a Beaſt.

73. APPAREL.] *Exceſs* in Apparel is another coſtly folly: The very Trimming of the *vain* World would cloathe all the *naked one*.

74. Chuſe thy Cloaths by thine *own* Eyes, not another's. The more plain and ſimple they are, the better: Neither *unſhapely*, nor *fantaſtical*; and for Uſe and Decency, and not for Pride.

75. If thou art clean and warm, it is ſufficient; for more doth but rob the Poor, and pleaſe the Wanton.

76. It is ſaid of the true Church, "The King's Daughter is all glorious *within*:" Let our care, therefore, be of our *Minds*, more than of our Bodies, if we would be of her Communion.

77. We are told, with truth, 'That Meekneſs and Modeſty are the rich and charming Attire of the Soul:' And the plainer the Dreſs, the more diſtinctly, and with greater Luſtre, their Beauty ſhines.

78. It is great pity ſuch Beauties are ſo rare, and thoſe of *Jezebel*'s Forehead are ſo common: Whoſe Dreſſes are Incentives to Luſt; but Bars, inſtead of Motives, to Love or Virtue.

79. RIGHT MARRIAGE.] Never marry but for Love: But ſee that thou loveſt what is Lovely.

80. If Love be not thy chiefeſt motive, thou wilt ſoon grow weary of a Married State, and ſtray from thy promiſe, to ſearch out thy pleaſures in forbidden places.

81. Let not Enjoyment leſſen, but augment Affection: It being the baſeſt of paſſions to *like*, when we *have not*, what we *ſlight* when we *poſſeſs*.

82. It is the difference between Luſt and Love, that this is *fixed*, that *volatile*. Love *grows*, Luſt *waſtes*, by enjoyment: And the reaſon is, that one ſprings from an Union of *Souls*, and the other ſprings from an Union of *Senſe*.

83. They have divers Originals, and ſo are of different Families: That, inward and deep; this ſuperficial: This tranſient, and that permanent.

84. They that marry for *Money*, cannot have the true ſatisfaction of Marriage; the requiſite Means being wanting.

85. Men are generally more careful of the Breed of their Horſes and Dogs, than of their Children.

86. *Thoſe* muſt be of the beſt ſort, for Shape, Strength, Courage and good Conditions: But as for *theſe*, their own Poſterity, *Money* ſhall anſwer all things. With ſuch, it makes the *Crooked* ſtraight, ſets *Squint-Eyes* right, cures *Madneſs*, covers *Folly* changes *ill Conditions*, mends the *Skin*, gives a *ſweet Breath*, repairs *Honours*, makes *Young*, works *Wonders*.

87. O how *ſordid* is *Man* grown! Man, the nobleſt creature of the world, as a *God* on *Earth*, and the Image of Him that made it; thus to miſtake *Earth* for *Heaven*, and worſhip *Gold* for God!

88. AVARICE.] *Covetouſneſs* is the *greateſt of Monſters*, as well as the *Root of all Evil*. I have once ſeen the Man that *died to ſave Charges! What! Give Ten Shillings* to a *Doctor, and have an Apothecary*'s *Bill beſides, that may come to I know not what! No*, not he: Valuing Life leſs than *Twenty Shillings*. But, indeed, ſuch a Man *could not*, well, ſet too *low* a price upon himſelf; who though he lived up to the Chin in Bags, had rather *die*, than find in his heart to open *one* of them, to help to ſave his *Life*.

89. Such a man is *Felo de ſe*, and deſerves not *Chriſtian Burial*.

90. He is a common *Nuſance*, a *Weyer* croſs the Stream, that ſtops the Current: An *Obſtruction*, to be removed by a Purge of the *Law*. The only gratification he gives his neighbours, is to let them ſee that he *himſelf* is as little the better for what he has, as *they* are. For he always looks like *Lent*; a ſort of *Lay-Minim*. In ſome ſenſe he may be compared to *Pharoah*'s *lean Kine*; for all that he has, does him no Good. He commonly wears his Clothes till they leave *him*, or that no body elſe can wear them. He affects to be thought *poor*, to eſcape *Robbery* and *Taxes*: And by *looking* as if he *wanted* an Alms, excuſes himſelf from *giving* any. He ever goes *late* to Markets, to cover buying the *worſt*: But does it becauſe that is *cheapeſt*. He lives of the *Offal*. His Life were an inſupportable puniſhment, to any temper but his own: And no greater torment to him on earth, than to live as *other* men do. But the Miſery of his pleaſure is, that he is *never ſatisfied* with *Getting*, and always in *fear of Loſing* what he cannot *uſe*.

91. How vilely he has loſt himſelf, that becomes a *Slave* to his Servant, and exalts him to the Dignity of his Maker! *Gold* is the *God*, the *Wiſe*, the *Friend*, of the *Money-Monger* of the World.

92. But in Marriage, do thou be wiſe: Prefer the *Perſon* before *Money*, *Virtue* before *Beauty*, the *Mind* before the *Body*: Then thou haſt a *Wiſe*, a *Friend*, a *Companion*, a *Second-Self*; one that bears an equal ſhare with thee, in all thy toils and troubles.

93. Chuſe one that meaſures her Satisfaction, Safety, and Danger, by *thine*; and of whom thou art *ſure*, as of thy ſecreteſt thoughts: A *Friend*, as well as a Wife; which, indeed, a *Wiſe implies*: For ſhe is but *half* a Wife that is not, or is not capable of being, *ſuch* a Friend.

94. *Sexes* make no Difference; ſince in *Souls* there is none: And *they* are the Subjects of *Friendſhip*.

95. He that minds a *Body* and not a *Soul*, has not the *better* part of that Relation; and will conſequently want the nobleſt Comfort of a married Life.

96. The Satisfaction of our *Senſes* is *low*, *ſhort*, and *tranſient*: But the *Mind* gives a more *raiſed* and *extended* pleaſure, and is capable of an Happineſs founded upon *Reaſon*; not bounded and limited by the circumſtances that *Bodies* are confined to.

97. *Here* it is we ought to ſearch out our pleaſure, where the Field is large, and full of variety, and of an enduring nature: Sickneſs, Poverty or Diſgrace, being not able to *ſhake* it, becauſe it is not under the moving influences of worldly contingencies.

98. The ſatisfaction of thoſe that do ſo, is in *Well*-doing, and in the *Aſſurance* they have of a future Reward: That they are *beſt* loved of thoſe they love *moſt*, and that they enjoy and value the Liberty of their *Minds* above that of their Bodies; having the *Whole Creation* for their Proſpect; the moſt *Noble* and *Wonderful Works* and *Providences* of God, the *Hiſtories* of the *Ancients*, and in them the *Actions* and *Examples* of the Virtuous; and laſtly, *Themſelves*, their *Affairs* and *Family*, to exerciſe their Minds and Friendſhip upon.

99. Nothing can be more entire and without reſerve; nothing more zealous, affectionate and ſincere; nothing more contented and conſtant, than ſuch a Couple; nor no greater temporal Felicity than to be *one of them*.

100. Between a Man and his Wife, nothing ought to rule but *Love*. Authority is for *Children* and *Servants*; yet not without Sweetneſs.

101. As Love ought to bring them together, ſo it is the beſt way to keep them *well* together.

102. Wherefore uſe her not as a *Servant*, whom thou wouldſt, perhaps, have *ſerved* Seven Years to have obtained.

103. An Huſband and Wife that *love* and *value* one another, ſhew their Children and Servants that *they* ſhould do ſo to. *Others*, viſibly *loſe* their *Authority* in their Families, by their *Contempt* of one another; and teach their Children to be *unnatural*, by their own *Examples*.

104. It is a general Fault, not to be more careful to preſerve *Nature* in Children; who, at leaſt in the ſecond Deſcent, hardly have the *Feeling* of their *Relation*: Which muſt be an unpleaſant reflection to affectionate Parents.

105. Frequent *Viſits*, *Preſents*, intimate *Correſpondence*, and *Intermarriages* within allowed Bounds, are means of keeping up the Concern and Affection that *Nature* requires from Relations.

106. FRIENDSHIP.] *Friendſhip* is the next pleaſure we may hope for: And where we find it not at Home, or have no Home to find it in, we may ſeek it Abroad. It is an Union of *Spirits*, a Marriage of *Hearts*, and the Bond thereof *Virtue*.

107. There can be no *Friendſhip* where there is no *Freedom*. Friendſhip loves a free Air, and will not be penned up in ſtraight and narrow Incloſures. It will ſpeak freely, and act ſo too; and take nothing *ill*, where no ill is *meant*; nay, where it is, it will eaſily *forgive*, and *forget* too, upon *ſmall* Acknowledgements.

108. Friends are true *Twins* in Soul; they *ſympathize* in every thing, and have the *ſame* Love and Averſion.

109. One is not happy without the other; nor can either of them be miſerable alone. As if they could change Bodies, they take their turns in Pain as well as in Pleaſure; relieving one another in their moſt adverſe Conditions.

110. What one enjoys, the other cannot want. Like the Primitive Chriſtians, they have all things in common, and no Property, but in one another.

111. QUALITIES *of a* FRIEND.] A true Friend unboſoms freely, adviſes juſtly, aſſiſts readily, adventures boldly, takes all patiently, defends courageouſly, and continues a Friend unchangeably.

112. Theſe being the Qualities of a Friend, we are to find them, before we chuſe one.

113. The Covetous, the Angry, the Proud, the Jealous, the Talkative, cannot but make *ill* Friends, as well as *falſe*.

114. In ſhort, chuſe a Friend as thou doſt a Wife, ‘ Till Death Separate you.’

115. Yet be not a Friend beyond the Altar: But let Virtue bound thy Friendſhip: Elſe it is not Friendſhip, but an Evil Confederacy.

116. If my Brother, or Kinſman, will be my Friend, I ought to prefer him before a Stranger; or I ſhew little Duty or Nature to my Parents.

117. And as we ought to prefer our Kindred in point of Affection, ſo too in point of Charity, if equally needing and deſerving.

118. CAUTION *and* CONDUCT.] Be not eaſily acquainted; leſt, finding reaſon to cool, thou makeſt an Enemy inſtead of a good Neighbour.

119. Be reſerved, but not *ſour*; grave, but not *formal*; bold, but not *raſh*; humble, but not *ſervile*; patient, not *inſenſible*; conſtant, not *obſtinate*; chearful, not *light*; rather ſweet, than *familiar*; familiar, than *intimate*; and intimate with very few, and upon very good grounds.

120. Return the Civilities thou receiveſt; and be ever grateful for Favours.

121. REPARATION.] If thou haſt done an Injury to another, rather own it, than defend it. One way thou gaineſt Forgiveneſs; the other, thou doubleſt the Wrong and Reckoning.

122. Some oppoſe Honour to Submiſſion: But it can be no Honour to maintain, what it is diſhonourable to do.

123. To confeſs a Fault that is none, out of Fear, is indeed mean: But not to be afraid of ſtanding in one, is brutiſh.

124. We ſhould make more Haſte to *right* our neighbour, than we do to *wrong* him; and inſtead of being vindictive, we ſhould leave him to judge of his own ſatiſfaction.

125. True Honour will pay treble damages, rather than juſtify one Wrong by another.

126. In ſuch controverſies, it is but too common for ſome to ſay, ‘ Both are to ‘ blame,’ to excuſe their own Unconcernedneſs; which is a baſe Neutrality! Others will cry, ‘ They are both alike;’ thereby involving the Injured with the Guilty, to mince the matter for the Faulty, or cover their own Injuſtice to the Wronged Party.

127. Fear and Gain, are great Perverters of Mankind; and where either prevails, the Judgment is violated.

128. RULES *of* CONVERSATION.] Avoid Company, where it is not profitable or neceſſary: And in thoſe Occaſions, ſpeak little, and laſt.

129. Silence is Wiſdom, where Speaking is Folly, and always ſafe.

130. Some are ſo fooliſh, as to interrupt and anticipate thoſe that ſpeak, inſtead of hearing and thinking before they anſwer: Which is uncivil, as well as ſilly.

131. If thou thinkeſt twice, before thou ſpeakeſt once, thou wilt ſpeak twice the better for it.

132. Better ſay Nothing, than not to the Purpoſe. And to ſpeak pertinently, conſider both what is fit, and when it is fit, to ſpeak.

133. In all Debates, let Truth be thy Aim; not Victory, or an unjuſt Intereſt: And endeavour to gain, rather than to expoſe, thy Antagoniſt.

134. Give no Advantage in Argument, nor loſe any that is offered. This is a benefit which ariſes from Temper.

135. Do not uſe thyſelf to diſpute againſt thine own judgment, to ſhew *Wit*, leſt it prepare thee to be too indifferent about what is *right*: Nor againſt another Man, to *vex* him, or for mere Trial of *Skill*; ſince to *inform*, or to be *informed*, ought to be the End of all Conferences.

136. Men are too apt to be more concerned for their Credit, than for the Cauſe.

137. ELOQUENCE.] There is a Truth and Beauty in Rhetorick; but it oftener ſerves *ill* Turns than good ones.

138. Elegancy is a good *Mien* and *Addreſs* given to Matter, be it by Proper, or by Figurative Speech: Where the Words are apt, and Alluſions very natural, certainly it has a moving Grace: But it is too artificial for Simplicity, and oftentimes for Truth. The danger is, leſt it delude the Weak; who, in ſuch caſes, may miſtake the Handmaid for the Miſtreſs, if not Error for Truth.

139. It is certain, Truth is leaſt indebted to it, becauſe ſhe has leaſt Need of it, and leaſt uſes it.

140. But it is a reproveable Delicacy, in them that deſpiſe Truth in plain Cloaths.

141. Such Luxuriants have but *falſe* Appetites; like thoſe Gluttons, that by Sauces *force* them, where they have no Stomach, and ſacrifice to their Palate, not their Health: Which cannot be, without great Vanity; nor that, without ſome *Sin*.

142. TEMPER.] Nothing does Reaſon more Right, than the Coolneſs of thoſe that offer it: For Truth often ſuffers more by the Heat of its Defenders, than from the Arguments of its Oppoſers.

143. *Zeal* ever follows an Appearance of Truth; and the Aſſured are too apt to be warm: But it is their weak ſide in Argument; Zeal being better ſhewn againſt *Sin*, than Perſons, or their Miſtakes.

144. TRUTH.] Where thou art obliged to ſpeak, be ſure to ſpeak the Truth: For Equivocation is *Half-way* to Lying; as Lying, the *whole Way* to *Hell*.

145. JUSTICE.] Believe nothing againſt another, but upon good Authority: Nor report what may hurt another, unleſs it be a *greater* Hurt to others to conceal it.

146. SECRECY.] It is wiſe not to *ſeek* a ſecret; and honeſt, not to *reveal* one.

147. Only truſt thyſelf, and another ſhall not betray thee.

148. Openneſs has the Miſchief, though not the malice, of Treachery.

149. COMPLACENCY.] Never aſſent merely to pleaſe others. For that is, beſide Flattery, oftentimes Untruth; and diſcovers a mind liable to be ſervile and baſe: Nor contradict to vex others; for that ſhews an ill Temper, and provokes, but profits no body.

150. SHIFTS.] Do not accuſe others to excuſe thyſelf; for that is neither generous nor juſt. But let Sincerity and Ingenuouſneſs be thy Refuge, rather than Craft and Falſhood: For *Cunning* borders very near upon *Knavery*.

151. *Wiſdom* never uſes nor wants it. *Cunning* to *Wiſe*, is as an Ape to a Man.

152. INTEREST.] Intereſt has the *Security*, though not the *Virtue*, of a Principle. As the World goes, it is the ſurer Side: For Men daily leave both Relations and Religion to follow it.

153. It is an odd Sight, but very evident, That Families and Nations, of croſs Religions and Humours, unite againſt thoſe of their own, where they find an *Intereſt* to do it.

154. We are tied down by our *Senſes* to this *World*; and where *that* is in queſtion, it can be none with Worldly Men, whether they ſhould not forſake all other Conſiderations for it.

155. INQUIRY.] Have a care of *Vulgar Errors*. Diſlike, as well as allow, *reaſonably*.

156. Inquiry is *Human*; Blind Obedience, *Brutal*. Truth never *loſes* by the one, but often *ſuffers* by the other.

157. The *uſefulleſt* Truths are *plaineſt*: And while we keep to them, our Differences cannot riſe high.

158. There may be a *Wantonneſs* in Search, as well as a *Stupidity* in Truſting. It is great Wiſdom equally to avoid the Extremes.

159. RIGHT TIMING.] Do nothing *improperly*. Some are witty, kind, cold, angry, eaſy, ſtiff, jealous, careleſs, cautious, confident, cloſe, open, but all in the *wrong* Place.

160. It is ill Miſtaking, where the Matter is of Importance.

161. It is not enough that a thing be *right*, if it be not *fit* to be done. If not *prudent*, though juſt, it is not *adviſeable*. He that loſes by getting, had better loſe than get.

162. KNOWLEDGE.] Knowledge is the *Treaſure*, but Judgment the *Treaſurer*, of a wiſe man.

163. He that has more Knowledge than Judgment, is made for another Man's Uſe, more than his own.

164. It cannot be a good Conſtitution, where the Appetite is great, and the Digeſtion weak.

165. There are ſome Men like *Dictionaries*; to be looked into upon Occaſion; but have no Connection, and are little entertaining.

166. Leſs Knowledge than Judgment will always have the advantage upon the *injudicious* knowing Man.

167. A wiſe Man makes what he learns his own; the other ſhews he is but a Copy, or a Collection at moſt.

168. WIT.] Wit is an happy and ſtriking way of expreſſing a Thought.

169. It is not often, though it be lively and mantling, that it carries a great Body with it.

170. Wit, therefore, is fitter for Diverſion than Buſineſs, being more grateful to Fancy than Judgment.

171. Leſs Judgment than Wit, is more *Sail* than *Ballaſt*.

172. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that Wit gives an Edge to Senſe, and recommends it extremely.

173. Where Judgment has Wit to expreſs it, there is the beſt Orator.

174. OBEDIENCE *to* PARENTS.] If thou wouldeſt be *obeyed*, being a Father; being a Son, be *obedient*.

175. He that begets thee, *owes* thee; and has a natural Right over thee.

176. Next to God, thy *Parents*; next them, the *Magiſtrate*.

177. Remember that thou art not more indebted to thy Parents for thy *Nature*, than for their *Love* and *Care*.

178. Rebellion, therefore, in Children, was made *Death* by God's Law, and the next Sin to *Idolatry*, in the People; which is *Renouncing* of God, the great *Parent* of all.

179. Obedience to Parents is not only our Duty, but our *Intereſt*. If we received our *Life* from them, we *prolong* it by obeying them: For *Obedience* is the firſt Commandment with *Promiſe*.

180. The *Obligation* is as indiſſoluble as the *Relation*.

181. If we muſt not diſobey *God* to obey *them*, at leaſt we muſt let them ſee, that there is *nothing elſe* in our Refuſal. For *ſome* unjuſt Commands cannot excuſe the *general* Neglect of our Duty. They will be our Parents, and we muſt be their Children ſtill: And if we cannot act for them againſt God, neither can we act againſt them for ourſelves, or any thing elſe.

182. BEARING.] A Man in Buſineſs muſt put up many Affronts, if he loves his own Quiet.

183. We muſt not pretend to ſee all that we ſee, if we would be *eaſy*.

184. It were endleſs to diſpute upon every thing that is diſputable.

185. A *vindictive* Temper is not only uneaſy to *others*, but to them that have it.

186. PROMISING.] *Rarely* promiſe. But, if lawful, *conſtantly* perform.

187. Haſty Reſolutions are of the nature of *Vows*; and to be equally avoided.

188. 'I will never do this,' ſays one, yet *does* it: 'I am reſolved to do that,' ſays another; but *flags* upon ſecond thoughts: Or does it, though aukwardly, for his Word's ſake: As if it were *worſe* to break his Word, than to do *amiſs* in keeping it.

189. Wear none of *thine own* Chains; but keep free, whilſt thou art free.

190. It is an Effect of Paſſion, that Wiſdom corrects, to lay thyſelf under Reſolutions that cannot be well made, and worſe performed.

191. FIDELITY.] Avoid all thou canſt being *intruſted*: But do thy *utmoſt* to diſcharge the Truſt thou undertakeſt: For Careleſneſs is injurious, if not unjuſt.

192. The Glory of a Servant is *Fidelity*; which cannot be without Diligence, as well as Truth.

193. Fidelity has enfranchiſed Slaves, and adopted Servants to be Sons.

194. Reward a good Servant well: And rather quit, than diſquiet thyſelf with, an ill one.

195. MASTER.] Mix *Kindneſs* with Authority; and rule more by *Diſcretion* than Rigour.

196. If thy Servant be faulty, ſtrive rather to convince him of his Error, than diſcover thy Paſſion: And when he is ſenſible, *forgive* him.

197. Remember he is thy *Fellow-Creature*; and that God's *Goodneſs*, not thy *Merit*, has made the Difference betwixt Thee and Him.

198. Let not thy Children *domineer* over thy Servants: Nor ſuffer them to *ſlight* thy Children.

199. Suppreſs Tales in the general: But where a Matter requires Notice, encourage the complaint, and right the aggrieved.

200. If a Child, he ought to *intreat*, and not to command: And if a Servant, to *comply*, where he does not obey.

201. Though there ſhould be but One Maſter and Miſtreſs in a Family, yet Servants ſhould know that Children have the *Reverſion*.

202. SERVANT.] Indulge not unſeemly things in thy Maſter's Children; nor refuſe them what is fitting: For one is the higheſt *Unfaithfulneſs*; and the other, *Indiſcretion*, as well as *Diſreſpect*.

203. Do thine own Work, honeſtly and chearfully: And when that is done, help thy Fellow; that ſo another time he may help thee.

1693. 204. If thou wilt be a *good* Servant, thou muſt be *true*; and thou canſt not be true, if thou *defraudeſt* thy Maſter.

205. A Maſter may be defrauded many ways by a Servant: As in Time, Care, Pains, Money, Truſt.

206. But, a *true* Servant is the contrary: He is Diligent, Careful, Truſty. He tells no Tales, reveals no Secrets, refuſes no Pains: Not to be tempted by *Gain*, or awed by *Fear*, to *Unfaithfulneſs*.

207. Such a Servant ſerves God, in ſerving his Maſter; and has double Wages for his Work, to wit, *Here* and *Hereafter*.

208. JEALOUS.] Be not *fancifully* Jealous; for that is *fooliſh*: As, to be *reaſonably* ſo, is *wiſe*.

209. He that *ſuperfines* upon other Mens Actions, cozens himſelf, as well as injures them.

210. To be very ſubtle and ſcrupulous in Buſineſs, is as hurtful as being over-confident and ſecure.

211. In difficult Caſes, ſuch a Temper is timorous; and in Diſpatch irreſolute.

212. *Experience* is a ſafe Guide; and a *practical* Head is a great happineſs in Buſineſs.

213. POSTERITY.] We are too careleſs of Poſterity; not conſidering that as *they* are, ſo the *next* Generation will be.

214. If we would amend the World, we ſhould mend *Ourſelves*; and teach our Children to be, not what *we* are, but what they *ſhould* be.

215. We are too apt to awaken and tune up their Paſſions by the Example of our own; and to teach them to be pleaſed, not with what *is* beſt, but with what *pleaſes* beſt.

216. It is our Duty, and ought to be our Care, to ward againſt that Paſſion in *them*, which is more eſpecially *our own* Weakneſs and Affliction: For we are in great meaſure accountable for them, as well as for ourſelves.

217. We are in this, alſo, true Turners of the World upſide down: For Money is *firſt*, and Virtue *laſt*, and leaſt in our Care.

218. It is not *How* we leave our Children, but *What* we leave them.

219. To be ſure, Virtue is but a *Supplement*, and not a *Principal*, in their Portion and Character: And therefore we ſee ſo little *Wiſdom*, or *Goodneſs*, among the Rich, in proportion to their Wealth.

220. A COUNTRY LIFE.] The Country Life is to be preferred; for there we ſee the Works of *God*; but in *Cities*, little elſe but the Works of *Men*: And the one makes a better ſubject for our Contemplation than the other.

221. As Puppets are to Men, and Babes to Children, ſo is *Man*'s Workmanſhip to God's: We are the Picture, He the Reality.

222. *God*'s Works declare his *Power*, *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs*: But *Man*'s Works, for the moſt part, his *Pride*, *Folly* and *Exceſs*. The one is for *Uſe*, the other, chiefly, for *Oſtentation* and *Luſt*.

223. The Country is both the Philoſopher's *Garden* and *Library*, in which he reads and contemplates the Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God.

224. It is his Food, as well as Study; and gives him Life, as well as Learning.

225. A ſweet and natural Retreat from *Noiſe* and *Talk*; and allows Opportunity for *Reflection*, and gives the beſt Subjects for it.

226. In ſhort, it is an Original; and the Knowledge and Improvement of it, Man's oldeſt Buſineſs and Trade, and the beſt he can be of.

227. ART *and* PROJECT.] *Art* is good, where it is beneficial. Socrates wiſely bounded his Knowledge and Inſtruction by Practice.

228. Have a care, therefore, of *Projects*: And yet deſpiſe nothing *raſhly*, or in the *lump*.

229. *Ingenuity*, as well as Religion, ſometimes ſuffers between two *Thieves*; *Pretenders* and *Deſpiſers*.

230. Though injudicious and diſhoneſt Projectors often diſcredit Art; yet the moſt uſeful and extraordinary Inventions have not, at firſt, eſcaped the Scorn of Ignorance; as their Authors rarely have cracking of their Heads, or breaking of their Backs.

231. Undertake no Experiment in Speculation, that appears not *true* in *Art*; nor then, at thine own Coſt, if coſtly or hazardous in making.

232. As many Hands make light Work; ſo ſeveral Purſes make cheap Experiments.

233. INDUSTRY.] Induſtry, is certainly very commendable, and ſupplies the Want of Parts.

234. Patience and Diligence, like *Faith*, remove Mountains.

235. Never give out while there is Hope: But hope not beyond Reaſon; for that ſhews more Deſire than Judgment.

236. It is a profitable wiſdom, to know when we have done Enough: Much time and pains are ſpared, in not flattering ourſelves againſt Probabilities.

237. TEMPORAL HAPPINESS.] Do *Good* with what thou haſt, or it will do thee *no good.*

238. Seek not to be Rich, but Happy. The one lies in Bags, the other in *Content;* which Wealth can never give.

239. We are apt to call Things by wrong Names. We will have Proſperity to be *Happineſs,* and Adverſity to be *Miſery;* though That is the *School* of *Wiſdom,* and oftentimes the *Way* to *Eternal Happineſs.*

240. If thou wouldeſt be happy, bring thy Mind to thy *Condition,* and have an Indifferency for more than what is ſufficient.

241. Have but *little to do,* and *do it thyſelf:* And do to *others* as thou wouldeſt have them *do to thee:* So, thou canſt not fail of Temporal Felicity.

242. The Generality are the worſe for their Plenty. The Voluptuous conſumes it, the Miſer hides it: It is the *good* Man that uſes it, and to good Purpoſes. But ſuch are hardly found among the Proſperous.

243. Be rather Bountiful, than Expenſive.

244. Neither make nor go to Feaſts; but let the laborious Poor bleſs thee at Home in their ſolitary Cottages.

245. Never voluntarily want what thou haſt in Poſſeſſion; nor ſo ſpend it, as to involve thyſelf in Want unavoidable.

246. Be not tempted to preſume by Succeſs: For many that have got largely, have loſt all, by coveting to get more.

247. To hazard much to get much, has more of Avarice than Wiſdom.

248. It is great prudence, both to *bound* and *uſe* Proſperity.

249. Too few know when they have enough; and fewer know how to employ it.

250. It is equally adviſeable not to part lightly with what is hardly gotten, and not to ſhut up cloſely what flows in freely.

251. Act not the Shark upon thy neighbour; nor take advantage of the Ignorance, Prodigality or Neceſſity of any one: For that is next door to Fraud, and, at beſt, makes but an unbleſſed Gain.

252. It is oftentimes the Judgment of God upon Greedy Rich Men, that he ſuffers them to puſh on their deſires of Wealth to the Exceſs of Over-reaching, Grinding, or Oppreſſion, which poiſons all they have gotten: So that it commonly runs away as faſt, and by as bad ways, as it was heaped up together.

253. RESPECT.] Never eſteem any Man, or Thyſelf, the more for *Money;* nor think the meaner of thyſelf or another, for Want of it: *Virtue* being the juſt reaſon of reſpecting, and the Want of it of ſlighting, any one.

254. A Man, like a Watch, is to be valued for his Goings.

255. He that prefers him upon other accounts, bows to an Idol.

256. Unleſs Virtue guide us, our Choice muſt be wrong.

257. An able *bad* Man is an ill Inſtrument, and to be ſhunned as the plague.

258. Be not deceived with the firſt Appearances of things; but give thyſelf Time, to be in the right.

259. *Show* is not Subſtance: Realities govern Wiſe Men.

260. Have a care, therefore, where there is more Sail than Ballaſt.

261. HAZARD.] In all Buſineſs, it is beſt to put nothing to Hazard: But where it is unavoidable, be not raſh, but firm and reſigned.

262. We ſhould not be troubled for what we cannot help: But if it was our Fault, let it be ſo no more. Amendment is Repentance, if not Reparation.

263. As a deſperate Game needs an able Gameſter; ſo Conſideration often would Prevent, what the beſt Skill in the world cannot Recover.

264. Where the Probability of Advantage exceeds not that of Loſs, Wiſdom never adventures.

265. To ſhoot well flying, is well; but to *chuſe* it, has more of Vanity than Judgment.

266. To be *dextrous* in Danger, is a Virtue; but to *court* Danger to *ſhow* it, is Weakneſs.

267. DETRACTION.] Have a care of that baſe evil, Detraction. It is the Fruit of Envy, as that is of Pride; the immediate Off-ſpring of the Devil: Who, of an *Angel,* a *Lucifer,* a *Son* of the *Morning,* made himſelf a *Serpent,* a *Devil,* a *Beelzebub,* and all that is obnoxious to the *Eternal Goodneſs.*

268. Virtue is not ſecure againſt Envy. Men will leſſen, what they will not imitate.

1693. 269. Diſlike what *deſerves* it; but never *hate*: For that is of the Nature of *Malice*; which is almoſt ever to *Perſons*, not Things; and is one of the blackeſt qualities Sin begets in the Soul.

270. MODERATION.] It were an happy day, if men could bound and qualify their Reſentments with *Charity* to the Offender: For then, our Anger would be without *Sin*, and better convict and edify the Guilty; which alone can make it lawful.

271. Not to be *provoked*, is beſt: But if *moved*, never correct till the *Fume* is *ſpent*: For every ſtroke our Fury ſtrikes, is ſure to hit Ourſelves at laſt.

272. If we did but obſerve the Allowances our *Reaſon* makes upon Reflection, when our *Paſſion* is over, we could not want a *Rule* how to behave ourſelves again on the like occaſions.

273. We are more prone to Complain than Redreſs, and to Cenſure than Excuſe.

274. It is next to unpardonable, that we can ſo often *blame* what we will not once *mend*. It ſhews, we *know*, but will not *do*, our *Maſter's Will*.

275. They that *cenſure*, ſhould *practiſe*: Or elſe, let them heave the *firſt* Stone, and the *laſt* too.

276. TRICK.] Nothing *needs* a Trick, *but* a Trick; Sincerity *loathes* one.

277. We muſt take care to do *right* Things *rightly*: For a *juſt* Sentence may be *unjuſtly* executed.

278. *Circumſtances* give great Light to true Judgment, if well weighed.

279. PASSION.] Paſſion is a ſort of *Fever* in the *Mind*, which ever leaves us *weaker* than it found us.

280. But being intermitting, to be ſure it is curable with care.

281. It more than any thing deprives us of the Uſe of our *Judgment*; for it raiſes a Duſt very hard to ſee through.

282. Like Wine, whoſe Lees fly up, being jogged, it is too muddy to drink.

283. It may not unfitly be termed the *Mob* of the *Man*, that commits a *Riot* upon his *Reaſon*.

284. I have oftentimes thought, that a Paſſionate Man is like a Weak Spring, that cannot ſtand long locked.

285. And it is as true, that thoſe Things are unfit for Uſe, that cannot bear ſmall Knocks without Breaking.

286. He that will not *hear*, cannot *judge*; and he that cannot bear Contradiction, may, with all his Wit, miſs the mark.

287. Objection and Debate ſift out Truth; which needs Temper, as well as Judgment.

288. But, above all, obſerve it in Reſentments; for there Paſſion is moſt extravagant.

289. Never chide for Anger, but Inſtruction.

290. He that corrects out of Paſſion, raiſes Revenge ſooner than Repentance.

291. It has more of Wantonneſs than Wiſdom; and reſembles thoſe that eat to pleaſe their Palate, rather than their Appetite.

292. It is the difference between a Wiſe and a Weak Man; *this* judges by the Lump; *that*, by Parts and their Connection.

293. The Greeks uſe to ſay, All Caſes are governed by their Circumſtances. The ſame Thing may be well and ill, as *they* change or vary the Matter.

294. A Man's Strength is ſhewn by his Bearing. *Bonum Agere, & Male Pati, Regis eſt*.

295. PERSONAL CAUTIONS.] Reflect without Malice, but never without Need.

296. Deſpiſe no Body, nor no Condition; leſt it come to be thine own.

297. Never Rail, nor Taunt. The one is Rude, the other is Scornful; and both Evil.

298. Be not provoked by Injuries, to *commit* them.

299. Upbraid only Ingratitude.

300. Haſte makes work, which Caution prevents.

301. Tempt no Man; leſt thou fall for it.

302. Have a care of preſuming upon After-Games: For if that miſs, all is gone.

303. Opportunities ſhould never be loſt, becauſe they can hardly be regained.

304. It is well to cure, but better to prevent a Diſtemper. The firſt ſhews more Skill, but the laſt more Wiſdom.

305. Never make a Trial of Skill in difficult or hazardous Caſes.

306. Refuſe not to be informed: For that ſhews Pride, or Stupidity.

307. Humility and Knowledge in *poor* Cloaths, excel Pride and Ignorance in *coſtly* Attire.

308. Neither deſpiſe, nor oppoſe, what thou doſt not underſtand.

309. BALLANCE.] We muſt not be concerned above the *Value* of the Thing that engages us; nor raiſed *above* Reaſon, in maintaining what we think *reaſonable*.

310. It is too common an error, to invert the Order of Things, by making an End of that which is a Means, and a Means of that which is an End.

311. Religion and Government eſcape not this miſchief: The firſt is too often made a *Means*, inſtead of an End; the other an *End*, inſtead of a Means.

312. Thus Men ſeek *Wealth*, rather than Subſiſtence; and the *End* of Cloaths, is the leaſt Reaſon of their *Uſe*. Nor is the ſatisfying of our *Appetite* our End in Eating, ſo much as the pleaſing of our *Palate*. The like may alſo be ſaid of Building, Furniture, &c. where the *Man* rules not the Beaſt, and Appetite ſubmits not to *Reaſon*.

313. It is great Wiſdom, to proportion our Eſteem to the Nature of the Thing: For as that way things will not be undervalued, ſo neither will they engage us above their intrinſick Worth.

314. If we ſuffer little Things to have great Hold upon us, we ſhall be as much tranſported for them, as if they deſerved it.

315. It is an old proverb, *Maxima Bella ex leviſſimis Cauſis*: The greateſt Feuds have had the ſmalleſt Beginnings.

316. No matter what the *Subject* of the Diſpute be, but what Place we give it in our Minds. For that governs our Concern and Reſentment.

317. It is one of the fataleſt errors of our lives, when we ſpoil a good Cauſe by an ill Management: And it is not impoſſible but we may *mean well* in an *ill* Buſineſs; but that will not *defend* it.

318. If we are but ſure the End is *Right*, we are too apt to gallop over all Bounds to compaſs it; not conſidering, that lawful Ends may be very unlawfully attained.

319. Let us be careful to take juſt Ways to compaſs juſt Things; that they may laſt in their Benefits to us.

320. There is a troubleſome humour ſome men have, that if they may not *lead*, they will not *follow*; but had rather a thing were never done, than not done their own Way, though otherwiſe very deſirable.

321. This comes of an Over-fulneſs of ourſelves, and ſhews we are more concerned for Praiſe, than the Succeſs of what we think a good Thing.

322. POPULARITY.] Affect not to be *ſeen*, and Men will leſs ſee thy Weakneſs.

323. They that *ſhew* more than they *are*, raiſe an Expectation they cannot anſwer; and ſo loſe their Credit, as ſoon as they are found out.

324. Avoid Popularity. It has many Snares, and no real Benefit to thyſelf; and Uncertainty to others.

325. PRIVACY. Remember the Proverb, *Benè qui latuit, benè vixit*: They are happy, that live Retiredly.

326. If this be true, Princes and their Grandees, of all men, are the unhappieſt: For they live leaſt alone: And they that muſt be enjoyed by every body, can never enjoy themſelves as they ſhould.

327. It is the advantage Little Men have upon them; they can be private, and have leiſure for Family Comforts, which are the greateſt Wordly Contents men can enjoy.

328. But they that place Pleaſure in Greatneſs, ſeek it there: And, we ſee, Rule is as much the Ambition of ſome Natures, as Privacy is the Choice of others.

329. GOVERNMENT.] Government has many ſhapes: But it is Sovereignty, though not Freedom, in all of them.

330. *Rex & Tyrannus*, are very differing characters: *One* rules his People by Laws, to which they conſent; the other, by his abſolute Will and Power. That is called Freedom; This, Tyranny.'

331. The firſt is endangered by the Ambition of the Populace, which ſhakes the Conſtitution: The other, by an ill Adminiſtration, which hazards the Tyrant and his Family.

332. It is great wiſdom, in Princes of both Sorts, not to ſtrain points too high with their People: For whether the People have a Right to oppoſe them or not, they are ever ſure to attempt it, when things are carried too far: though the Remedy oftentimes proves worſe than the Diſeaſe.

333. Happy that King who is great by Juſtice, and that People who are free by Obedience.

334. Where the Ruler is *juſt*, he may be *ſtrict*; elſe it is two to one it turns upon him: And though he ſhould prevail, he can be no Gainer, where his People are the Loſers.

335. Princes muſt not have Paſſions in Government, nor reſent beyond Intereſt and Religion.

1693. 336. Where Example keeps pace with Authority, Power hardly fails to be obeyed, and Magiſtrates to be honoured.

337. Let the People think they Govern, and they will be Governed.

338. This cannot fail, if Thoſe They Truſt, are Truſted.

339. That Prince who is juſt to them in great things, and humours them oftentimes in ſmall ones, is ſure to have and keep them from all the world.

340. For the People is the Politic Wife of the Prince, that may be better managed by Wiſdom, than ruled by Force.

341. But where the Magiſtrate is partial, and ſerves ill turns, he loſes his Authority with the People; and gives the Populace Opportunity to gratify their Ambition: And ſo lays a Stumbling-block for his People to fall.

342. It is true, that where a Subject is more popular than the Prince, the Prince is in Danger: But it is as true, that it is his own Fault: For nobody has the like Means, Intereſt or Reaſon, to be popular as He.

343. It is an unaccountable thing, that ſome Princes incline rather to be feared than loved; when they ſee, that Fear does not oftener ſecure a Prince againſt the Diſſatisfaction of his People, than Love makes a Subject too many for ſuch a Prince.

344. Certainly Service upon Inclination, is like to go farther, than Obedience upon Compulſion.

345. The Romans had a juſt ſenſe of this, when they placed *Optimus* before *Maximus*, to their moſt illuſtrious Captains and Cæſars.

346. Beſides, Experience tells us, That Goodneſs raiſes a nobler Paſſion in the Soul, and gives a better Senſe of Duty, than Severity.

347. What did Pharoah get by increaſing the Iſraelites Taſk? Ruin to himſelf in the End.

348. Kings, chiefly in this, ſhould imitate God: Their *Mercy* ſhould be *above all their Works*.

349. The Difference between the Prince and the Peaſant, is in *this* World: But a Temper ought to be obſerved by him that has the Advantage here, becauſe of the Judgment of the *next*.

350. The *End* of every Thing ſhould direct the *Means*: Now that of *Government* being the *Good* of the *Whole*, nothing leſs ſhould be the Aim of the Prince.

351. As often as Rulers endeavour to attain juſt Ends by juſt Mediums, they are ſure of a quiet and eaſy Government; and as ſure of Convulſions, where the Natures of Things are violated, and their Order over-ruled.

352. It is certain, Princes ought to have great Allowances made them for Faults in Government; ſince they ſee by *other* People's Eyes, and hear by *their* Ears. But *Miniſters of State*, their immediate Confidents and Inſtruments, have much to anſwer for, if, to gratify private Paſſions, they miſguide the Prince to do publick Injury.

353. Miniſters of State ſhould undertake their Poſts at *their Peril*. If Princes *over-rule* them, let them ſhew the *Law*, and humbly *reſign*: If Fear, Gain or Flattery prevail, let them anſwer it to the *Law*.

354. The Prince cannot be preſerved, but where the Miniſter is puniſhable: For People, as well as Princes, will not endure *Imperium in Imperio*.

355. If Miniſters are weak or ill Men, and ſo ſpoil their *Places*, it is the *Prince's* fault that choſe them: But if their Places ſpoil *them*, it is *their own* Fault to be made worſe by them.

356. It is but juſt that thoſe that reign by their Princes, ſhould ſuffer for their Princes: For it is a ſafe and neceſſary Maxim, not to ſhift Heads in Government, while the Hands are in Being that ſhould anſwer for them.

357. And yet it were intolerable to be a Miniſter of State, if every Body may be Accuſer and Judge.

358. Let, therefore, the Falſe Accuſer no more eſcape an exemplary puniſhment, than the Guilty Miniſter.

359. For it *profanes* Government to have the *Credit* of the leading men in it ſubject to *vulgar* Cenſure; which is often ill-grounded.

360. The Safety of a Prince, therefore, conſiſts in a well choſen Council: And that only can be ſaid to be ſo, where the Perſons that compoſe it are qualified for the Buſineſs that comes before them.

361. Who would ſend to a Taylor to make a Lock? Or to a Smith to make a Suit of Cloaths?

362. Let there be *Merchants* for Trade, *Seamen* for the Admiralty, *Travellers* for Foreign Affairs, ſome of the *Leading Men* of the Country for Home-Buſineſs, and *Common* and *Civil Lawyers* to adviſe of Legality and Right: Who ſhould always keep to the ſtrict Rules of Law.

363. Three Things contribute much to ruin Government: *Looſeneſs*, *Oppreſſion*, and *Envy*.

1693.

364. Where the Reins of Government are too ſlack, there the Manners of the People are corrupted: And that deſtroys Induſtry, begets Effeminacy, and provokes Heaven againſt it.

365. Oppreſſion makes a poor Country, and a deſperate People, who always wait an Opportunity to change.

366. "He that ruleth over Men, muſt be Juſt, ruling in the Fear of God," ſaid an old and wiſe King.

367. Envy diſturbs and diſtracts Government, clogs the Wheels, and perplexes the Adminiſtration: And nothing contributes more to this diſorder, than a *partial* Diſtribution of Rewards and Puniſhments in the Sovereign.

368. As it is not reaſonable that men ſhould be *compelled* to ſerve; ſo thoſe that have Employments ſhould not be endured to leave them *humourouſly*.

369. Where the State intends a man no Affront, he ſhould not affront the State.

370. A PRIVATE LIFE.] A Private Life is to be preferred; the Honour and Gain of Publick Poſts bearing no proportion with the Comfort of it. The one is free and quiet, the other ſervile and noiſy.

371. It was a great anſwer of the Shunamite woman, "I dwell among *my own* "People."

372. They that live of their own, neither need, nor often liſt, to wear the Livery of the Publick.

373. Their Subſiſtence is not during *Pleaſure*, nor have they Patrons to pleaſe or preſent.

374. If they are not advanced, neither can they be diſgraced. And as they know not the Smiles of Majeſty, ſo they feel not the Frowns of Greatneſs, or the Effects of Envy.

375. If they want the Pleaſures of a Court, they alſo eſcape the Temptations of it.

376. Private men, in fine, are ſo much their own, that, paying Common Dues, they are Sovereigns of all the reſt.

377. A PUBLICK LIFE.] Yet the Publick muſt and will be ſerved; and they that do it well, deſerve Publick Marks of Honour and Profit.

378. To do ſo, men muſt have Publick Minds, as well as Salaries; or they will ſerve Private Ends at the Publick Coſt.

379. Governments can never be well adminiſtered, but where thoſe intruſted make Conſcience of well diſcharging their Places.

380. QUALIFICATIONS.] Five things are requiſite to a good Officer; Ability, Clean Hands, Diſpatch, Patience, and Impartiality.

381. CAPACITY.] He that underſtands not his Employment, whatever elſe he knows, muſt be unfit for it; and the Publick ſuffer by his Inexpertneſs.

382. They that are able, ſhould be juſt too; or the Government may be the worſe for their Capacity.

383. CLEAN HANDS.] Covetouſneſs in ſuch men prompts them to proſtitute the Publick for Gain.

384. The taking of a Bribe or Gratuity, ſhould be puniſhed with as ſevere penalties, as the Defrauding of the State.

385. Let men have ſufficient Salaries, and exceed them at their Peril.

386. It is a Diſhonour to Government, that its Officers ſhould live of Benevolence; as it ought to be infamous for Officers to diſhonour the Publick, by being Twice paid for the ſame Buſineſs.

387. But to be paid, and not to do Buſineſs, is rank Oppreſſion.

388. DISPATCH.] Diſpatch is a great and good quality in an Officer; where Duty, not Gain, excites it. But of this too many make their private Market, and Overplus to their Wages. Thus the Salary is for *doing*, and the Bribe for *diſpatching* the Buſineſs: As if Buſineſs could be *done* before it were *diſpatched*: Or they were to be paid apart, one by the Government, the other by the Party.

389. *Diſpatch* is as much the duty of an Officer, as Doing; and very much the Honour of the Government he ſerves.

390. *Delays* have been more injurious than direct *Injuſtice*.

391. They too often *ſtarve* thoſe they dare not *deny*.

392. The very Winner is made a Loſer, becauſe he pays *twice* for his *own*; like thoſe that purchaſe Eſtates mortgaged *before* to the *full Value*.

393. Our Law ſays well, 'To delay *juſtice*, is *injuſtice*.'

394. Not to *have* a Right, and not to *come at it*; differs little.

395. Refuſal, or Diſpatch, is the Duty and Wiſdom of a good Officer.

396. PATIENCE.] Patience is a Virtue every-where; but it ſhines with greateſt luſtre in the Men of Government.

397. Some are ſo proud or teſty, they will not *hear* what they ſhould *redreſs*.

398. Others ſo weak, they *ſink*, or *burſt*, under the Weight of their Office, though they can lightly *run away* with the *Salary* of it.

399. Buſineſs can never be well *done*, that is not well *underſtood*: Which cannot be, without Patience.

400. It is Cruelty, indeed, not to give the Unhappy an *Hearing*, whom we ought to *help*: But it is the Top of Oppreſſion, to *brow-beat* the humble and modeſt Miſerable, when they ſeek Relief.

401. Some, it is true, are unreaſonable in their deſires and hopes: But then we ſhould inform, not rail at and reject them.

402. It is therefore as great an inſtance of wiſdom, as a Man in Buſineſs can give, to be *patient* under the *Impertinencies* and *Contradictions* that attend it.

403. *Method* goes far to prevent Trouble in Buſineſs: For it makes the Taſk eaſy, hinders Confuſion, ſaves abundance of Time, and inſtructs thoſe that have buſineſs depending, what to do, and what to hope.

404. IMPARTIALITY.] Impartiality, though it be the laſt, is not the leaſt part of the Character of a good Magiſtrate.

405. It is noted as a fault, in Holy Writ, even to regard the *Poor* in *Judgment*: How much more the *Rich*?

406. If our *Compaſſions* muſt not ſway us; leſs ſhould our Fears, Profits, or Prejudices.

407. Juſtice is juſtly repreſented Blind, becauſe ſhe ſees no Difference in the Parties concerned.

408. She has but *One Scale* and *Weight*, for Rich and Poor, Great and Small.

409. Her Sentence is not guided by the *Perſon*, but the *Cauſe*.

410. The Impartial Judge, in Judgment, knows nothing but the *Law*: The Prince, *no more* than the Peaſant; his Kindred, than a Stranger. Nay, his Enemy is ſure to be upon equal terms with his Friend, when he is upon the Bench.

411. Impartiality is the Life of Juſtice, as that is of Government.

412. Nor is it only a benefit to the State, for private Families cannot ſubſiſt comfortably without it.

413. Parents that are *partial*, are ill obeyed by their Children; and partial *Maſters* not better ſerved by their *Servants*.

414. Partiality is always indirect, if not diſhoneſt: For it ſhews a Byaſs, where Reaſon would have none; if not an Injury, which Juſtice every where forbids.

415. As it makes Favourites without Reaſon, ſo it uſes no Reaſon in judging of Actions: Confirming the proverb, 'The Crow thinks her own Bird the faireſt.'

416. What ſome ſee to be no Fault in one, they will have Criminal in another.

417. Nay, how ugly do our Failings look to us in the Perſons of others; which yet we ſee not in Ourſelves.

418. And but too common it is, for ſome people not to know their own *Maxims* and *Principles* in the Mouths of other men, when they give Occaſion to uſe them.

419. Partiality corrupts our judgment of Perſons and Things, of Ourſelves and Others.

420. It contributes more than any thing to Factions in the Government, and Feuds in Families.

421. It is a prodigal Paſſion, that ſeldom returns till it is hunger-bit, and Diſappointments bring it within bounds.

422. And yet we may be indifferent, to a fault.

423. INDIFFERENCY.] Indifference is good in judgment, but bad in relation, and ſtark naught in Religion.

424. And even in judgment, our Indifferency muſt be to the Perſons, not Cauſes; for one, to be ſure, is right.

425. NEUTRALITY.] Neutrality is ſomething elſe than Indifferency: and yet of kin to it too.

426. A Judge ought to be Indifferent; and yet he cannot be ſaid to be Neutral.

427. The one being to be *even* in Judgment, and the other not to *meddle* at all.

428. And where it is Lawful, to be ſure, it is beſt to be Neutral.

429. He that eſpouſes Parties, can hardly divorce himſelf from their Fate; and more *fall* with their Party, than *riſe* with it.

430. A wiſe Neuter joins with neither; but uſes both, as his honeſt Intereſt leads him.

431. A *Neuter* only has Room to be a *Peace-maker*: For being of neither Side, he has the means of mediating a Reconciliation of both.

432. A Party.] And yet where *Right* or *Religion* gives a Call, a Neuter muſt be a Coward or an Hypocrite.

433. In ſuch caſes, we ſhould never be backward; nor yet miſtaken.

434. When our Right or Religion is in queſtion, then is the fitteſt Time to aſſert it.

435. Nor muſt we always be neutral, where our Neighbour is concerned: For though *Meddling* is a Fault, *Helping* is a Duty.

436. We have a *Call* to do good, as often as we have the *Power* and *Occaſion*.

437. If Heathens could ſay, ‘ We are not born for ourſelves;’ ſurely Chriſtians ſhould practiſe it.

438. They are taught ſo by *his* Example, as well as Doctrine, from whom they have borrowed their Name.

439. Ostentation.] Do what good thou canſt unknown; and be not vain of what ought rather to be felt than ſeen.

440. The Humble, in the Parable of the Day of Judgment, *forgot* their good Works, “ Lord, when did we ſo and ſo?”

441. He that does good, for Good's ſake, ſeeks neither Praiſe nor Reward, though ſure of both at laſt.

442. Complete Virtue.] Content not thyſelf that thou art virtuous in the general: For *one* Link being wanting, the Chain is defective.

443. Perhaps thou art rather *innocent* than *virtuous*, and oweſt more to thy *Conſtitution*, than thy *Religion*.

444. *Innocent*, is not to be Guilty: But *Virtuous*, is to overcome our evil Inclinations.

445. If thou haſt not conquered thyſelf in that which is thy *own particular* Weakneſs, thou haſt no Title to Virtue, though thou art free of other Mens.

446. For a covetous man to inveigh againſt *Prodigality*, an Atheiſt againſt *Idolatry*, a Tyrant againſt *Rebellion*, or a Lyar againſt *Forgery*, and a Drunkard againſt *Intemperance*, is for the Pot to call the Kettle Black.

447. Such Reproof would have but little Succeſs; becauſe it would carry but little Authority with it.

448. If thou wouldſt *conquer* thy Weakneſs, thou muſt never *gratify* it.

449. No man is *compelled* to Evil; his *Conſent only* makes it his.

450. It is no Sin to be tempted, but to be overcome.

451. What man, in his right mind, would conſpire his own Hurt? Men are beſide themſelves, when they tranſgreſs their Convictions.

452. If thou wouldſt not ſin, do not *deſire*; and if thou wouldſt not luſt, do not *embrace* the Temptation: No, not *look* at it, nor *think* of it.

453. Thou wouldſt take much pains to ſave thy Body: Take ſome, prithee, to ſave thy Soul.

454. Religion.] Religion is the *Fear* of *God*, and its Demonſtration *good Works*; and *Faith* is the Root of both: “ For without Faith we cannot pleaſe God,” nor can we *fear* what we do not *believe*.

455. The Devils alſo believe and know abundance: But in this is the difference, their Faith works not by Love, nor their Knowledge by Obedience; and therefore they are never the better for them. And if ours be ſuch, we ſhall be of their Church, not of Chriſt's: For as the Head is, ſo muſt the Body be.

456. He was holy, humble, harmleſs, meek, merciful, &c. when among us; to teach us what we ſhould be, when he was gone: And yet he is among us ſtill, and in us too, a living and perpetual Preacher of the ſame Grace, by his Spirit in our Conſciences.

457. A Miniſter of the Goſpel ought to be one of *Chriſt*'s making, if he would paſs for one of Chriſt's Miniſters.

458. And if he be one of his making, he knows and does, as well as believes.

459. That Miniſter, whoſe Life is not the Model of his Doctrine, is a Babbler rather than a Preacher, a Quack rather than a Phyſician of value.

460. Of old time, they were made Miniſters by the *Holy Ghoſt:* And the more that is an ingredient now, the fitter they are for that work.

461. Running ſtreams are not ſo apt to corrupt; nor itinerant, as ſettled Preachers: But they are not to run before they are ſent.

462. As they freely receive from Chriſt, ſo they give.

463. They will not make that a Trade, which they know ought not, in Conſcience, to be one.

464. Yet there is no fear of their living, that deſign not to live by it.

465. The humble and true Teacher meets with more than he expects.

1693. 466. He accounts Content with Godlineſs great Gain, and therefore ſeeks not to make a *Gain of Godlineſs.*

467. As the Miniſters of Chriſt are made by him, and are like him, ſo they beget People into the ſame Likeneſs.

468. To be like Chriſt, then, is to be a Chriſtian. And Regeneration is the only Way to the Kingdom of God, which we pray for.

469. Let us to-day, therefore, hear his Voice, and not harden our Hearts; who ſpeaks to us many ways. In the *Scriptures,* in our *Hearts,* by his *Servants* and *Providences:* And the Sum of all is *Holineſs* and *Charity.*

470. St. James gives a ſhort draught of the matter, but very full and reaching, “Pure Religion and Undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to viſit the Fatherleſs and the Widows in their Affliction, and to keep ourſelves unſpotted from the World.” Which is comprized in theſe two words, *Charity* and *Piety.*

471. They that truly make theſe their *Aim,* will find them their *Attainment;* and with them, the Peace that follows ſo excellent a condition.

472. Amuſe not thyſelf, therefore, with the numerous Opinions of the World, nor value thyſelf upon *verbal Orthodoxy, Philoſophy,* or thy *Skill* in *Tongues,* or *Knowledge of the Fathers;* (too much the Buſineſs and Vanity of the World) but in this rejoice, “That thou knoweſt God, that is the Lord, who exerciſeth loving Kindneſs, and Judgment, and Righteouſneſs in the Earth.”

473. Public Worſhip is very commendable, if well performed. We owe it to God and good Example. But we muſt know, that God is not tied to Time or Place, who is Every-where at the ſame Time: And this we ſhall know, as far as we are capable, if where-ever we are, our Deſires are to be with him.

474. *Serving God,* People generally confine to the *Acts* of *Publick* and *Private Worſhip:* And thoſe the more zealous do often repeat, in hopes of Acceptance.

475. But if we conſider that God is an *Infinite Spirit,* and, as ſuch, every-where; and that our Saviour has taught us, that he will be worſhipped in *Spirit* and in *Truth;* we ſhall ſee the Shortneſs of ſuch a Notion.

476. For *Serving God* concerns the Frame of our Spirits, in the whole Courſe of our Lives; in every Occaſion we have, in which we may ſhew our Love to his Law.

477. For as men in Battle are continually in the way of Shot, ſo we, in this World, are ever within the Reach of Temptation: And herein do we *ſerve* God, if we *avoid* what we are *forbid,* as well as *do* what he *commands.*

478. God is better ſerved in reſiſting a Temptation to Evil, than in many formal Prayers.

479. This is but twice or thrice a Day: But that every Hour and Moment of the Day. So much more is our *continual Watch,* than our Evening and Morning Devotion.

480. Wouldſt thou, then, ſerve God? Do not that *alone,* which thou wouldſt not that another ſhould *ſee* thee do.

481. Do not take God's Name in vain, or diſobey thy Parents, or wrong thy Neighbour, or commit Adultery, even in thine Heart.

482. Neither be Vain, Laſcivious, Proud, Drunken, Revengeful or Angry: Nor Lye, Detract, Backbite, Over-reach, Oppreſs, Deceive, or Betray: But watch vigorouſly againſt all Temptations to theſe things; as knowing that God is preſent, the Overſeer of all thy Ways and moſt inward Thoughts, and the Avenger of his own Law upon the Diſobedient, and thou wilt acceptably ſerve God.

483. Is it not Reaſon, if we expect the Acknowledgments of thoſe to whom we are bountiful, that we ſhould reverently pay ours to God, our moſt munificent and conſtant Benefactor?

484. The World repreſents a rare and ſumptuous Palace; Mankind, the great Family in it; and God, the mighty Lord and Maſter of it.

485. We are all ſenſible what a ſtately Seat it is: The Heavens adorned with ſo many glorious Luminaries; and the Earth with Groves, Plains, Valleys, Hills, Fountains, Ponds, Lakes and Rivers; and Variety of Fruits, and Creatures for Food, Pleaſure and Profit. In ſhort, how noble an Houſe he keeps, and the Plenty and Variety and Excellency of his Table; his Orders, Seaſons, and Suitableneſs of every Time and Thing. But we muſt be as ſenſible, or at leaſt ought to be, what careleſs and idle Servants we are, and how ſhort and diſproportionable our Behaviour is to his Bounty and Goodneſs: How long he bears, how often he reprieves and forgives us: Who, notwithſtanding our Breach of Promiſes, and repeated Neglects, has not yet been provoked to break up Houſe, and ſend us to ſhift for ourſelves. Should not this great Goodneſs raiſe a due Senſe in us of our Undutifulneſs, and a Reſolution to alter our Courſe and mend our Manners; that we may be for the future more worthy Communicants at our Maſter's good and great Table? Eſpecially ſince it is not more certain that we deſerve his Diſpleaſure, than that we ſhall feel it, if we continue to be unprofitable Servants.

486. But though God has repleniſhed this World with abundance of good things for Man's Life and Comfort, yet they are all but imperfect goods. He only is the Perfect Good to whom they point. But, alas! Men cannot ſee him *for* them; though they ſhould always ſee him *in* them.

487. I have often wondered at the Unaccountableneſs of Man in this, among other things; that though he loves Changes ſo well, he ſhould care ſo little to hear or think of his laſt, great, and *beſt* Change too, if he pleaſes.

488. Being, as to our Bodies, compoſed of *Changeable Elements,* we, with the World, are made up of and ſubſiſt by *Revolution:* But our Souls being of another and nobler Nature, we ſhould ſeek our Reſt in a more enduring Habitation.

489. The trueſt End of Life, is, to know the Life that *never* ends.

490. He that makes this his Care, will find it his Crown at laſt.

491. Life, elſe, were a Miſery, rather than a Pleaſure; a Judgment, not a Bleſſing.

492. For to Know, Regret, and Reſent; to Deſire, Hope and Fear *more* than a Beaſt, and not live *beyond* him, is to make a Man *leſs* than a Beaſt.

493. It is the amends of a ſhort and troubleſome Life, that *Doing well,* and *Suffering Ill,* intitles man to one *Longer* and *Better.*

494. This ever raiſes the good Man's Hope, and gives him taſtes beyond the other world.

495. As it is his Aim, ſo none elſe can hit the Mark.

496. Many make it their Speculation, but it is the good Man's Practice.

497. His Work keeps pace with his Life, and ſo leaves nothing to be done when he dies.

498. And he that lives to live ever, never fears dying.

499. Nor can the Means be terrible to him, that heartily believes the End.

500. For though Death be a dark Paſſage, it leads to Immortality; and that is Recompence enough for ſuffering of it.

501. And yet Faith lights us, even through the Grave; being the Evidence of Things not ſeen.

502. And this is the comfort of the Good, that the Grave cannot hold them, and that they live as ſoon as they die.

503. For Death is no more than a Turning of us over from Time to Eternity.

504. Nor can there be a Revolution without it; for it ſuppoſes the Diſſolution of one Form, in order to the Succeſſion of another.

505. Death, then, being the Way and Condition of Life, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.

506. Let us, then, not cozen ourſelves with the Shells and Huſks of Things; nor prefer Form to Power, nor Shadows to Subſtance: Pictures of Bread will not ſatisfy Hunger, nor thoſe of Devotion pleaſe God.

507. This World is a Form; our Bodies are Forms; and no viſible Acts of Devotion can be without Forms. But yet the leſs Form in Religion the better, ſince God is a Spirit: For the more *mental* our Worſhip, the more *adequate* to the *Nature* of *God*; the more *ſilent,* the more ſuitable to the Language of a *Spirit.*

508. Words are for Others, not for Ourſelves: Nor for God, who hears not as *Bodies* do, but as *Spirits* ſhould.

509. If we would know this Dialect, we muſt learn of the Divine Principle *in* us. As we hear the Dictates of *That,* ſo God hears *us.*

510. There we may *ſee* him, too, in all his Attributes; though but in Little, yet as much as we can apprehend or bear: For as he is in *himſelf,* he is incomprehenſible, and "dwelleth in that Light no Eye can approach." But in his *Image* we may behold his Glory; enough to exalt our Apprehenſions of God, and to inſtruct us in that Worſhip which pleaſeth him.

511. Men may tire themſelves in a Labyrinth of Search, and Talk of God: But if we would *know* him *indeed,* it muſt be from the Impreſſions we receive of him; and the ſofter our Hearts are, the deeper and livelier thoſe will be upon us.

512. If he has made us ſenſible of his Juſtice, by his Reproof; of his Patience, by his Forbearance; of his Mercy, by his Forgiveneſs; of his Holineſs, by the Sanctification of our Hearts through his Spirit; we have a grounded knowledge of God. This is Experience, that Speculation; this Enjoyment, that Report. In ſhort, this is undeniable Evidence, with the Realities of Religion, and will ſtand all winds and weathers.

513. As our Faith, ſo our Devotion, ſhould be lively. Cold Meat will not ſerve at thoſe Repaſts.

514. It is a Coal from God's Altar muſt kindle our Fire: And without Fire, true Fire, no acceptable Sacrifice.

515. "Open thou my Lips, and then," ſaid the Royal Prophet, "My Mouth ſhall "praiſe God." But not 'till then.

516. The Preparation of the Heart, as well as Anſwer of the Tongue, is of the Lord: And to have it, our Prayers muſt be powerful, and our Worſhip grateful.

517. Let us chuſe, therefore, to commune where there is the warmeſt Senſe of Religion; where Devotion exceeds Formality, and Practice moſt correſponds with Profeſſion; and where there is, at leaſt, as much Charity as Zeal: For where this Society is to be found, there ſhall we find the Church of God.

518. As good, ſo *ill* Men, are all of a Church; and every body knows who muſt be Head of it.

519. The *humble*, *meek*, *merciful*, *juſt*, *pious* and *devout* Souls, are every-where of *One Religion*; and when Death has taken off the Maſk, they will know one another, though the diverſe Liveries they wear here, make them Strangers.

520. *Great Allowances* are to be made for *Education* and *Perſonal Weakneſſes*: But it is a Rule with me, that Man is truly Religious, that loves the Perſuaſion he is of for the *Piety*, rather than the *Ceremony* of it.

521. They that have one *End*, can hardly diſagree when they *meet*. At leaſt their Concern in the Greater, moderates their Value and Difference about the Leſſer Things.

522. It is a ſad reflection, that many Men hardly have *any Religion at all*; and moſt Men have none of *their own*: For that which is the Religion of their Education, and not of their Judgment, is the Religion of another, and not Theirs.

523. To have Religion upon Authority, and not upon Conviction, is like a *Finger-Watch*, to be ſet forwards or backwards, as he pleaſes that has it in keeping.

524. It is a prepoſterous thing, that Men can venture their Souls, where they will not venture their Money: For they will take their *Religion* upon Truſt, but not truſt a *Synod* about the *Goodneſs* of *Half a Crown*.

525. They will follow their own Judgment when their Money is concerned, whatever they do for their Souls.

526. But, to be ſure, that Religion cannot be right, that a man is the *worſe* for having.

527. *No* Religion, is better than an *Unnatural One*.

528. Grace *perfects*, but never *ſours* or *ſpoils* Nature.

529. To be *Unnatural* in Defence of *Grace*, is a Contradiction.

530. Hardly any thing looks worſe, than to defend Religion by Ways that ſhew it has no *Credit* with us.

531. A *devout* Man is one thing, a *Stickler* is quite another.

532. When our Minds exceed their juſt Bounds, we muſt needs diſcredit what we would recommend.

533. To be *furious* in Religion, is to be *irreligiouſly* Religious.

534. If he that is without Bowels, is not a Man; how, then, can he be a Chriſtian.

535. It were better to be of *no* Church, than to be bitter for *any*.

536. Bitterneſs comes very near to Enmity, and that is *Beelzebub*; becauſe the Perfection of Wickedneſs.

537. A good End cannot ſanctify evil Means; nor muſt we ever do Evil, that Good may come of it.

538. Some folk think they may *ſcold*, *rail*, *hate*, *rob* and *kill* too; ſo it be but *for God's ſake*.

539. But nothing in us *unlike* him, can *pleaſe* him.

540. It is as great preſumption to ſend our *Paſſions* upon *God's Errands*, as it is to *palliate them* with *God's Name*.

541. Zeal dropt in Charity, is good; without it, good for *nothing*: For it devours all it comes near.

542. They muſt firſt judge Themſelves, that preſume to cenſure Others: And ſuch will not be apt to over-ſhoot the mark.

543. We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by Love and Information.

544. And yet we could hurt no Man that we believe *loves* us.

545. Let us, then, try what Love will do: For if men do once ſee we *love* them, we ſhould ſoon find they would not harm us.

546. Force may ſubdue, but Love gains: And he that forgives *firſt*, wins the Laurel.

547. If I am *even* with my Enemy, the Debt is paid: But if I *forgive* it, I oblige him for ever.

548. Love is the hardeſt Leſſon in Chriſtianity; but, for that reaſon, it ſhould be moſt our Care to learn it. *Difficilia quæ Pulchra*.

549. It is a ſevere Rebuke upon us, that God makes *us* ſo many Allowances, and we make ſo few to our *Neighbour*: As if *Charity* had nothing to do with *Religion*; or *Love* with *Faith*, that ought to work by it.

550. I find all Sorts of People *agree*, whatſoever were their Animoſities, when humbled by the Approaches of Death: Then they *forgive*, then they *pray for*, and *love* one another: Which ſhews us, that it is not our Reaſon, but our Paſſion, that makes and holds up the Feuds that reign among men in their health and fulneſs. They therefore, that live neareſt to That which they ſhould die, muſt certainly live beſt.

551. Did we believe a Final Reckoning and Judgment, or did we think enough of what we do believe, we would allow more Love in Religion than we do; ſince *Religion itſelf* is nothing elſe but *Love* to *God* and *Man*.

552. "He that lives in *Love* lives in *God*," ſays the Beloved Diſciple: And, to be ſure, a Man can live no-where *better*.

553. It is moſt reaſonable Men ſhould value that Benefit, which is moſt durable. Now Tongues ſhall ceaſe, and Prophecy fail, and Faith ſhall be conſummated in Sight, and Hope in Enjoyment; but LOVE *remains*.

554. Love is indeed Heaven upon Earth; ſince Heaven above would not be Heaven without it: For where there is not *Love*, there is *Fear*: But "*perfect* Love *caſts out* "Fear." And yet we naturally *fear moſt* to offend what we *moſt love*.

555. What we love, we will hear; what we love, we will truſt; and what we love, we will ſerve, aye, and ſuffer for too. "If you love me," ſays our bleſſed Redeemer, "keep my Commandments." Why? Why then he will love *us*; then we ſhall be his *Friends*; then he will ſend us the *Comforter*; then whatever we aſk, we ſhall receive; and then, where *he* is, *we* ſhall be alſo, and that *for ever*. Behold the Fruits of *Love*; the Power, Virtue, Benefit and Beauty of *Love!*

556. Love is *above all*; and when it *prevails* in us all, we ſhall all be *lovely*, and in *Love* with *God*, and *one* with *another*. Amen.

MORE
FRUITS
OF
SOLITUDE:
BEING
The SECOND PART of REFLECTIONS and MAXIMS on the CONDUCT of HUMAN LIFE.

THE
INTRODUCTION TO THE READER.

1693 THE Title of this Treatiſe ſhews there was a former of the ſame Nature; and the Author hopes he runs no hazard in recommending Both to his Reader's Peruſal.

He is well aware of the low reckoning the labours of *indifferent* Authors are under, at a time when hardly any thing paſſes for current, that is not calculated to *flatter* the Sharpneſs of Contending Parties. He is alſo ſenſible, that Books grow a very Drug, where they cannot raiſe and ſupport their Credit by their own Uſefulneſs; and how far this will be able to do it, he knows not; yet he thinks himſelf tolerably ſafe in making it publick, in three reſpects.

Firſt, That the Purchaſe is ſmall, and the Time but little, that is requiſite to read it.

Next, Though ſome men ſhould not find it reliſhed high enongh for their finer Wits, or warmer Palates, it may not perhaps be Uſeleſs to thoſe of lower Flights, and who are leſs engaged in publick Heats.

Laſtly, The Author honeſtly aims at as General a Benefit as the Thing will bear; to *Youth* eſpecially, whether he hits the mark or not: And that without the leaſt Oſtentation, or any Private Regards.

Let not Envy miſ-interpret his Intention, and he will be accountable for all other faults.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS, &c.

PART. II.

THE RIGHT MORALIST.

1. A RIGHT Moraliſt is a great and good man; but for that reaſon, he is rarely to be found. 1693.

2. There are a ſort of people that are fond of the Character, who, in my opinion, have but little Title to it.

3. They think it enough, not to defraud a man of his Pay, or betray his Friend; but never conſider, that the Law forbids the one at his peril, and that Virtue is ſeldom the reaſon of the other.

4. But certainly he that Covets, can no more be a Moral Man, than he that Steals; ſince *he* does ſo in his Mind. Nor can he be one that robs his neighbour of his Credit, or that craftily undermines him of his Trade or Office.

5. If a man pays his Taylor, but debauches his Wife, is he a current Moraliſt?

6. But what ſhall we ſay of the man that rebels againſt his Father, is an Ill Huſband, or an Abuſive Neighbour; one that is laviſh of his Time, of his Health, and of his Eſtate, in which his family is ſo nearly concerned? Muſt he go for a Right Moraliſt, becauſe he pays his Rent well?

7. I would aſk ſome of thoſe Men of Morals, Whether he that robs God and himſelf too, though he ſhould not defraud his Neighbour, be the Moral Man?

8. Do I owe myſelf Nothing? And do I not owe All to God? And if paying what we owe, makes the Moral Man, is it not fit we ſhould begin to render our Dues where we owe our very Beginning; aye, our *All?*

9. The Complete Moraliſt begins with *God*; he gives him his Due, his Heart, his Love, his Service; the Bountiful Giver of his Well-being, as well as Being.

10. He that lives without a Senſe of this Dependency and Obligation, cannot be a Moral Man, becauſe he does not know his Returns of Love and Obedience, as becomes an honeſt and a ſenſible *Creature:* Which very Term implies he is not *his own*; and it cannot be very honeſt to miſemploy another's Goods.

11. But how can there be no Debt, but to a Fellow-Creature? Or, will our Exactneſs in paying thoſe dribbling ones, while we neglect our weightier obligations, cancel the bonds we lie under, and render us right and thorough Moraliſts?

12. As *Judgments* are paid before *Bonds*, and *Bonds* before *Bills* or *Book-Debts*; ſo the Moraliſt conſiders his Obligations according to their ſeveral *Dignities*.

In the firſt place, *Him* to whom he owes himſelf. Next, *himſelf*, in his Health and Livelihood. Laſtly, his other obligations, whether *rational* or *pecuniary*; doing to others, to the Extent of his Ability, as he would have them do unto him.

13. In ſhort, the *Moral Man* is he that *loves God above all*, and *his Neighbour as himſelf*, which fulfils both Tables at once.

The World's able Man.

1693. 14. It is by ſome thought the Character of an Able Man, to be *dark*, and not *underſtood*. But I am ſure that is not fair play.

15. If he be ſo by *Silence*, it is better: But if by *Diſguiſes*, it is inſincere and hateful.

16. Secreſy is one thing, Falſe Lights are another.

17. The Honeſt Man, that is rather free than open, is ever to be preferred; eſpecially when *Senſe* is at Helm.

18. The glorying of the other humour, is in a Vice: For it is not human to be *cold*, *dark*, and *unconverſable*. I was going to ſay, they are like *Pick-Pockets* in a Crowd, where a Man muſt ever have his Hand on his Purſe; or as *Spies* in a Garriſon, that, if not prevented, betray it.

19. They are the Reverſe of Human Nature: And yet this is the preſent World's *Wiſe Man* and Politician: Excellent qualities for *Lapland!* where, they ſay, Witches, though not many Conjurers, dwell.

20. Like *Highwaymen*, that rarely rob without *Vizards*, or in the ſame Wigs and Cloaths, but have a Dreſs for every enterprize.

21. At beſt, he may be a *Cunning-man*, which is a ſort of *Lurcher* in Politicks.

22. He is never too hard for the *Wiſe* man upon the Square; for that is out of his Element, and puts him quite by his Skill. Nor are Wiſe Men ever catched by him, but when they *truſt* him.

23. But as *cold* and *cloſe* as he ſeems, he can and will pleaſe all, if he *gets* by it; though it ſhould neither pleaſe God nor himſelf at bottom.

24. He is for every Cauſe that brings him Gain; but implacable, if diſappointed of Succeſs.

25. And what he cannot hinder, he will be ſure to ſpoil, by over-doing it.

26. None ſo zealous then as he, for that which he cannot abide.

27. What is it he will not, or cannot do, to hide his true ſentiments!

28. For his Intereſt, he refuſes no Side or Party; and will take the Wrong by the Hand, when the other will not do, with as good a Grace as the Right.

29. Nay, he commonly chuſes the Worſt, becauſe that brings the beſt Bribe: His Cauſe being ever Money.

30. He ſails with all Winds, and is never out of his Way, where any thing is to be had.

31. A *Privateer*, indeed; and every-where a Bird of Prey.

32. True to nothing, but Himſelf, and falſe to all Perſons and Parties, to ſerve his own Turn.

33. Talk with him as often as you pleaſe, he will never pay you in good Coin; for it is either falſe or clipped.

34. But to give a *falſe Reaſon* for any thing, let my reader never learn of him, no more than to give a Braſs Half-crown for a good one: Not only becauſe it is not *true*, but becauſe it *deceives* the Perſon to whom it is given; which I take to be an *Immorality*.

35. *Silence* is much more preferable; for it ſaves the Secret, as well as the Perſon's Honour.

36. Such as give themſelves the latitude of ſaying what they do not *mean*, come to be *Errant Jockeys* at more things than one: But in Religion and Politicks, it is pernicious.

37. To hear Two Men talk the Reverſe of their own Sentiments, with all the Good-Breeding and Appearance of Friendſhip imaginable, on purpoſe to *cozen* or *pump* each other, is, to a man of *Virtue* and *Honour*, one of the melancholieſt, as well as moſt nauſeous things in the world.

38. But that it ſhould be the Character of an Able Man, is to *diſinherit Wiſdom*, and paint out our Degeneracy to the life, by ſetting up *Fraud*, an errant Impoſtor, in her Room.

39. The Trial of Skill between theſe Two is, Who ſhall believe leaſt of what the other ſays: And he that has the Weakneſs, or Good-Nature, to give out firſt, (viz. to believe any thing the other ſays) is looked upon to be *tricked*.

40. I cannot ſee the *Policy*, any more than the Neceſſity, of a Man's *Mind* always giving the Lye to his Mouth; or his *Mouth* ever giving falſe Alarms of his Mind: For no Man can be long believed, that teaches all men to diſtruſt him: And ſince the Ableſt have ſometimes need of Credit, where lies the Advantage of their politick Cant or Banter upon Mankind?

41. I remember a paſſage of one of Queen Elizabeth's great men, as Advice to his Friend; 'The advantage,' ſays he, 'I had upon others at Court, was, that I always 'ſpoke as I *thought*; which being not believed by them, I both preſerved a *good Conſcience*, and ſuffered no *damage* from that Freedom:' Which, as it ſhows the Vice to be older than our Times, ſo that gallant man's Integrity to be the beſt way of avoiding it.

42. To be ſure it is wiſe, as well as honeſt, neither to flatter other mens Sentiments, nor diſſemble, and leſs contradict, our own.

43. To hold one's Tongue, or ſpeak Truth, or talk only of indifferent Things, is the faireſt Converſation.

44. Women that rarely go abroad without Vizard Maſks, have none of the beſt Reputation. But when we conſider, what all this Art and Diſguiſe are for, it equally heightens the wiſe man's Wonder and Averſion: Perhaps it is to betray a Father, a Brother, a Maſter, a Friend, a Neighbour, or one's own Party.

45. A fine conqueſt! what noble Grecians and Romans abhorred: As if Government could not ſubſiſt without Knavery, and that Knaves were the *uſefulleſt* props to it; though the baſeſt, as well as greateſt, perverſions of the ends of it.

46. But that it ſhould become a *Maxim*, ſhows but too groſly the Corruptions of the Times.

47. I confeſs I have heard the Stile of an *Uſeful Knave*, but ever took it to be a ſilly or a knaviſh ſaying; at leaſt an Excuſe for Knavery.

48. It is as reaſonable to think a *Whore* makes the *beſt Wife*, as a *Knave the beſt Officer*.

49. Beſides, employing Knaves *encourages* Knavery, inſtead of puniſhing it; and *alienates* the Reward of Virtue. Or, at leaſt, muſt make the World believe the Country yields not honeſt Men enough, able to ſerve her.

50. Art thou a Magiſtrate? Prefer ſuch as have clean Characters where they live; and of Eſtates, to ſecure a juſt Diſcharge of their Truſts; that are under no temptation to ſtrain points for a Fortune: For ſometimes ſuch may be found, ſooner than they are employed.

51. Art thou a private Man? Contract thy Acquaintance in a narrow Compaſs, and chuſe thoſe for the ſubjects of it, that are Men of Principles; ſuch as will make full Stops, where Honour will not lead them on; and that had rather bear the diſgrace of not being *thorough-paced* Men, than forfeit their Peace and Reputation by a baſe Compliance.

THE WISE MAN.

52. The Wiſe Man governs himſelf by the Reaſon of his Caſe, and becauſe what he does is Beſt: Beſt, in a moral and prudent, not a ſiniſter ſenſe.

53. He propoſes juſt Ends, and employs the faireſt and probableſt Means and Methods to attain them.

54. Though you cannot always penetrate his Deſign, or his Reaſons for it, yet you ſhall ever ſee his Actions of a Piece, and his Performances like a Workman: They will bear the Touch of Wiſdom and Honour, as often as they are tried.

55. He ſcorns to ſerve himſelf by *Indirect* Means, or to be an Interloper in Government; ſince Juſt Enterprizes never want any Juſt Ways to ſucceed them.

56. To do Evil, that Good may come of it, is for *Bunglers*, in Politicks as well as Morals.

57. Like thoſe Surgeons, that will *cut-off* an Arm they cannot *cure*, to hide their Ignorance and ſave their Credit.

58. The Wiſe Man is Cautious, but not Cunning; Judicious, but not Crafty; making Virtue the Meaſure of uſing his Excellent Underſtanding in the Conduct of his Life.

59. The Wiſe Man is equal, ready, but not *officious*; has in every thing an eye to *Sure-Footing*: He offends no body, nor eaſily is offended; and always willing to *compound* for Wrongs, if not *forgive* them.

60. He is never Captious, nor Critical; hates *Banter* and *Jeſts:* He may be pleaſant, but not *light*; he never deals but in ſubſtantial Ware, and leaves the reſt for the Toy-Pates, (or Shops) of the World; which are ſo far from being his Buſineſs, that they are not ſo much as his Diverſion.

61. He is always for ſome Solid Good, *Civil* or *Moral;* As, To make his Country more Virtuous; preſerve her Peace and Liberty; imploy her Poor; improve Land; advance Trade; ſuppreſs Vice; incourage Induſtry, and all Mechanick Knowledge; and that they ſhould be the Care of the Government, and the Bleſſing and Praiſe of the People.

62. To conclude, He is *juſt*, and fears *God*, hates *Covetouſneſs*, and eſchews *Evil*, and loves his *Neighbour* as himſelf.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THOUGHTS.

63. Man being made a Reaſonable and ſo a *Thinking* Creature; there is nothing more worthy of his Being, than the right Direction and Employment of his *Thoughts*; ſince upon This depends both his Uſefulneſs to the Publick, and his own preſent and future Benefit, in all reſpects.

64. The Conſideration of this, has often obliged me to lament the Unhappineſs of Mankind, that, through too great a *Mixture* and *Confuſion* of *Thoughts*, have been hardly able to make a right or mature Judgment of Things.

65.

65. To this is owing the various Uncertainty and Confuſion we ſee in the World, and the intemperate *Zeal* that occaſions them.

66. To this, alſo, is to be attributed the imperfect Knowledge we have of Things, and the ſlow Progreſs we make in attaining to a better: Like the Children of Iſrael, that were Forty Years upon their Journey, from Egypt to Canaan, which might have been performed in leſs than One.

67. In fine, it is to this that we ought to aſcribe, if not all, at leaſt moſt of the Infelicities we labour under.

68. Clear, therefore, thy *Head*, and rally and manage thy Thoughts rightly, and thou wilt ſave Time, and ſee and do thy buſineſs well; for thy Judgment will be *diſtinct*, thy Mind *free*, and thy Faculties *ſtrong* and *regular*.

69. Always remember to bound thy Thoughts to the *preſent* Occaſion.

70. If it be thy *religious* Duty, ſuffer nothing elſe to ſhare in them. And if any *civil* or *temporal* Affair, obſerve the ſame caution, and thou wilt be a *whole* Man to every thing, and do twice the Buſineſs in the ſame time.

71. If any Point *over*-labours thy Mind, divert and relieve it by ſome other Subject, of a more *ſenſible* or *manual* nature, rather than what may affect the *Underſtanding*: For this were to write one thing upon another, which blots out our former Impreſſions, or renders them illegible.

72. They that are leaſt *divided* in their Care, always give the beſt Account of their Buſineſs.

73. As, therefore, thou art always to purſue the preſent Subject, till thou haſt maſtered it, ſo if it fall out that thou haſt more Affairs than One upon thy hand, be ſure to prefer that which is of moſt Moment, and will leaſt wait thy Leiſure.

74. He that judges not well of the Importance of his Affairs, though he may be always buſy, he muſt make but a ſmall Progreſs.

75. But make not more buſineſs neceſſary than *is* ſo; and rather leſſen than augment Work for thyſelf.

76. Nor yet be *over-eager* in purſuit of any thing; for the Mercurial too often happen to leave Judgment behind them, and ſometimes make work for Repentance.

77. He that over-runs his Buſineſs, leaves it for him that follows more leiſurely to take it up; which has often proved a profitable Harveſt to them that never Sowed.

78. It is the advantage that *ſlower* Tempers have upon the Men of *lively* Parts, that though they do not *lead*, they will *follow well*, and *glean clean*.

79. Upon the whole matter, employ thy Thoughts as thy Buſineſs requires, and let that have place according to Merit and Urgency; giving every thing a Review and due Digeſtion, and thou wilt prevent many Errors and Vexations, as well as ſave much Time to thyſelf, in the Courſe of thy Life.

OF ENVY.

80. It is the Mark of an *ill* Nature, to leſſen *good* Actions, and aggravate *ill* ones.

81. Some men do as much begrudge others a good Name, as they *want* one themſelves; and perhaps that is the Reaſon of it.

82. But certainly they are in the wrong, that can think *they* are leſſened, becauſe others have their Due.

83. Such People generally have leſs Merit than Ambition, that covet the reward of other Mens; and, to be ſure, a very ill Nature, that will rather rob others of their Due, than allow them their Praiſe.

84. It is more an Error of our *Will*, than our Judgment: For we know it to be an Effect of our *Paſſion*, not our Reaſon; and therefore we are the more culpable in our Partial Eſtimates.

85. It is as envious as unjuſt, to under-rate another's Actions, where their intrinſick Worth recommends them to diſengaged Minds.

86. Nothing ſhews more the Folly, as well as Fraud of Man, than clipping of Merit and Reputation.

87. And as ſome men think it an Allay to themſelves, that others have their Right; ſo they know no End of Pilfering, to raiſe their own Credit.

88. This Envy, is the Child of Pride; and miſ-*gives*, rather than miſ-*takes*.

89. It will have Charity to be Oſtentation; Sobriety, Covetouſneſs; Humility, Craft; Bounty, Popularity. In ſhort, Virtue muſt be Deſign, and Religion, only Intereſt. Nay, the Beſt of Qualities muſt not paſs without a *But* to allay their Merit and abate their Praiſe. Baſeſt of Tempers! and they that have it, the Worſt of Men!

90. But Juſt and Noble Minds *rejoice* in other Mens Succeſs, and help to augment their Praiſe.

91. And, indeed, they are not without a *Love* to Virtue, that take a Satisfaction in ſeeing her *rewarded*; and ſuch deſerve to *ſhare* her Character, that do abhor to *leſſen* it.

Of Man's Life.

1693. 92. Why is Man leſs durable than the Works of his Hands, but becauſe *This is not* the Place of his *Reſt?*

93. And it is a great and juſt reproach upon him, that he ſhould fix his Mind where he cannot ſtay *himſelf.*

94. Were it not more his Wiſdom to be concerned about thoſe Works that will *go with* him, and erect a Manſion for him, where Time has Power neither over him nor it?

95. It is a ſad thing, for Man ſo often to miſs his Way to his Beſt, as well as moſt Laſting Home.

Of Ambition.

96. They that ſoar too high, often fall hard; which makes a low and level Dwelling preferable.

97. The talleſt Trees are moſt in the Power of the Winds; and Ambitious Men of the Blaſts of Fortune.

98. They are moſt ſeen and obſerved, and moſt envied: Leaſt *quiet*, but moſt *talked of*, and not often to their Advantage.

99. Thoſe Builders had need of a good Foundation, that lie ſo much expoſed to Weather.

100. Good Works are a Rock, that will ſupport their Credit: But Ill Ones, a Sandy Foundation, that yields to Calamities.

101. And truly they ought to expect no Pity in their Fall, who, when in Power, had no Bowels for the Unhappy.

102. The *worſt* of Diſtempers; always Craving and Thirſty, Reſtleſs and Hated: A perfect Delirium in the Mind: Inſufferable in Succeſs, and in Diſappointments moſt Revengeful.

Of Praise or Applause.

103. We are apt to *love* Praiſe, but not to *deſerve* it.

104. But if we would deſerve it, we muſt love *Virtue* more than That.

105. As there is no Paſſion in us ſooner moved, or more deceivable, ſo for that reaſon there is none over which we ought to be more *watchful*, whether we give or receive it: For if we give it, we muſt be ſure to mean it, and meaſure it too.

106. If we are penurious, it ſhows Emulation; if we exceed, Flattery.

107. Good Meaſure belongs to Good Actions; more looks Nauſeous, as well as Inſincere: Beſides, it is a Perſecuting of the Meritorious, who are out of countenance to *hear*, what they *deſerve.*

108. It is much eaſier for him to *merit* Applauſe, than *hear* of it: And he never doubts himſelf more, or the perſon that gives it, than when he hears *ſo much* of it.

109. But, to ſay true, there needs not many Cautions on this hand; ſince the World is rarely juſt *enough* to the Deſerving.

110. However, we cannot be too circumſpect how we receive Praiſe: For if we contemplate ourſelves in a falſe Glaſs, we are ſure to be miſtaken about our Dues: And becauſe we are too apt to believe what is Pleaſing, rather than what is True, we may be too eaſily ſwelled beyond our Juſt Proportion, by the Windy Compliments of Men.

111. Make ever, therefore, Allowances for what is ſaid on ſuch occaſions; or thou expoſeſt, as well as deceiveſt thyſelf.

112. For an Over-value of ourſelves, gives us but a dangerous Security in many Reſpects.

113. We expect more than belongs to us; take all that is given us, though never meant us; and fall out with thoſe that are not as *full of us* as we are of ourſelves.

114. In ſhort, it is a Paſſion that abuſes our Judgment, and makes us both unſafe and ridiculous.

115. Be not fond, therefore, of Praiſe; but ſeek Virtue, that leads to it.

116. And yet no more leſſen or diſſemble thy Merit, than over-rate it: For though Humility be a Virtue, an *affected* one is none.

Of Conduct in Speech.

117. Enquire *often*, but Judge *rarely*, and thou wilt not often be miſtaken.

118. It is ſafer to Learn, than Teach; and he who conceals his Opinion, has nothing to anſwer for.

119. Vanity or Reſentment often engage us, and it is two to one but we come off Loſers; for one ſhews a Want of Judgment and Humility, as the other does of Temper and Diſcretion.

120. Not that I admire the Reſerved; for they are next to Unnatural that are not Communicable. But if Reſervedneſs be at any time a Virtue, it is in Throngs, or ill Company.

121. Beware alſo of *Affectation* in *Speech*; it often *wrongs* Matter, and ever ſhows a blind Side.

122. Speak *properly*, and in as *few* Words as you can, but always *plainly:* For the End of Speech is not Oſtentation, but to be *underſtood.*

123. They that affect *Words* more than *Matter*, will dry up that little they have.

124. *Senſe* never fails to give them that have it, *Words enough* to make them underſtood.

125. But it too often happens in ſome Converſations, as in *Apothecaries-ſhops*, that thoſe Pots that are *Empty*, or have Things of ſmall Value in them, are as gaudily *dreſſed* and *flouriſhed*, as thoſe that are full of precious Drugs.

126. This Labouring of *ſlight Matter* with flouriſhed Turns of Expreſſion, is fulſome; and worſe than the Modern Imitation of Tapeſtry, and Eaſt-India Goods, in *Stuffs* and *Linens*. In ſhort, it is but *taudry* Talk, and next to very Traſh.

UNION OF FRIENDS.

127. They that love *beyond* the World, cannot be *ſeparated* by it.

128. Death cannot *kill* what *never dies*.

129. Nor can Spirits ever be *divided*, that love and live in the ſame Divine Principle; the Root and Record of their Friendſhip.

130. If *Abſence* be not Death, neither is *theirs*.

131. Death is but Croſſing the *World*, as Friends do the *Seas*; They live in *one another* ſtill.

132. For they muſt needs be *preſent*, that love and live in that which is *Omnipreſent*.

133. In this Divine Glaſs, they ſee Face to Face; and their Converſe is *free*, as well as *pure*.

134. This is the Comfort of Friends, that though they may be ſaid to *die*, yet their Friendſhip and Society are, in the beſt ſenſe, ever *preſent*, becauſe *immortal*.

OF BEING EASY IN LIVING.

135. It is an Happineſs to be delivered from a Curious Mind, as well as from a Dainty Palate.

136. For it is not only a Troubleſome but ſlaviſh Thing to be *nice*.

137. They narrow their own Freedom and Comforts, that make ſo much requiſite to enjoy them.

138. To be *eaſy* in Living, is much of the Pleaſure of Life: But *difficult* Tempers will always *want* it.

139. A *careleſs* and *homely* Breeding, is therefore preferable to one *nice* and *delicate*.

140. And he that is taught to live upon Little, owes more to his Father's *Wiſdom*, than he that has a Great-deal left him, does to his father's *Care*.

141. Children cannot well be too hardly bred: For beſides that it fits them to bear the rougheſt Providences, it is more maſculine, active and healthy.

142. Nay, it is certain, that the Liberty of the Mind is mightily preſerved by it: For ſo it is *ſerved*, inſtead of being a Servant, indeed a Slave, to ſenſual delicacies.

143. As Nature is ſoon anſwered, ſo are ſuch ſatisfied.

144. The memory of the Ancients is hardly in any thing more to be celebrated; than in a Strict and Uſeful Inſtitution of Youth.

145. By Labour they prevented Luxury in their young People, till Wiſdom and Philoſophy had taught them to reſiſt and deſpiſe it.

146. It muſt be therefore a groſs fault, to ſtrive ſo hard for the Pleaſure of our Bodies, and be ſo inſenſible and careleſs of the Freedom of our Souls.

OF MAN'S INCONSIDERATENESS AND PARTIALITY.

147. It is very obſervable, if our civil Rights are invaded or encroached upon, we are mightily touched, and fill every place with our reſentment and complaint; while we ſuffer ourſelves, our better and nobler Selves, to be the property and vaſſals of Sin, the worſt of Invaders.

148. In vain do we expect to be delivered from ſuch Troubles, till we are delivered from the Cauſe of them, our Diſobedience to God.

149. When he has his Dues from us, it will be time enough for him to give us ours out of one another.

150. It is our great Happineſs, if we could underſtand it, that we meet with ſuch Checks in the Career of our worldly Enjoyments, leſt we ſhould forget the Giver, adore the Gift, and terminate our Felicity here, which is not Man's ultimate Bliſs.

151. Our Loſſes are often made *Judgments* by our Guilt, and *Mercies* by our Repentance.

152. Beſides, it argues great Folly in Men, to let their Satisfaction exceed the *true Value* of any Temporal Matter: For Diſappointments are not always to be meaſured by the Loſs of the Thing, but the *Over-value* we put upon it.

153. And thus Men improve their own Miſeries, for want of an Equal and Juſt Eſtimate of what they Enjoy or Loſe.

154. There lies a *Proviſo* upon every thing in this World, and we muſt obſerve it at our own Peril, viz. *To love God above all*, and act for *Judgment*, the *laſt* I mean.

Of the Rule of Judging.

155. In all things *Reaſon* ſhould prevail: It is quite another thing to be *ſtiff* than *ſteady* in an Opinion.

156. This may be reaſonable, but that is ever *wilful*.

157. In ſuch caſes it always happens, that the clearer the Argument, the greater the Obſtinacy, where the Deſign is not to be convinced.

158. This is to value Humour more than Truth, and prefer a ſullen Pride to a reaſonable Submiſſion.

159. It is the Glory of a Man to vail to Truth; as it is the Mark of a good Nature to be *eaſily* intreated.

160. Beaſts act by Senſe, Man ſhould by *Reaſon*; elſe he is a greater Beaſt than ever God made: And the proverb is verified, ‘ The Corruption of the beſt Things is the ‘ worſt, and moſt offenſive.’

161. A *reaſonable Opinion* muſt ever be in danger, where *Reaſon* is not *Judge*.

162. Though there is a Regard due to Education, and the Tradition of our Fathers, *Truth* will ever deſerve, as well as claim, the Preference.

163. If, like Theophilus and Timothy, we have been brought up in the Knowledge of the beſt Things, it is our Advantage: But neither they nor we loſe by *trying* the Truth; for ſo we learn their, as well as its, *intrinſick Worth*.

164. Truth never loſt Ground by *Inquiry*, becauſe ſhe is, *moſt* of all, *reaſonable*.

165. Nor can that need *another* Authority, that is *ſelf-evident*.

166. If my own *Reaſon* be on the Side of a Principle, with what can I diſpute or withſtand it?

167. And if Men would once conſider one another *reaſonably*, they would either reconcile their Differences, or more amicably maintain them.

168. Let That, therefore, be the Standard, that has *moſt to ſay* for itſelf: Though of That let *every Man* be Judge for himſelf.

169. *Reaſon*, like the *Sun*, is *Common* to All: And it is for Want of *examining* all by the ſame Light and Meaſure, that we are not all of the ſame Mind: For all have it to that End, though all do not *uſe* it ſo.

Of Formality.

170. Form is good, but not Formality.

171. In the Uſe of the *Beſt* of Forms, there is too much of *That*, I fear.

172. It is abſolutely neceſſary, that this Diſtinction ſhould go along with People in their Devotion; for too many are apter to reſt upon *what* they do, than *how* they do their Duty.

173. If it were conſidered, that it is the *Frame* of the *Mind* that gives our Performances *Acceptance*, we would lay more Streſs on our Inward *Preparation* than our Outward Action.

Of the mean Notion we have of God.

174. Nothing more ſhews the Low Condition Man is fallen into, than the Unſuitable Notion we muſt have of God, by the Ways we take to pleaſe him.

175. As if it availed any thing to him, that we performed ſo many *Ceremonies* and external *Forms* of Devotion; who never meant more by them, than to try our Obedience, and, through them, to ſhew us ſomething more *excellent* and *durable* beyond them.

176. *Doing*, while we are *Undoing*, is good for nothing.

177. Of what benefit is it to ſay our *Prayers* regularly, go to *Church*, receive the *Sacraments*, and may be go to *Confeſſions* too; aye, *feaſt* the Prieſt, and give *Alms* to the Poor, and yet *lye*, *ſwear*, *curſe*, be *drunk*, *covetous*, *unclean*, *proud*, *revengeful*, *vain* and *idle*, at the ſame Time?

178. Can one excuſe or ballance the other? Or will God think himſelf well ſerved, where his Law is *violated*? Or well uſed, where there is ſo much more *Shew* than Subſtance?

179. It is a moſt dangerous Error, for a Man to think to excuſe himſelf in the Breach of a Moral Duty, by a *formal* Performance of *Poſitive Worſhip*; and leſs, when of *Human* Invention.

180. Our Bleſſed Saviour moſt rightly and clearly diſtinguiſhed and determined this Caſe, when he told the Jews, ‘ That they were his *Mother*, his *Brethren* and *Siſters*, ‘ who did the *Will* of his Father.’

Of the Benefit of Justice.

181. Juſtice is a great Support of Society, becauſe an Inſurance to all Men of their *Property*: This violated, there is no Security, which throws all into Confuſion to recover it.

182. An Honeſt Man is a faſt *Pledge* in Dealing. A man is ſure to *have it*, if it be *to be had*.

183. Many are ſo, merely of *Neceſſity:* Others not ſo, only for the ſame Reaſon: But *ſuch* an honeſt man is not to be *thanked*; and ſuch a *diſhoneſt* man is to be *pitied*.

184. But he that is diſhoneſt for Gain, is next to a Robber, and to be puniſhed for Example.

185. And indeed there are few Dealers, but what are Faulty; which makes Trade *difficult*, and a great Temptation to Men of *Virtue*.

186. It is not what they *ſhould*, but what they *can* get: Faults or Decays muſt be concealed: Big Words given, where they are not deſerved; and the Ignorance or Neceſſity of the Buyer impoſed upon, for unjuſt Profit.

187. Theſe are the Men that keep their words for their own Ends; and are only Juſt for fear of the Magiſtrate.

188. A *Politick* rather than a Moral Honeſty; a *conſtrained*, not a choſen Juſtice: According to the Proverb, ‘ *Patience per Force*, and *Thank you for nothing*.’

189. But of all Injuſtice, that is the greateſt, that paſſes under the name of *Law*. A Cut-Purſe in *Weſtminſter-Hall* exceeds: For that advances Injuſtice to Oppreſſion, where Law is alledged for that which it ſhould *puniſh*.

OF JEALOUSY.

190. The jealous are troubleſome to Others, but a Torment to Themſelves.

191. Jealouſy is a kind of *Civil War* in the Soul, where *Judgment* and *Imagination* are at perpetual *Jars*.

192. This Civil Diſſenſion in the Mind, like that of the Body Politick, commits great Diſorders, and lays all waſte.

193. Nothing ſtands ſafe in its Way: Nature, Intereſt, Religion, muſt yield to its Fury.

194. It violates Contracts, diſſolves Society, breaks Wedlock, betrays Friends and Neighbours: No body is *good*, and every one is either doing or deſigning them a *Miſchief*.

195. It has a Venom, that more or leſs wrankles where-ever it bites: And as it reports Fancies for Facts, ſo it diſturbs its *own* Houſe, as often as other Folks.

196. Its Riſe is *Guilt* or *Ill-nature*; and by Reflection it thinks its own Faults to be other Mens, as he that is over-run with the Jaundice takes others to be Yellow.

197. A Jealous man only ſees his *Own Spectrum*, when he looks upon other Men, and gives his Character in theirs.

OF STATE.

198. I love Service, but not State: One is uſeful, the other ſuperfluous.

199. The Trouble of this, as well as Charge, is real; but the Advantage only Imaginary.

200. Beſides, it helps to ſet us up *above* ourſelves, and augments our temptation to Diſorder.

201. The leaſt thing out of joint, or omitted, makes us uneaſy; and we are ready to think ourſelves ill ſerved, about that which is of no real Service at all: Or ſo much better than other Men, as we have the Means of greater State.

202. But this is all for want of Wiſdom, which carries the trueſt and moſt forcible State along with it.

203. He that makes not himſelf Cheap by indiſcreet Converſation, puts Value enough upon himſelf every-where.

204. The other is rather Pageantry than State.

OF A GOOD SERVANT.

205. A True, and a Good Servant, are the ſame thing.

206. But no Servant is True to his Maſter, that defrauds him.

207. Now there are many ways of defrauding a Maſter, as, of Time, Care, Pains, Reſpect and Reputation, as well as Money.

208. He that neglects his Work, robs his Maſter, ſince he is fed and paid as if he did his Beſt: And he that is not as diligent in the Abſence, as in the Preſence of his Maſter, cannot be a *true* Servant.

209. Nor is he a *true* Servant, that buys *dear* to ſhare in the *Profit* with the *Seller*.

210. Nor yet he that tells Tales without-doors; or deals baſely, in his Maſter's Name, with other People; or connives at others Loiterings, Waſtings, or diſhonourable Reflections.

211. So that a *true* Servant is diligent, ſecret, and reſpectful: More tender of his Maſter's Honour and Intereſt, than of his own Profit.

212. Such a Servant deſerves well; and, if *modeſt* under his Merit, ſhould liberally *feel it* at his Maſter's Hand.

Of an immoderate Purſuit of the World.

213. It ſhews a depraved State of Mind, to cark and care for that which one does not *need*.

214. Some are as eager to be *rich*, as ever they were to *live*: For Superfluity, as for Subſiſtence.

215. But that Plenty ſhould augment *Covetouſneſs*, is a Perverſion of Providence: And yet the Generality are the *worſe* for their *Riches*.

216. But it is ſtrange, that Old Men ſhould excel: For generally Money lies neareſt them, that are neareſt their Graves: As if they would augment their Love, in proportion to the little Time they have left to enjoy it: And yet their Pleaſure is without Enjoyment, ſince none *enjoy* what they do not *uſe*.

217. So that inſtead of learning to leave their great Wealth eaſily, they hold the faſter, becauſe they *muſt* leave it: So ſordid is the temper of ſome men.

218. Where Charity keeps pace with Gain, Induſtry is bleſſed: But to ſlave to *get*, and keep it *ſordidly*, is a Sin againſt Providence, a Vice in Government, and an Injury to their Neighbours.

219. Such are they as ſpend not one Fifth of their Income; and, it may be, give not one Tenth of what they ſpend to the Needy.

220. This is the *worſt* Sort of Idolatry, becauſe there can be no Religion in it, nor Ignorance pleaded in excuſe of it; and that it wrongs other Folks, that ought to have a Share therein.

Of the Intereſt of the Publick in our Eſtates.

221. Hardly any thing is given us for Ourſelves, but the Publick may claim a ſhare with us. But of all we call ours, we are moſt accountable to God, and the Publick, for our Eſtates: In this we are but Stewards; and to hoard up all to Ourſelves, is great Injuſtice, as well as Ingratitude.

222. If all Men were ſo far Tenants to the Publick, that the Superfluities of Gain and Expence were applied to the Exigencies thereof, it would put an end to Taxes, leave never a Beggar, and make the greateſt Bank for National Trade in Europe.

223. It is a Judgment upon us, as well as Weakneſs, though we will not ſee it, to begin at the wrong End.

224. If the Taxes we give are not to maintain *Pride*, I am ſure there would be leſs, if *Pride* were made a Tax to the Government.

225. I confeſs I have wondered that ſo many *lawful* and *uſeful* Things are exciſed by Laws, and *Pride* left to reign *free* over them and the Publick.

226. But ſince People are more afraid of the Laws of *Man* than of *God*, becauſe their Puniſhment ſeems to be *neareſt*; I know not how Magiſtrates can be excuſed in their ſuffering ſuch Exceſs with Impunity.

227. Our noble Engliſh *Patriarchs*, as well as *Patriots*, were ſo ſenſible of this evil, that they made ſeveral excellent Laws, commonly called *Sumptuary*, to forbid, at leaſt *limit*, the *Pride* of the People; which becauſe the Execution of them would be our Intereſt and Honour, their Neglect muſt be our juſt Reproach and Loſs.

228. It is but reaſonable that the Puniſhment of Pride and Exceſs ſhould help to ſupport the Government; ſince it muſt otherwiſe inevitably be ruined by them.

229. But ſome ſay, ‘It ruins *Trade*, and will make the *Poor* burdenſome to the ‘Publick:’ But if ſuch Trade, in conſequence, ruins the Kingdom, is it not time to ruin that *Trade*? Is Moderation no part of our Duty, and Temperance an Enemy to Government?

230. He is a *Judas*, that will get money by *any* thing.

231. To wink at a Trade that effeminates the People, and invades the ancient Diſcipline of the Kingdom, is a Crime Capital, and to be ſeverely puniſhed, inſtead of being excuſed, by the Magiſtrate.

232. Is there no better employment for the Poor than *Luxury*? Miſerable Nation!

233. What did they, *before* they fell into theſe forbidden methods? Is there not Land enough in England to cultivate, and more and better Manufactures to be made?

234. Have we no Room for them in our *Plantations*, about things that may augment *Trade*, without *Luxury*?

235. In ſhort, let *Pride* pay, and *Exceſs* be well exciſed: And if that will not cure the *People*, it will help to keep the *Kingdom*.

The Vain Man.

236. But a *Vain* Man is a *nauſeous* Creature: He is ſo full of *himſelf*, that he has no Room for any thing elſe, be it ever ſo good or deſerving.

237. It is *I*, at every turn, that does this, or can do that. And as he abounds in his Compariſons, ſo he is ſure to give himſelf the better of every body elſe; according to the Proverb, “All his Geeſe are Swans.”

238. They are certainly to be pitied, that can be ſo much miſtaken at Home.

239. And yet I have ſometimes thought, that ſuch people are, in a ſort, happy, that nothing can put out of *Countenance* with themſelves, though they neither have, nor merit, other People's.

240. But, at the ſame time, one would wonder they ſhould not *feel* the Blows they give themſelves, or get from others, for this intolerable and ridiculous Temper, nor ſhew any concern at that, which makes others bluſh for, as well as at them; viz. their unreaſonable Aſſurance.

241. To be a Man's *own* Fool is bad enough; but the *vain* Man is *every body*'s.

242. This ſilly Diſpoſition comes of a Mixture of *Ignorance*, *Confidence* and *Pride*: And as there is more or leſs of the laſt, ſo it is more or leſs offenſive, or entertaining.

243. And yet, perhaps, the worſt part of this Vanity is its *Unteachableneſs*. *Tell* it any thing, and it has *known* it long *ago*; and out-runs Information and Inſtruction, or elſe proudly puffs at it.

244. Whereas the *greateſt* Underſtandings doubt *moſt*, are readieſt to *learn*, and leaſt pleaſed with *themſelves*; this, with no body *elſe*.

245. For though they ſtand on higher Ground, and ſo ſee farther than their Neighbours, they are yet *humbled* by their Proſpect, ſince it ſhews them ſomething ſo much *higher*, and above their Reach.

246. And truly then it is, that *Senſe* ſhines with the greateſt Beauty, when it is ſet in *Humility*.

247. An *humble* Able Man, is a Jewel worth a Kingdom: It is often ſaved by him, as Solomon's *Poor Wiſe* Man did the City.

248. May we have More of them, or leſs Need of them.

THE CONFORMIST.

249. It is reaſonable to concur, where Conſcience does not forbid a compliance; for Conformity is at leaſt a civil Virtue.

250. But we ſhould only preſs it in Neceſſaries; the reſt may prove a Snare or Temptation to break Society.

251. But, above all, it is a Weakneſs in Religion and Government, where it is carried to things of an *indifferent* nature; ſince beſides that it makes way for Scruples, *Liberty* is always the Price of it.

252. Such Conformiſts have little to boaſt of, and therefore the leſs reaſon to reproach others, that have more Latitude.

253. And yet the Latitudinarian that I love, is one that is only ſo in *Charity*: For the Freedom I recommend is no *Scepticiſm* in Judgment, and much leſs ſo in Practice.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF GREAT MEN TO ALMIGHTY GOD.

254. It ſeems but reaſonable that thoſe whom God has diſtinguiſhed from others by his Goodneſs, ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves to him by their Gratitude.

255. For though he has made of One Blood all Nations, he has not ranged or dignified them upon the *Level*, but in a ſort of Subordination and Dependency.

256. If we look upwards, we find it in the Heavens, where the *Planets* have their ſeveral *Degrees* of Glory; and ſo the other *Stars*, of Magnitude and Luſtre.

257. If we look upon the Earth, we ſee it among the Trees of the Wood, from the *Cedar* to the *Bramble*; among the *Fiſhes*, from the *Leviathan* to the *Sprat*; in the *Air*, among the *Birds*, from the *Eagle* to the *Sparrow*; among the *Beaſts*, from the *Lion* to the *Cat*; and among *Mankind*, from the *King* to the *Scavenger*.

258. Our Great Men, doubtleſs, were deſigned, by the *Wiſe Framer* of the World, for our *religious*, *moral*, and *politick* Planets, for *Lights* and *Directions* to the lower Ranks of the numerous company of their own Kind, both in Precepts and Examples; and they are *well paid* for their Pains too, who have the Honour and Service of their Fellow-creatures, and the *Marrow* and *Fat* of the Earth, for their ſhare.

259. But is it not a moſt unaccountable folly, that men ſhould be *proud* of the Providences, that ſhould *humble* them? Or think the better of *themſelves*, inſtead of Him that raiſed them ſo much above the *Level*; or of being ſo in their Lives, in return of his extraordinary Favours.

260. But it is but too near a-kin to us, to think no farther than Ourſelves, either in the Acquiſition, or Uſe, of our Wealth and Greatneſs: When, alas! they are the Preferments of Heaven, to try our Wiſdom, Bounty and Gratitude.

261. It is a dangerous Perverſion of the End of Providence, to conſume the *Time*, *Power*, and *Wealth* he has given us above other men, to gratify our *ſordid Paſſions*, inſtead of playing the good Stewards, to the Honour of our great Benefactor, and the Good of our Fellow-creatures.

262. But it is an Injuſtice too; ſince thoſe higher Ranks of Men are but the *Truſtees* of Heaven, for the Benefit of *leſſer* Mortals; who, as *Minors*, are intituled to all their Care and Proviſion.

263. For though God has dignified ſome Men above their Brethren, it never was to ſerve their Pleaſures, but that they might take pleaſure to ſerve the Public.

264. For this cauſe, doubtleſs, it was that they were raiſed above Neceſſity, or any Trouble to live, that they might have more Time and Ability to care for Others: And it is certain, where *that* Uſe is not made of the Bounties of Providence, they are *imbezzelled* and waſted.

265. It has often ſtruck me with a ſerious reflection, when I have obſerved the great Inequality of the World; that one Man ſhould have ſuch Numbers of his Fellow-Creatures to *wait* upon him, who have Souls to be ſaved as well as he; and this not for Buſineſs, but *State*. Certainly a poor employment of his Money, and a worſe of their Time.

266. But that any one man ſhould make Work for ſo many, or rather keep them *from* Work, to make up a *Train*, has a Levity or Luxury in it very reproveable, both in Religion and Government.

267. But even in *allowable* Services, it has an humbling conſideration, and what ſhould raiſe the Thankfulneſs of the Great Men to Him, that has ſo much bettered *their* Circumſtances, and *moderate* the Uſe of their Dominion over thoſe of their own Kind.

268. When the poor Indians hear us call any of our Family by the name of *Servants*, they cry out, 'What! call Brethren, *Servants!* We call our *Dogs* Servants, 'but never *Men*.' The *Moral* certainly can do us no harm, but may inſtruct us to abate our Height, and narrow our State and Attendance.

269. And what has been ſaid of their Exceſs, may, in ſome meaſure, be applied to other branches of Luxury, that ſet *ill Examples* to the leſſer World, and rob the Needy of their Penſions.

270. God Almighty touch the hearts of our Grandees with a Senſe of his diſtinguiſhed Goodneſs, and the true *End* of it; that they may better diſtinguiſh themſelves in their Conduct, to the glory of Him that has thus liberally preferred them, and to the Benefit of their Fellow-creatures.

Of Refining upon other Mens Actions or Interests.

271. This ſeems to be the Maſter-piece of our Politicians: But no body ſhoots more at random, than thoſe Refiners.

272. A perfect Lottery, and mere Hap-Hazard! Since the *true* Spring of the Actions of Men, is as *inviſible* as their Hearts; and ſo are their Thoughts, too, of their ſeveral Intereſts.

273. He that judges of other Men by Himſelf, does not always hit the mark; becauſe all Men have not the ſame Capacity, nor Paſſions in Intereſt.

274. If an Able Man refines upon the Proceedings of an *ordinary* Capacity, according to his *own*, he muſt ever miſs it: But much more the Ordinary Man, when he ſhall pretend to ſpeculate the Motives to the Able Man's Actions: For the Able Man deceives himſelf, by making the other *wiſer* than he is in the *Reaſon* of his Conduct; and the Ordinary Man makes *himſelf* ſo, in preſuming to judge of the Reaſons of the Abler Man's Actions.

275. It is, in ſhort, a Wood, a Maze; and of nothing are we more uncertain, nor in any thing do we oftener befool ourſelves.

276. The miſchiefs are many that follow this humour, and dangerous: For men miſguide themſelves, act upon falſe Meaſures, and meet frequently with miſchievous Diſappointments.

277. It excludes all *Confidence* in Commerce; allows of no ſuch thing as a *Principle* in Practice; ſuppoſes every man to act upon other Reaſons than what *appear*, and that there is no ſuch thing as Uprightneſs or Sincerity among mankind: A Trick, inſtead of Truth.

278. Neither allowing *Nature*, or *Religion*, but ſome *Worldly* Fetch or Advantage, the true, the hidden Motive, to all Men to act or do.

279. It is hard to expreſs its Uncharitableneſs, as well as Uncertainty; and has more of Vanity than Benefit in it.

280. This Fooliſh Quality gives a large Field; but let what I have ſaid, ſerve for this time.

Of Charity.

281. Charity has *various* ſenſes, but is excellent in *all* of them.

282. It imports, firſt, the Commiſeration of the Poor and Unhappy of Mankind, and extends an Helping-Hand to mend their Condition.

283. They that feel *nothing* of this, are, at beſt, not above Half of kin to Human Race; ſince they muſt have no *Bowels*, which makes ſuch an *eſſential* Part thereof, who have no more *Nature*.

1693.

284. A *Man!* and yet not have the Feeling of the Wants or Needs of his own Fleſh and Blood! A *Monſter* rather! And may he never be ſuffered to propagate ſuch an unnatural Stock in the World!

285. Such an Uncharitableneſs ſpoils the beſt Gains; and two to one but it entails a Curſe upon the Poſſeſſors.

286. Nor can we expect to be heard of God in our Prayers, that turn the *deaf* Ear to the Petitions of the Diſtreſſed amongſt our Fellow-Creatures.

287. God ſends the Poor to *try* us; as well as he tries *them*, by being *ſuch*: And he that refuſes them a *Little*, out of the Great Deal that God has given him, lays up Poverty in Store for his own Poſterity.

288. I will not ſay theſe works are *meritorious*; but I dare ſay they are *acceptable*; and go not without their Reward: Though, to humble us in our Fulneſs, and Liberality too, we only give what is given us to *give*, as well as uſe: For if *we ourſelves* are not *our own*, leſs is *that ſo* which God has *intruſted* us with.

289. Next, Charity makes the *beſt Conſtruction* of Things and Perſons; and is ſo far from being an evil Spy, a Backbiter, or a Detractor, that it excuſes Weakneſs, extenuates Miſcarriages, makes the Beſt of every thing, forgives every-body, ſerves All, and hopes to the End.

290. It moderates Extremes, is always for Expedients, labours to accommodate Differences, and had rather *ſuffer* than revenge: And is ſo far from exacting the utmoſt Farthing, that it had rather *loſe*, than ſeek its own *violently*.

291. As it acts *freely*, ſo *zealouſly* too; but it is always to do *good*, for it *hurts* Nobody.

292. An Univerſal Remedy againſt *Diſcord*, and an holy *Cement* for Mankind.

293. And, laſtly, It is LOVE to God and the Brethren, which raiſes the Soul above all *worldly* Conſiderations: And as it gives a *Taſte* of Heaven upon Earth, ſo it is Heaven, in the *Fulneſs* of it, to the *truly* Charitable *here*.

294. *This* is the *nobleſt* ſenſe Charity has; after which all ſhould preſs, as that *more* excellent Way,

295. Nay, *moſt* excellent: For as Faith, Hope and Charity were the *more* excellent Way that the great Apoſtle diſcovered to the Chriſtians (too apt to ſtick in *Outward* Gifts and *Church* Performances) ſo, of that *better* Way, he preferred Charity as the BEST Part, becauſe it would *out-laſt* the reſt, and abide *for ever*.

296. Wherefore a man can never be a *true* and *good* Chriſtian without *Charity*, even in the *loweſt* ſenſe of it: And yet he may have *that* Part thereof, and ſtill be none of the Apoſtle's *true* Chriſtian; ſince he tells us, “That though we ſhould give all our “Goods to the *Poor*, and want *Charity* (in her other and *higher* ſenſes) it would profit “us *nothing*.”

297. Nay, “Though we had All *Tongues*, All *Knowledge*, and even Gifts of *Prophecy*, and were *Preachers* to Others, aye, and had *Zeal* enough to give our Bodies “to be *burned*, yet if we wanted CHARITY, it would not avail us for Salvation.”

298. It ſeems it was *his* (and indeed ought to be *our*) *Unum Neceſſarium*, or the “One Thing Needful;” which our Saviour attributed to *Mary*, in preference to her ſiſter *Martha*, that ſeems not to have wanted the *leſſer* parts of Charity.

299. Would God this Divine *Virtue* were more implanted and diffuſed among Mankind, the Pretenders to *Chriſtianity* eſpecially; and we ſhould certainly mind *Piety* more than *Controverſy*, and exerciſe *Love* and *Compaſſion*, inſtead of *Cenſuring* and *Perſecuting* one another, in *any* Manner whatſoever.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

IN WHICH THEIR

Fundamental Principle,
Doctrines,
Worſhip,
Miniſtry,
AND
Diſcipline,

ARE PLAINLY DECLARED.

By W. PENN.

AN EPISTLE TO THE READER.

THIS following Account of the People called Quakers, &c. was writ in the Fear and Love of God: Firſt, as a ſtanding Teſtimony to that ever-bleſſed Truth, in the inward parts, with which God, in my youthful time, viſited my ſoul, and for the ſenſe and love of which I was made willing, in no ordinary way, to relinquiſh the honours and intereſts of the world. Secondly, as a Teſtimony for that deſpiſed People, that God has, in his great mercy, gathered and united, by his own bleſſed Spirit, in the holy Profeſſion of it; whoſe fellowſhip I value above all worldly greatneſs. Thirdly, in love and honour to the memory of that worthy ſervant of God, G. Fox, the firſt inſtrument thereof, and therefore ſtiled by me the great and bleſſed Apoſtle of our day. 1694.

As this gave birth to what is here preſented to thy view, in the firſt edition of it, by way of Preface to G. Fox's excellent Journal; ſo the conſideration of the preſent Uſefulneſs of the following Account of the People called Quakers, (by reaſon of the unjuſt Reflections of ſome adverſaries, that once walked under the Profeſſion of Friends) and the Exhortations that conclude it, prevailed with me to conſent that it ſhould be republiſhed in a ſmaller volume; knowing alſo full well, that Great Books, eſpecially in theſe days, grow burthenſome, both to the Pockets and Minds of too many; and that there are not a few that deſire (ſo it be at an eaſy rate) to be informed about this People, that have been ſo much, every-where, ſpoken againſt: But, bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, it is upon no worſe grounds, than it was ſaid of old time of the Primitive Chriſtians; as I hope will appear to every ſober and conſiderate reader. Our buſineſs, after all the ill uſage we have met with, being the Realities of Religion, an effectual Change, before our laſt and great Change: That all may come to an Inward, Senſible and Experimental Knowledge of God, through the Convictions and Operations of the Light and Spirit of Chriſt in themſelves; the ſufficient and bleſſed Means given to All, that thereby All may come ſavingly to know the Only True God, and Jeſus Chriſt, whom he hath ſent to enlighten and redeem the world; which Knowledge is, indeed, *Eternal Life.* And that thou, Reader, mayeſt obtain it, is the earneſt deſire of him that is ever

Thine in ſo good a Work,

W. PENN.

A BRIEF

ACCOUNT, &c.

CHAP. I.

Containing a brief Account of divers Diſpenſations of God in the World, to the Time he was pleaſed to raiſe this Deſpiſed People, called Quakers.

1694. DIVERS have been the diſpenſations of God, ſince the Creation of the world, unto the ſons of men: But the great end of all of them has been, the Renown of his own Excellent Name, in the Creation and Reſtoration of Man: Man, the Emblem of Himſelf, as a God on Earth, and the Glory of all his Works.

The World began with Innocency: All was then good that the good God had made: And as he bleſſed the works of his Hands, ſo their Natures and Harmony magnified him, their Creator. Then the Morning Stars ſang together for joy, and all parts of his works ſaid Amen to his Law. Not a Jarr in the whole Frame; but Man in Paradiſe, the Beaſts in the Field, the Fowl in the Air, the Fiſh in the Sea, the Lights in the Heavens, the Fruits of the Earth, yea, the Air, the Earth, the Water and Fire, worſhipped, praiſed, and exalted his Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs. O holy Sabbath, O holy Day to the Lord!

But this happy State laſted not long: For Man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aſpire above his place, unhappily yielded againſt command and duty, as well as intereſt and felicity, and ſo fell below it; loſt the divine Image, the Wiſdom, Power and Purity he was made in. By which, being no longer *fit* for Paradiſe, he was expelled that Garden of God, his *proper* dwelling and reſidence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the preſence of the Lord, to wander in the Earth, the habitation of Beaſts.

Yet God, that made him, had pity on him: For he, ſeeing man was deceived, and that it was not of Malice, or an *Original Preſumption* in *him*, but through the Subtilty of the Serpent (who had firſt fallen from his *own* ſtate, and by the mediation of the Woman, Man's own Nature and Companion, whom the Serpent had firſt deluded) in his infinite Goodneſs and Wiſdom, found out a way to repair the breach, recover the loſs, and reſtore fallen man again, by a *nobler* and *more excellent* Adam, promiſed to be born of a Woman; that as, by means of a Woman, the Evil One had prevailed upon man, by a Woman alſo He ſhould come into the world, who would prevail *againſt* him and bruiſe his *Head*, and deliver Man from his Power: And which, in a ſignal manner, by the Diſpenſation of the Son of God in the Fleſh, in the fulneſs of time, was perſonally and fully accompliſhed by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his Power was not limited, in the Manifeſtation of it, to *that* Time; for both before, and ſince, his bleſſed Manifeſtation in the Fleſh, he has been the *Light* and *Life*, the Rock and Strength, of all that ever feared God: Was preſent with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and ſupported and carried them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this *Abel*'s heart excelled *Cain*'s, and *Seth* obtained the preheminence, and *Enoch* walked with God. It was This that ſtrove with the Old World, and which they rebelled againſt, and which ſanctified and inſtructed *Noah* to ſalvation.

But the *outward* diſpenſation that followed the *benighted* State of Man, after his Fall, eſpecially among the Patriarchs, was generally that of *Angels*; as the Scriptures of the

Old Teſtament do in many places expreſs, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the *Law* by *Moſes*, which was alſo delivered by *Angels*, as the Apoſtle tells us. This diſpenſation was much outward, and ſuited to a low and ſervile ſtate; called therefore, by the Apoſtle Paul, that of a *School-Maſter*, which was to point out, and prepare that People to look and long for, the *Meſſiah*, who would deliver them from the ſervitude of a ceremonious and imperfect diſpenſation, by knowing the Realities of thoſe myſterious Repreſentations in *themſelves*. In this time, the Law was written on Stone, the Temple built with Hands, attended with an *outward* Prieſthood and *external* Rites and Ceremonies, that were *Shadows* of the *good Things* that were *to come*, and were only to ſerve till the *Seed* came, (or the more excellent and *general* Manifeſtation of Chriſt) to whom was the Promiſe, and to all men only in *him*, in whom it was *Yea* and *Amen*, even Life from Death, Immortality and Eternal Life.

This the Prophets *foreſaw*; and comforted the believing *Jews* in the Certainty of it; which was the Top of the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation, and which ended in *John*'s Miniſtry, the Fore-runner of the *Meſſiah*, as *John*'s was finiſhed in *him*, the *Fulneſs* of *all*. And then God, that at ſundry times, and in divers manners, had ſpoken to the fathers by his ſervants the Prophets, ſpoke to men by his *Son*, Chriſt Jeſus, who is *Heir* of *all Things*; being the Goſpel-Day, which is the Diſpenſation of *Sonſhip*; bringing in thereby a nearer Teſtament and a better Hope; even the Beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the Reſtitution of all things; yea, the *Reſtoration* of the *Kingdom* unto *Iſrael*.

Now the *Spirit*, that was more *ſparingly* communicated in former diſpenſations, began to be *poured forth* upon *all Fleſh*, according to the Prophet Joel, and the *Light*, that ſhined in *Darkneſs*, or but *dimly*, before, the moſt gracious God cauſed to ſhine *out of* Darkneſs, and the *Day-ſtar* began to ariſe in the Hearts of Believers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the Face (or Appearance) of his Son Chriſt Jeſus.

Now the Poor in Spirit, the Meek, the true Mourners, the Hungry and Thirſty after Righteouſneſs, the Peace-makers, the Pure in Heart, the Merciful and Perſecuted, came more eſpecially in Remembrance before the Lord, and were ſought out and bleſſed by Iſrael's True Shepherd. Old Jeruſalem with her children grew out of date, and the New Jeruſalem into requeſt, the Mother of the ſons of the Goſpel-Day. Wherefore no more at Old Jeruſalem, nor at the Mountain of Samaria, will God be worſhipped above other places; for, behold, he is, by his own Son, declared and preached a Spirit, and that he will be known as ſuch, and worſhipped in the Spirit and in the Truth! He will now come nearer than of old time, and he will "write his Law in the Heart, and put his Fear and Spirit in the inward Parts," according to his promiſe. Then *Signs*, *Types* and *Shadows* flew away, the *Day* having diſcovered their Inſufficiency in not reaching to the *Inſide* of the *Cup*, to the *Cleanſing* of the *Conſcience*; and all Elementary Services were ended in and by him that is the Subſtance of all.

And to this great and bleſſed End of the diſpenſation of the Son of God, did the Apoſtles teſtify, whom he had choſen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the *Jews* from their Prejudice and Superſtition, and the *Gentiles* from their Vanity and Idolatry, to Chriſt's Light and Spirit that ſhined in them; that they might be quickened from the ſins and treſpaſſes in which they were dead, to ſerve the Living God, in the Newneſs of the Spirit of Life, and walk as Children of the *Light*, and of the *Day*, even the Day of Holineſs: For ſuch "put on Chriſt," the Light of the World, and "make no "more proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof." So that the *Light*, *Spirit*, and *Grace*, that come by Chriſt, and appear in man, were that *Divine Principle* the Apoſtles miniſtered from, and turned people's minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the Churches of Chriſt in their day. For which cauſe they adviſe them not to *quench* the Spirit, but to *wait for* the Spirit, and *ſpeak* by the Spirit, and *pray* by the Spirit, and *walk* in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten Children of God, "born not of Fleſh and Blood, or of the Will of Man, but "of the Will of God;" by doing *his* Will, and denying their *own*; by drinking of *Chriſt*'s Cup, and being baptized with *His* Baptiſm of *Self-denial*; the way and path that all the heirs of life have ever trod to bleſſedneſs.

But, alas! even in the Apoſtles days, (thoſe bright Stars of the firſt magnitude of the Goſpel Light) ſome Clouds, foretelling an Eclipſe of this primitive glory, began to appear; and ſeveral of them gave early caution of it to the Chriſtians of their time, That even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a Falling-away from the Power of Godlineſs, and the Purity of that Spiritual Diſpenſation, by ſuch as ſought to make a *fair Shew* in the *Fleſh*, but with whom the Offence of the Croſs ceaſed: Yet with this comfortable concluſion, That they ſaw, beyond it, a more glorious time than ever to the true Church.

Their ſight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jeſus, came to paſs: For Chriſtians degenerated apace into Outſides, as *Days* and *Meats*, and divers other Ceremonies. And, which was worſe, they fell into *Strife* and *Contention* about them; *Separating* one from another, then *Envy-*

ing, and, as they had power, *perſecuting* one another, to the ſhame and ſcandal of their common Chriſtianity, and grievous ſtumbling and offence of the *Heathen*, among whom the Lord had ſo long and ſo marvellouſly preſerved them. And having got at laſt the Worldly Power into their hands, by Kings and Emperors embracing the Chriſtian Profeſſion, they changed, what they could, the Kingdom of Chriſt, "which is not of *this* "*World*," into a Worldly Kingdom; or at leaſt ſtiled the Worldly Kingdom, that was in their hands, the *Kingdom* of *Chriſt*, and ſo they became *worldly*, and not *true* Chriſtians. Then *Human Inventions* and *Novelties*, both in Doctrine and Worſhip, crouded faſt into the Church; a door being opened thereunto, by the Groſſneſs and Carnality that appeared then among the generality of Chriſtians, who had long ſince left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly Spirit, and given themſelves up to *Superſtition*, *Will-Worſhip*, and *Voluntary Humility*. And as Superſtition is Blind, ſo it is heady and furious; for all muſt ſtoop to its blind and boundleſs zeal, or periſh by it; In the *Name* of the Spirit, perſecuting the very *Appearance* of the Spirit of God in Others, and oppoſing that in others, which they reſiſted in themſelves, *viz.* the Light, Grace and Spirit of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but always under the Notion of *Innovation*, *Hereſy*, *Schiſms*, or ſome ſuch plauſible name: Though Chriſtianity allows of no Name, or Pretence whatever, for perſecuting of any man for matters of meer Religion, being, in its very Nature, *Meek*, *Gentle* and *Forbearing*; and conſiſts of *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*, which no Perſecutor *can* have, whilſt he remains a Perſecutor; in that a man cannot *believe well*, or *hope well*, or have a *Charitable* or *Tender* Regard to another, whilſt he would violate his *Mind*, or perſecute his *Body*, for Matters of *Faith* or *Worſhip* towards his God.

Thus the *Falſe Church* ſprang up, and mounted the *Chair*: But though ſhe loſt her Nature, ſhe would needs keep her Good Name of the *Lamb's Bride*, the *True Church*, and *Mother of the Faithful*; conſtraining all to receive her Mark, either in her Forehead, or Right Hand; that is, *publickly* or *privately*: But, indeed and in truth, ſhe was "*Myſtery Babylon*, the *Mother of Harlots*," Mother of thoſe, that, with all their *Show* and *Outſide* of Religion, were adulterated and gone from the *Spirit*, *Nature* and *Life* of *Chriſt*, and grown *Vain*, *Worldly*, *Ambitious*, *Covetous*, *Cruel*, &c. which are the fruits of the Fleſh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was, that the *True Church* fled into the *Wilderneſs*; that is, from *Superſtition* and *Violence*, to a *retired*, *ſolitary*, and *lonely* State; *hidden*, and, as it were, out of *Sight* of *Men*, though not out of the *World*. Which ſhows, that her wonted Viſibility was not eſſential to the Being of a True Church, in the judgment of the *Holy Ghoſt*; ſhe being as *true* a Church in the *Wilderneſs*, though not as Viſible and Luſtrious, as when ſhe was in her former Splendor of *Profeſſion*.

In this ſtate many attempts ſhe made to return; but the Waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up; and many of her excellent Children, in ſeveral Nations and Centuries, *fell*, by the Cruelty of Superſtition, becauſe they would not fall from their Faithfulneſs to the *Truth*.

The laſt age did ſet ſome ſteps towards it, both as to Doctrine, Worſhip and Practice, But Practice quickly failed; for Wickedneſs flowed in a little time, as well among the Profeſſors of the *Reformation*, as thoſe they reformed *from*; ſo that by the Fruits of Converſation they were not to be diſtinguiſhed: And the Children of the Reformers, if not the Reformers themſelves, betook themſelves, very early, to *Earthly Policy* and *Power*, to uphold and carry on their Reformation, that had been begun with *Spiritual Weapons*; which, I have often thought, has been one of the greateſt reaſons the Reformation made no better Progreſs, as to the *Life* and *Soul* of Religion. For whilſt the Reformers were lowly and ſpiritually-minded, and truſted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and conſulted not with fleſh and blood, nor ſought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the Church, ſuch as one might reaſonably ſay ſhould be ſaved: For they were not ſo careful to be ſafe from Perſecution, as to be faithful and inoffenſive under it: Being more concerned to ſpread the Truth by their Faith and Patience in *Tribulation*, than to get the Worldly Power out of their hands that inflicted thoſe ſufferings upon them: And it will be well if the Lord ſuffer them not to fall, by the very ſame Way they took to ſtand.

In Doctrine, they were in ſome things ſhort; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another: And for Worſhip, there was, for the generality, more of *Man* in it than of *God*. They *owned* the Spirit, Inſpiration and Revelation indeed, and grounded their Separation and Reformation upon the Senſe and Underſtanding they received *from* it, in the Reading of the Scriptures of Truth. And this was their plea, "The "*Scripture* is the *Text*, the *Spirit* the *Interpreter*, and that to *every one* for *himſelf*." But yet there was too much of Human Invention, Tradition and Art, that remained both in Praying and Preaching; and of Worldly Authority, and Worldly Greatneſs, in their Miniſters; eſpecially in this Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and ſome parts of Germany. God was therefore pleaſed, in England, to ſhift us from Veſſel to Veſſel; and the next remove *humbled* the Miniſtry, ſo that they were more ſtrict in

Preaching, devout in Praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's Day, and catechizing of Children and Servants, and repeating at home in their Families, what they had heard in Public. But even as theſe grew into Power, they were not only for whipping ſome *out*, but others *into* the Temple: And they appeared *rigid* in their *Spirits*, rather than Severe in their Lives, and more for a *Party* than for *Piety*: Which brought forth another People, that were yet more retired and ſelect.

They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed Churches among themſelves, of ſuch as could give ſome Account of their Converſion; at leaſt, of very promiſing Experiences of the Work of God's Grace upon their Hearts; and under mutual Agreements and Covenants of Fellowſhip, they kept together. Theſe People were ſomewhat of a *ſofter* Temper, and ſeemed to recommend Religion by the Charms of its Love, Mercy and Goodneſs, rather than by the Terrors of its Judgments and Puniſhments; by which the former Party would have *awed* people into Religion.

They alſo allowed Greater Liberty to *propheſy* than thoſe before them; for they admitted *any* Member to Speak or Pray, as well as their Paſtor, whom *they* always choſe, and not the Civil Magiſtrate. If ſuch found any thing *preſſing upon them* to *either Duty*, even without the Diſtinction of *Clergy* or *Laity*, perſons of *any Trade* had their Liberty, be it ever ſo low and mechanical. But, alas! even theſe people ſuffered great loſs: For taſting of *Worldly Empire*, and the *Favour of Princes*, and the *Gain* that enſued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down National Churches and Miniſtry, and Maintenance too, ſome of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of Worldly Honour and Advantage, got into profitable Parſonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own Principles: And, which was yet worſe, turned, ſome of them, abſolute *Perſecutors* of *other Men* for *God's ſake*, that but ſo lately came themſelves out of the Furnace; which drove many a ſtep farther, and that was into the *Water*; *another* BAPTISM, as believing they were not *ſcripturally* baptized; and hoping to find that Preſence and Power of God in ſubmitting to this Watery Ordinance, which they deſired and wanted.

Theſe People alſo made profeſſion of Neglecting, if not Renouncing and Cenſuring, not only the Neceſſity, but Uſe, of all Human Learning, as to the Miniſtry; and all other qualifications to it, beſides the *Helps* and *Gifts* of the *Spirit of God*, and thoſe natural and common to men: And, for a Time, they ſeemed, like John of old, a burning and a ſhining Light to other Societies.

They were very diligent, plain and ſerious; ſtrong in Scripture, and bold in Profeſſion; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which Others fell by, proved *their* ſnare: For Worldly Power ſpoiled *them* too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more: And they reſted alſo too much upon their Watery Diſpenſation, inſtead of paſſing on more fully to that of the *Fire* and *Holy Ghoſt*, which was *His* Baptiſm, who came with "a Fan in his Hand, that he " might thoroughly (and not in *Part* only) purge his Floor, and take away the Droſs " and the Tin of his People, and make a Man finer than Gold." Withal, they grew high, rough, and ſelf-righteous; oppoſing farther attainment; too much forgetting the day of their Infancy and Littleneſs, which gave them ſomething of a real beauty: Inſomuch that many *left* them, and all Viſible Churches and Societies, and wandered up and down, as Sheep without a Shepherd, and as Doves without their Mates; ſeeking their Beloved, but could not find him (as their Souls deſired to know him) whom their Souls loved above their chiefeſt Joy.

Theſe people were called *Seekers* by ſome, and the *Family of Love*, by others; becauſe, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they ſometimes *met* together, not formally to Pray or Preach at appointed Times or Places, in their own Wills, as in times paſt they were accuſtomed to do; but waited together in *Silence*, and as any thing roſe in any one of their Minds that they thought ſavoured of a Divine Spring, they ſometimes Spoke. But ſo it was, that ſome of them, not keeping in Humility, and in the Fear of God, after the Abundance of Revelation, were exalted *Above Meaſure*; and for want of ſtaying their minds in an humble dependence upon Him that opened their Underſtandings "to ſee great things in his Law," they ran out in their own *Imaginations*, and mixing *them* with thoſe *Divine Openings*, brought forth a Monſtrous Birth, to the ſcandal of thoſe that feared God, and waited daily, in the "Temple " not made with Hands," for the Conſolation of Iſrael; the Jew inward, and Circumciſion in Spirit.

This People obtained the name of *Ranters*, from their extravagant Diſcourſes and Practices. For they interpreted Chriſt's fulfilling of the Law *for us*, to be a *diſcharging of us* from any Obligation and Duty the Law required of us; inſtead of the Condemnation of the Law for Sins paſt, upon Faith and Repentance; and that now it was *no* Sin to do that, which before it *was* a Sin to commit; the Slaviſh Fear of the Law being taken off by Chriſt; and all things *good* that Man did, if he did but do them with the Mind and Perſuaſion that it *was ſo*. Inſomuch that divers fell into groſs and

1694. enormous Practices; pretending, in excuſe thereof, that they could, *without Evil*, commit the *ſame Act*, which was *Sin* in *another* to do; thereby diſtinguiſhing between the *Action* and the *Evil* of it, by the Direction of the Mind and Intention in the doing of it. Which was to make Sin *ſuper*-abound by the Aboundings of *Grace*, and to turn from the Grace of God into Wantonneſs; a *ſecurer* way of ſinning than before: As if Chriſt came not to ſave us *from* our Sins, but *in* our Sins; not to *take away* Sin, but that we might ſin more freely at *his Coſt*, and with leſs Danger to ourſelves. I ſay, this inſnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loſs as to their eternal ſtate; and they grew very troubleſome to the *better* Sort of People, and furniſhed the *looſer* with an occaſion to prophane.

CHAP. II.

Of the Riſe of this PEOPLE; *their Fundamental Principle, Doctrine, and Practice, in Twelve Points reſulting from it: Their Progreſs and Sufferings: An Expoſtulation with* England *thereupon.*

IT was about that very time, as you may ſee in G. F's Annals, that the Eternal, Wiſe, and Good God was pleaſed, in his Infinite Love, to honour and viſit this *benighted* and *bewildered* nation, with his glorious *Day-ſpring* from on High; yea, with a moſt ſure and certain Sound of the Word of Light and Life, through the Teſtimony of a *Choſen Veſſel*, to an effectual and bleſſed purpoſe, can many thouſands ſay: Glory be to the Name of the Lord for ever.

For as it reached the Conſcience, and broke the Heart, and brought many to a Senſe and Search; ſo that which people had been vainly ſeeking *without*, with much pains and coſt, they, by this miniſtry, found *within*, where it was they wanted what they ſought for, viz. *The Right Way* to *Peace with God*. For they were directed to the *Light* of *Jeſus Chriſt within them*, as the *Seed* and *Leaven* of the Kingdom of God; *near* All, becauſe *in* All, and God's Talent *to* All: A *Faithful* and *True Witneſs*, and *Juſt Monitor*, in *every Boſom*: The *Gift* and *Grace* of God, to Life and Salvation, that *appears* to all, though few *regard* it. *This*, the Traditional Chriſtian, conceited of himſelf, and ſtrong in his own will and righteouſneſs, overcome with blind Zeal and Paſſion, either deſpiſed as a *low* and *common* Thing, or oppoſed as a *Novelty*, under many hard names, and opprobrious terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any *freſh* Manifeſtations of God's Power and Spirit in Man, in theſe days, though never more needed to make true Chriſtians. Not unlike thoſe Jews of old, that rejected the Son of God, at the very ſame time that they blindly profeſſed to wait for the Meſſiah to come; becauſe, alas! he appeared not among them according to their *carnal* Mind and Expectation.

This brought forth many abuſive Books, which filled the greater Sort with *Envy*, and leſſer with *Rage*; and made the way and progreſs of this bleſſed Teſtimony ſtrait and narrow indeed to thoſe that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this Teſtimony did, *effectually*, reach, gather, comfort and eſtabliſh the Weary and Heavy-laden, the Hungry and Thirſty, the Poor and Needy, the Mournful and Sick of many maladies, that had ſpent all upon Phyſicians of no Value, and waited for Relief from *Heaven*; Help only from Above: Seeing, upon a ſerious trial of all things, nothing elſe would do but *Chriſt himſelf*; the *Light* of his *Countenance*, a *Touch* of his *Garment*, and *Help* from his *Hand*; who cured the poor Woman's Iſſue, raiſed the Centurion's Servant, the Widow's Son, the Ruler's Daughter, and Peter's Mother: And, like her, they no ſooner felt his Power and Efficacy upon their Souls, but they gave up to obey him in a Teſtimony to his Power; and that with reſigned Wills and faithful Hearts, through all Mockings, Contradictions, Confiſcations, Beatings, Priſons, and many other Jeopardies that attended them for his bleſſed Name's ſake.

And truly they were very many, and very great! So that, in all human probability, they muſt have been ſwallowed up quick of the proud and boiſterous waves that ſwelled and beat againſt them, but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority; ſo that the Hills often *fled*, and the Mountains *melted*, before the Power that filled them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other: By which they ſaw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, "that all things were poſſible with him with whom they had to "do:" And that the more that which God required ſeemed to croſs Man's Wiſdom, and expoſe them to Man's Wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his Glory.

Inſomuch that if ever any People could ſay in truth, "Thou art our Sun and our "Shield, our Rock and Sanctuary; and by thee we have leaped over a Wall, and by "thee we have run through a Troop, and by thee we have put the Armies of the "Aliens to Flight," theſe People had right to ſay it. And as God had delivered their ſouls of the weariſome Burdens of Sin and Vanity, and enriched their Poverty of Spirit, and ſatisfied their great Hunger and Thirſt after Eternal Righteouſneſs, and filled them with the good things of his own Houſe, and made them Stewards of his manifold Gifts; ſo they went forth to all Quarters of theſe Nations, to declare to the Inhabitants thereof, "what God had *done* for them;" what they had found, and where and how they had found it, viz. *The Way* to *Peace with God:* Inviting all to come, and ſee, and taſte, for themſelves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their Teſtimony was to the *Principle of God in Man*, the *Precious Pearl* and *Leaven of the Kingdom*, as the only bleſſed Means appointed of God to quicken, convince and ſanctify man; ſo they opened to them what it was in *itſelf*, and what it was given to them for: *How* they might know it from their *own* Spirit, and that of the ſubtil appearance of the Evil One: And what it would do for all thoſe, whoſe minds ſhould be turned off from the vanity of the world, and its lifeleſs ways and teachers, and adhere to this bleſſed Light in themſelves, which diſcovers and condemns Sin in all its Appearances, and ſhews how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy Manifeſtations and Convictions: Giving Power to ſuch to avoid and reſiſt thoſe things that do not pleaſe God, and to grow ſtrong in Love, Faith, and Good Works: That ſo *Man*, whom Sin hath made as a *Wilderneſs*, over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the *Garden* of God, cultivated by his Divine Power, and repleniſhed with the moſt virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own Right-hand Planting, to his eternal praiſe.

But theſe experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's Truth and Kingdom, could not run when they liſt, or pray or preach when they pleaſed, but as *Chriſt*, their Redeemer, *prepared* and *moved* them by his own bleſſed *Spirit*; for which they waited, in their Services and Meetings, and ſpoke as *that* gave them *utterance*; and which was as thoſe having Authority, and not like the dreaming, dry and formal Phariſees. And ſo it plainly appeared to the ſerious-minded, whoſe ſpiritual eye the Lord Jeſus had in any meaſure opened: So that to one was given the Word of *Exhortation*, to another the Word of *Reproof*, to another the Word of *Conſolation*, and all by the *ſame Spirit*, and in the good Order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed ſtrong and bold through faithfulneſs; and by the Power and Spirit of the Lord Jeſus became very fruitful; thouſands, in a ſhort time, being turned to the Truth in the Inward Parts, through their Teſtimony, in Miniſtry and Sufferings: Inſomuch as in moſt Counties, and many of the conſiderable Towns of England, Meetings were ſettled, and daily there were added ſuch as ſhould be ſaved. For they were diligent to *plant* and to *water*, and the Lord bleſſed their labours with an exceeding great *Increaſe*; notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made to their bleſſed progreſs, by falſe Rumours, Calumnies, and bitter Perſecutions; not only from the Powers of the Earth, but from Every-one that liſted to injure and abuſe them: So that they ſeemed, indeed, to be as "poor Sheep appointed to the Slaughter, and as a "People killed all the day long."

It were fitter for a Volume than a Preface, but ſo much as to repeat the *Contents* of their cruel Sufferings from Profeſſors, as well as from Profane, and from Magiſtrates as well as the Rabble: So that it may be ſaid of this abuſed and deſpiſed People, they went forth *weeping* and ſowed in *tears*, bearing teſtimony to the *Precious Seed*, even the *Seed* of the *Kingdom*, which ſtands not in *Words*, the fineſt, the higheſt that man's wit can uſe, but in *Power*; the Power of Chriſt Jeſus, to whom God the Father hath given *all* Power in Heaven and in Earth, that he might rule *Angels* above, and *Men* below: Who impowered them, as their Work witneſſeth, by the many that were *turned*, through their Miniſtry, from *Darkneſs* to the *Light*, and out of the *broad* into the *narrow* Way of Life and Peace; bringing people to a weighty, ſerious and god-like Converſation; the *Practice* of that Doctrine which they taught.

And as without this Secret Divine Power, there is no quickening and regenerating of dead Souls; ſo the *Want* of this *generating* and *begetting* Power and Life, is the cauſe of the little Fruit that the many Miniſtries, that have been and are in the world, bring forth. O that both Miniſters and People were ſenſible of this! My ſoul is often troubled for them, and ſorrow and mourning compaſs me about for their ſakes. O that they were wiſe! O that they would conſider, and lay to heart, the things that truly and ſubſtantially make for their laſting peace!

Two things are to be conſidered, the *Doctrine* they taught, and the *Example* they led, among all people. I have already touched upon their Fundamental Principle, which is as the Corner Stone of their Fabrick; and indeed, to ſpeak eminently and properly, their Characteriſtick, or main diſtinguiſhing Point or Principle, viz. the *Light*

of

1694. *of Chriſt within*, as God's gift for man's ſalvation: This, I ſay, is as the Root of the goodly Tree of Doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I ſhall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

Firſt, "Repentance from dead works, to ſerve the Living God:" Which comprehends three operations. Firſt, A *Sight* of Sin. Secondly, A *Senſe* and *Godly Sorrow* for Sin. Thirdly, An *Amendment* for the Time to come. This was the Repentance they preached and preſſed, and a natural reſult from the principle they turned all people unto. For of Light came *Sight*; and of Sight came *Senſe* and *Sorrow*; and of Senſe and Sorrow, came *Amendment* of *Life*. Which doctrine of Repentance leads to *Juſtification*; that is, *Forgiveneſs* of the *Sins that are paſt*, through *Chriſt*, the alone *Propitiation*; and the *Sanctification* or *Purgation* of the *Soul*, from the defiling nature and habits of Sin *preſent*, by the Spirit of Chriſt in the Soul: Which is Juſtification in the *complete* ſenſe of that word; comprehending both Juſtification from the *Guilt* of the Sins that are paſt, as if they had never been committed, through the Love and Mercy of God in Chriſt Jeſus; and the Creature's being made inwardly *juſt* through the cleanſing and ſanctifying Power and Spirit of Chriſt revealed in the Soul; which is commonly called *Sanctification:* But that none can come to know Chriſt to be their Sacrifice, that reject him as their Sanctifier: The End of his Coming being to ſave his People from the *Nature* and *Defilement*, as as well as Guilt of Sin; and that therefore thoſe that reſiſt his Light and Spirit, make his Coming and Offering of none Effect to them.

From hence ſprang a Second Doctrine they were led to declare, as the "Mark "of the Prize of the High Calling," to all true Chriſtians, viz. *Perfection from Sin*, according to the Scriptures of Truth; which teſtify it to be the End of Chriſt's Coming, and the Nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was and is given, viz. to be "Perfect, as our Heavenly Father is Perfect; and Holy, becauſe God is Holy." And this the Apoſtles laboured for, that the Chriſtians ſhould be "ſanctified *throughout*, in Body, Soul, and Spirit." But they never held a Perfection in *Wiſdom* and *Glory* in this Life, or from *Natural Infirmities*, or *Death*; as ſome have, with a weak or ill mind, imagined and inſinuated againſt them.

This they called a 'Redeemed State, Re-generation, or the New-Birth:' Teaching every-where, according to their Foundation, that without this Work were known, there was no inheriting the Kingdom of God.

Thirdly, This leads to an acknowledgment of *Eternal Rewards* and *Puniſhments*, as they have good reaſon; for elſe, of *all* People, certainly they muſt be the *moſt miſerable*; who, for above Forty Years, have been exceeding great Sufferers for their Profeſſion; and, in ſome caſes, treated *worſe* than the *worſt* of men; yea, as the "Re"fuſe and Off-ſcouring of all things."

This was the Purport of their Doctrine and Miniſtry; which, for the moſt part, is what other Profeſſors of Chriſtianity pretend to hold in Words and Forms, but not in the *Power* of Godlineſs; which, generally ſpeaking, has been long loſt, by Mens departing from that *Principle* and *Seed* of *Life* that is *in* man, and which man has not *regarded*, but loſt the *Senſe* of; and in and by which *only* he can be quickened in his mind to ſerve the living God in Newneſs of Life. For as the *Life* of Religion was *loſt*, and the Generality lived and worſhipped God after their *own* Wills, and not after the Will of *God*, nor the Mind of *Chriſt*, which ſtood in the Works and Fruits of the *Holy Spirit*; ſo that which they preſſed, was not Notion, but *Experience*; not Formality, but *Godlineſs*; as being ſenſible in themſelves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that "without Holineſs, no man ſhall ever ſee the Lord, with "*Comfort*."

Beſides theſe General Doctrines, as the larger branches, there ſprang forth ſeveral Particular Doctrines, that did exemplify and farther explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before obſerved, in their Lives and Examples. As,

I. *Communion*, and *Loving one another*. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all ſorts of people concerning them: 'They will meet, They will help and ſtick one to 'another.' Whence it is common to hear ſome ſay, 'Look how the Quakers love 'and take care of one another.' Others, leſs moderate, will ſay, 'The Quakers love 'none but themſelves.' And if *loving* one another, and having an *intimate Communion* in Religion, and *conſtant Care* to meet to worſhip God, and help one another, be any mark of *Primitive Chriſtianity*, they had it, bleſſed be the Lord! in an ample manner.

II. *To love Enemies*. This they both *taught* and *practiſed*. For they did not only *refuſe* to be *revenged* for injuries done them, and condemned it, as of an Unchriſtian Spirit, but they did *freely forgive*, yea, *help* and *relieve*, thoſe that had been *cruel* to them, when it was in their power to have been *even* with them: Of which many and ſingular inſtances might be given: Endeavouring, through Faith and Patience, to overcome all Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, and preaching this Doctrine as *Chriſtian*, for others to follow.

III. Another was, *The Sufficiency* of *Truth-ſpeaking*, according to Chriſt's own Form of ſound Words, of *Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay*, among Chriſtians, *without Swearing*; both from Chriſt's expreſs prohibition, *to ſwear at all*, Mat. v. and for that they being under the Tye and Bond of Truth in themſelves, there was no Neceſſity for an Oath; and it would be a Reproach to their Chriſtian Veracity to aſſure their Truth by ſuch an *extraordinary* Way of Speaking: Simple and uncompounded anſwers, as *Yea* and *Nay*, (without Aſſeverations, Atteſtations, or ſupernatural Vouchers) being moſt ſuitable to Evangelical Righteouſneſs. But offering, at the ſame time, to be puniſhed to the full, for *Falſe-ſpeaking*, as others for *Perjury*, if ever guilty of it: And hereby they exclude, with all *true*, all *falſe* and *profane* Swearing; for which the Land did and doth *mourn*, and the great God was, and is, not a little offended with it.

IV. *Not Fighting*, but *Suffering*, is another teſtimony peculiar to this People: They affirm that Chriſtianity teacheth people, "to beat their Swords into Plough-"ſhares, and their Spears into Pruning-hooks, and to learn War no more; that ſo "the Wolf may lie down with the Lamb, and the Lion with the Calf, and nothing "that deſtroys be entertained in the Hearts of People:" Exhorting them to employ their Zeal againſt *Sin*, and turn their Anger againſt *Satan*, and no longer *war* one againſt another; becauſe "all Wars and Fightings come of Mens own Hearts Luſts," according to the Apoſtle James, and not of the Meek Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, who is Captain of *another* Warfare, and which is carried on with *other* Weapons. Thus, as *Truth-ſpeaking* ſucceeded *Swearing*, ſo *Faith* and *Patience* ſucceeded *Fighting*, in the Doctrine and Practice of this People. Nor ought they, for this, to be obnoxious to Civil Government; ſince if they cannot fight *for* it, neither can they fight *againſt* it; which is no mean Security to any State. Nor is it reaſonable that people ſhould be blamed for not doing more for *others*, than they can do for *themſelves*. And, Chriſtianity ſet aſide, if the Coſts and Fruits of *War* were well conſidered, *Peace*, with all its Inconveniencies, is generally preferable. But though they were not for Fighting, they were for *ſubmitting* to Government; and that, "not only for Fear, but for Con-"ſcience-ſake," where Government doth not interfere with Conſcience: Believing it to be an Ordinance of God, and, where it is juſtly adminiſtered, a great Benefit to Mankind. Though it has been their lot, through blind Zeal in ſome, and Intereſt in others, to have felt the Strokes of it with greater Weight and Rigour, than any other Perſuaſion in this Age; whilſt they, of all others, Religion ſet aſide, have given the Civil Magiſtrate the *leaſt* Occaſion of Trouble in the Diſcharge of his Office.

V. Another part of the character of this people was, and is, They refuſe to pay *Tithes*, or *Maintenance*, to a *National Miniſtry*; and that for two reaſons: The one is, They believe all *compelled* Maintenance, even to *Goſpel*-Miniſters, to be unlawful, becauſe expreſly contrary to Chriſt's command, who ſaid, "Freely you have received, "freely give:" At leaſt, that the Maintenance of Goſpel-Miniſters ſhould be *free*, and not *forced*. The other reaſon of their refuſal is, Becauſe thoſe Miniſters are not *Goſpel* ones, in that the *Holy Ghoſt* is not their *Foundation*, but *Human Arts* and *Parts*. So that it is not matter of Humour or Sullenneſs, but *pure Conſcience* towards God, that they cannot help to ſupport National Miniſtries where they dwell; which are but too much, and too viſibly, become Ways of Worldly Advantage and Preferment.

VI. *Not to reſpect Perſons*, was, and is, another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffetted and abuſed. They affirmed it to be ſinful to give Flattering Titles, or to uſe Vain Geſtures and Compliments of Reſpect. Though to Virtue and Authority they ever made a *difference*; but after their plain and homely manner, yet ſincere and ſubſtantial way: Well remembering the examples of Mordecai and Elihu; but, more eſpecially, the command of their Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, who forbad his followers to call men *Rabbi*, which implies *Lord* or *Maſter*; alſo the faſhionable *Greetings* and *Salutations* of thoſe Times; that ſo *Self-Love* and *Honour*, to which the proud mind of man is incident, in his *fallen* eſtate, might not be indulged, but rebuked. And though this rendered their converſation diſagreeable, yet they that will remember what Chriſt ſaid to the Jews, "How can you believe in me, who re-"ceive *honour* one of another," will abate of their reſentment, if his doctrine has any credit with them.

VII. They alſo uſed the plain Language of *Thee* and *Thou*, to a ſingle Perſon, whatever was his degree among men. And, indeed, the Wiſdom of God was much ſeen, in bringing forth this People in ſo plain an appearance: For it was a *cloſe* and *diſtinguiſhing teſt* upon the *ſpirits* of thoſe they came among; ſhewing their *inſides*, and what *predominated*, notwithſtanding their high and great Profeſſion of religion. This, among the reſt, ſounded ſo harſh to many of them, and they took it ſo ill, that they would ſay, 'Thou *me*, thou my *dog*! If thou thou'ſt *me*, I'll thou thy Teeth down 'thy Throat:' Fogetting the Language *they uſe* to *God* in their own *prayers*, and the *common Stile* of the *Scriptures*, and that it is an *abſolute* and *eſſential* Propriety of Speech. And what good, alas! had their Religion done them, who were ſo ſenſibly touched with Indignation, for the uſe of this *plain*, *honeſt*, and *true* Speech?

1694. VIII. They recommended *Silence* by their Example, having *very few* Words upon all Occaſions. They were *at a Word* in Dealing: Nor could their Cuſtomers, with *many* Words, tempt them from it, having more regard to *Truth* than *Cuſtom*, to *Example* than *Gain*. They ſought *Solitude*; but when in Company, they would neither uſe, nor willingly hear, *unneceſſary*, as well as *unlawful* diſcourſes: Whereby they preſerved their minds *pure* and *undiſturbed* from unprofitable thoughts, and diverſions. Nor could they humour the cuſtom of *Good Night*, *Good Morrow*, *God Speed*; for they knew the *Night* was good, and the *Day* was good, without *wiſhing* of *either*; and that, in the other expreſſion, the Holy Name of God was too *lightly* and *unthankfully* uſed, and therefore taken in *vain*. Beſides, they were Words and Wiſhes of *Courſe*, and are uſually as little *meant*, as are *Love* and *Service* in the cuſtom of Cap and Knee; and Superfluity in thoſe, as well as in other things, was burdenſome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to uſe them, but found themſelves often preſſed to reprove the practice.

IX. For the ſame reaſon they forbore *drinking to People*, or *pledging of them*, as the manner of the World is: A practice that is not only *unneceſſary*, but, they thought, *evil* in the *Tendencies* of it, being a *Provocation* to drink more than did people *good*, as well as that it was in itſelf *vain* and *heatheniſh*.

X. Their way of *Marriage* is peculiar to them; and ſhews a diſtinguiſhing Care, above other Societies profeſſing Chriſtianity. They ſay, ‘ That Marriage is an Ordi-‘ nance of *God*; and that *God only* can rightly join Man and Woman in *Marriage*.’ Therefore they uſe neither *Prieſt* or *Magiſtrate*; but the Man and Woman concerned, take each other, as Huſband and Wife, in the Preſence of divers credible Witneſſes, *promiſing to each other, with God's Aſſiſtance, to be loving and faithful in that Relation, till Death ſhall ſeparate them.* But, antecedent to this, they firſt preſent themſelves to the Monthly Meeting, for the Affairs of the Church, where they reſide; there declaring their Intentions to take one another as Huſband and Wife, if the ſaid Meeting have nothing material to object againſt it. They are conſtantly aſked the neceſſary queſtions, as in caſe of Parents or Guardians, if they have acquainted them with their Intention, and have their Conſent, *&c.* The Method of the Meeting is, to take a Minute thereof, and to appoint proper perſons to enquire of their Converſation and Clearneſs from all others, and whether they have diſcharged their duty to their Parents or Guardians; and to make report thereof to the next Monthly Meeting, where the ſame Parties are deſired to give their attendance. In caſe it appears they have proceeded orderly, the Meeting paſſes their propoſal, and ſo records it in their Meeting-Book. And in caſe the Woman be a Widow, and hath Children, due care is there taken, that Proviſion alſo be made by her for the Orphans, before the Meeting paſs the Propoſals of Marriage: Adviſing the Parties concerned, to appoint a convenient Time and Place, and to give fitting Notice to their Relations, and ſuch Friends and Neighbours, as they deſire ſhould be the Witneſſes of their Marriage: Where they take one another by the Hand, and, by Name, promiſe reciprocally Love and Fidelity, after the manner before expreſſed. Of all which proceedings, a Narrative, in way of Certificate, is made, to which the ſaid Parties firſt ſet their Hands, thereby making it their Act and Deed; and then divers Relations, Spectators, and Auditors ſet their Names, as Witneſſes of what they ſaid and ſigned. And this Certificate is afterward regiſtered in the Record belonging to the Meeting where the Marriage is ſolemnized. Which regular Method has been, as it deſerves, adjudged, in Courts of Law, *a good Marriage*; where it has been by croſs and ill people diſputed and conteſted, for want of the accuſtomed Formalities of Prieſt and Ring, &c. Ceremonies they have refuſed; not out of Humour, but Conſcience reaſonably grounded; inaſmuch as no Scripture-Example tells us, that the Prieſt had any other Part, of Old time, than that of a Witneſs among the reſt, before whom the Jews uſed to take one another: And therefore this People look upon it as an Impoſition, to advance the Power and Profits of the Clergy: And for the Uſe of the Ring, it is enough to ſay, that it was an Heatheniſh and Vain Cuſtom, and never in practice among the People of God, *Jews*, or *Primitive Chriſtians*: The words of the uſual Form, as, ‘ *with my Body* I thee *worſhip*,’ &c. are hardly defenſible. In ſhort, they are more careful, exact and regular, than any Form now uſed; and it is free of the inconveniencies with which other methods are attended: Their Care and Checks being ſo many, and ſuch, as that no Clandeſtine Marriages can be performed among them.

XI. It may not be unfit to ſay ſomething here of their *Births* and *Burials*, which make up ſo much of the Pomp and Solemnity of too many called Chriſtians. For *Births*, the *Parents* name their own Children; which is uſually ſome days after they are born, in the preſence of the Midwife, if ſhe can be there, and thoſe that were at the Birth, who afterwards ſign a Certificate, for that purpoſe prepared, of the Birth and Name of the Child or Children; which is recorded in a proper Book, in the Monthly Meeting to which the Parents belong; avoiding the accuſtomed Ceremonies and Feſtivals.

XII. Their *Burials* are performed with the ſame Simplicity. If the *Body* of the deceaſed be near any publick Meeting-Place, it is uſually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of thoſe that accompany it to the Burying-ground. And it ſo falls out ſometimes, that while the Meeting is gathering for the Burial, ſome or other has a Word of Exhortation, for the ſake of the People there met together. After which, the Body is borne away by Young Men, or elſe thoſe that are of their Neighbourhood, or thoſe that were moſt of the Intimacy of the deceaſed Party: The Corpſe being in a *plain Coffin*, without any *Covering* or *Furniture* upon it. At the Ground, they *pauſe* ſome Time before they put the Body into its Grave, that if any there ſhould have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be diſappointed, and that the Relations may the more retiredly and ſolemnly take their laſt leave of the Body of their departed kindred, and the Spectators have a Senſe of Mortality, by the occaſion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwiſe, they have no ſet Rites or Ceremonies on thoſe occaſions. Neither do the kindred of the deceaſed ever wear Mourning; they looking upon it as a worldly Ceremony and piece of Pomp; and that what Mourning is fit for a Chriſtian to have, at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, ſhould be worn in the *Mind*, which only is ſenſible of the loſs; and the Love they had to them, and Remembrance of them, to be outwardly expreſſed by a Reſpect to their Advice, and Care of thoſe they have left behind them, and their Love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodiſh or unfaſhionable, leaves nothing of the Subſtance of things neglected or undone: And as they aim at no more, ſo that ſimplicity of life is what they obſerve with great ſatisfaction; though it ſometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

Theſe things, to be ſure, gave them a rough and diſagreeable appearance with the generality; who thought them "Turners of the World upſide down," as indeed, in ſome ſenſe, they were: But in no other than that wherein *Paul* was ſo charged, viz. To bring things back into ther *primitive* and *right Order* again. For theſe and ſuch-like practices of theirs were not the reſult of Humour, or for Civil Diſtinction, as ſome have fancied, but a fruit of Inward Senſe, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not conſider how to contradict the World, or diſtinguiſh themſelves as a Party from others; it being none of their buſineſs, as it was not their intereſt: No, it was not the reſult of conſultation, or a framed deſign, by which to declare or recommend ſchiſm or novelty. But God having given them a ſight of themſelves, they ſaw the whole World in the ſame glaſs of Truth; and ſenſibly diſcerned the affections and paſſions of men, and the riſe and tendency of things: What it was that gratified the "Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eye, and the Pride of Life, which "are not of the Father, but of the World." And from thence ſprang, in the Night of Darkneſs and Apoſtacy, which hath been over People, through their degenerations from the Light and Spirit of God, theſe and many other vain cuſtoms, which are ſeen, by the heavenly Day of Chriſt, that dawns in the ſoul, to be either wrong in their original; or, by time and abuſe, hurtful in their practice. And though theſe things ſeemed trivial to ſome, and rendered theſe people ſtingy and conceited in ſuch perſons opinion, there was, and is, more in them, than they were, or are, aware of.

It was not very eaſy to our Primitive Friends to make themſelves Sights and Spectacles, and the ſcorn and deriſion of the World; which they eaſily foreſaw muſt be the conſequence of ſo unfaſhionable a converſation in it: But here was the Wiſdom of God ſeen, in the Fooliſhneſs of theſe things; firſt, That they diſcovered the *Satisfaction* and *Concern* that people had in and for the Faſhions of this World, notwithſtanding their high pretences to another; in that any diſappointment about them came ſo very near them, as that the greateſt Honeſty, Virtue, Wiſdom and Ability, were unwelcome *without* them. Secondly, It ſeaſonably and profitably divided *Converſation*: For this making their ſociety uneaſy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more *Retirement* and *Solitude*; wherein they met with better company, even the *Lord God*, their *Redeemer*; and grew ſtrong in his Love, Power and Wiſdom, and were thereby better qualified for his ſervice. And the ſucceſs abundantly ſhewed it: Bleſſed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not Great and Learned in the eſteem of this World (for then they had not wanted followers upon their own Credit and Authority) yet they were generally of the *moſt Sober* of the ſeveral perſuaſions they were in, and of the *moſt Repute* for Religion; and many of them of *good Capacity*, *Subſtance* and Account among Men.

And alſo ſome among them wanted not for Parts, Learning or Eſtate; though then, as of old, "not many Wiſe, or Noble, &c. were called;" or at leaſt *received* the heavenly call, becauſe of the Croſs that attended the profeſſion of it in ſincerity. But neither do Parts or Learning make men the better Chriſtians, though the better Orators and Diſputants; and it is the Ignorance of people about the divine Gift, that cauſes that vulgar and miſchievous miſtake. *Theory* and *Practice*, *Speculation* and *Enjoyment*, *Words* and *Life*, are two Things. O it is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watch-

1694 ful, the ſelf-denying and holy ſoul, that is the *Chriſtian!* And that frame is the fruit and work of the *Spirit*, which is the Life of Jeſus: whoſe Life, though hid, in the fulneſs of it, in God the Father, is ſhed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe, according to their Capacity. O that people did but know this to cleanſe them, to circumciſe them, to quicken them, and to make them *New* Creatures indeed! *Re*-created, or *Re*-generated, after Chriſt Jeſus, unto good Works; that they might live to God, and not to themſelves; and offer up *living* Prayers and *living* Praiſes, to the Living God, through his own living Spirit, in which he is only to be worſhipped in this Goſpel Day.

O that they that read me could but feel me! for my heart is affected with this *Merciful Viſitation* of the Father of Lights and Spirits to this poor Nation, and the whole World, through the ſame Teſtimony. Why ſhould the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why ſhould they loſe the bleſſed benefit of it? Why ſhould they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and ſay from the heart, ‘ Speak, Lord, for now thy poor ſervants ‘ hear? O that thy Will may be done; thy great, thy good and holy Will, in earth ‘ as it is in heaven! Do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we ‘ are thine, and deſire to glorify thee, our Creator, both for that, and becauſe thou ‘ art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the Earth, from the Vanities ‘ and Pollutions of it, to be a Peculiar People unto thee.’ O this were a brave day for England, if ſo ſhe could ſay in truth! But, alas! the caſe is otherwiſe; for which ſome of thine inhabitants, O Land of my Nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their Heads have been indeed as “ Waters, and “ their Eyes as Fountains of Tears,” becauſe of thy tranſgreſſion and ſtiff-neckedneſs; becauſe thou wilt not hear, and fear, and return to the Rock, even *thy* Rock, O England! from whence thou art hewn. But be thou warned, O Land of Great Profeſſion, to receive him into thy Heart. Behold, *at that Door* it is he hath ſtood ſo long knocking! but thou wilt yet have none of him. O be thou awakened, leſt Jeruſalem's *Judgments* do ſwiftly overtake thee, becauſe of Jeruſalem's *Sins* that abound in thee. For ſhe abounded in *Formality*, but made *void* the weighty things of God's Law, as thou daily doſt.

She withſtood the Son of God in the *Fleſh*, and *thou* reſiſteſt the Son of God in the *Spirit*. He would have gathered *her*, as an hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ſhe would not; ſo would he have gathered *thee* out of thy *lifeleſs* Profeſſion, and have brought thee to inherit *Subſtance*; to have known his Power and Kingdom: For which he often knocked *within*, by his Grace and Spirit; and *without*, by his ſervants and witneſſes: But, on the contrary, as Jeruſalem of old perſecuted the Manifeſtation of the Son of God in the Fleſh, and crucified him, and whipped and impriſoned his Servants; ſo haſt thou, O Land! crucified to thyſelf *afreſh* the Lord of life and glory, and done *Deſpite* to his Spirit of Grace; ſlighting the Fatherly Viſitation, and perſecuting the bleſſed Diſpenſers of it by thy Laws and Magiſtrates; though they have early and late pleaded with thee, in the Power and Spirit of the Lord, in Love and Meekneſs, that thou mighteſt know the Lord, and ſerve him, and become the Glory of all Lands.

But thou haſt evilly entreated and requited them, thou haſt ſet at *nought* all their Counſel, and wouldeſt have *none* of their Reproof, as thou ſhouldeſt have had. Their Appearance was *too ſtraight*, and their Qualifications were *too mean* for thee to receive them; like the Jews of old, that cried, “ Is not this the Carpenter's Son, and are not “ his Brethren among us? Which of the Scribes, of the Learned (the Orthodox) believe in him?” Propheſying their Fall in a year or two, and making and executing of ſevere laws to bring it to paſs: Endeavouring to terrify them out of their Holy Way, or deſtroy them for abiding faithful to it. But thou haſt ſeen how many Governments, that roſe againſt them, and determined their downfal, have been overturned and exſtinguiſhed, and that they are ſtill preſerved, and become a great and a conſiderable People, among the middle ſort of thy numerous inhabitants. And, notwithſtanding the many difficulties, without and within, which they have laboured under, ſince the Lord God Eternal firſt gathered them, they are an increaſing People; the Lord ſtill adding unto them, in divers parts, ſuch as ſhall be ſaved, if they preſevere to the end. And to thee, O England! were they, and are they, lifted up as a Standard, and as a City ſet upon a Hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in *their* Light *thou* mayeſt come to ſee Light, even in Chriſt Jeſus, the Light of the *World*, and therefore *thy* Light and *Life too*, if thou wouldeſt but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. “ For in the Light “ of the Lamb, muſt the nations of them that are ſaved walk,” as the Scripture teſtifies.

Remember, O Nation of great Profeſſion! how the Lord has waited upon thee ſince the dawning of Reformation, and the many mercies and judgments by which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and ariſe out of thy deep ſleep, and yet hear his Word in thy *Heart*, that thou mayeſt live.

Let not this thy Day of Viſitation paſs over thy head, nor neglect thou ſo great Salvation as is This, which is come to thy Houſe, O England! For why ſhouldeſt thou die? O Land that God deſires to bleſs! be aſſured it is *He* that has been in the midſt of *This*

People, in the midſt of Thee; and not a Deluſion, as thy miſtaken Teachers have made thee believe. And this thou ſhalt find by their Marks and Fruits, if thou wilt conſider them in the ſpirit of Moderation.

CHAP. III.

Of the Qualifications *of their Miniſtry. Eleven Marks that it is* Chriſtian.

I. THEY were *changed* Men *themſelves* before they went about to change *others*. Their *Hearts* were rent as well as their Garments; and they knew the Power and Work of God upon them. And this was ſeen by the great Alteration it made, and their ſtricter Courſe of Life, and more Godly Converſation, that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth, or preached, in their *own* Time or Will, but in the *Will of God*; and ſpoke not their own ſtudied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own converſion: Which cannot be expreſſed to carnal men, ſo as to give them any intelligible account; for to ſuch it is, as Chriſt ſaid, "like the Blowing of the Wind, which no man knows whence it "cometh, or whither it goeth." Yet this proof and zeal went along with their Miniſtry, that many were turned from their lifeleſs Profeſſions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and an holy life, as thouſands can witneſs. And as they freely *received* what they had to ſay from the Lord, ſo they *freely* adminiſtered it to others.

III. The bent and ſtreſs of their Miniſtry, was Converſion to God; *Regeneration* and *Holineſs*. Not Schemes of Doctrines and Verbal Creeds, or new Forms of Worſhip; but a leaving-off, in Religion, the ſuperfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and preſſing earneſtly the *ſubſtantial*, the *neceſſary*, and *profitable* part to the ſoul; as all, upon a ſerious reflection, muſt and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a Principle *in* themſelves, though not *of* themſelves, by which all that they aſſerted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true: Which is an high and diſtinguiſhing mark of the truth of their miniſtry, both that they *knew* what they ſaid, and were not afraid of coming to the Teſt. For as they were bold from Certainty, ſo they required conformity upon no Human Authority, but upon Conviction, and the conviction of *This Principle*; which they aſſerted was in them that they *preached* unto, and unto That they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of thoſe things which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifeſtation and work in man. And this is more than the many miniſters in the world pretended to. They *declare* of Religion, ſay many things true, in *Words*, of God, Chriſt, and the Spirit; of Holineſs and Heaven; that all men ſhould repent and amend their lives, or they will go to Hell, &c. but which of them all pretend to ſpeak of their own *Knowledge* and *Experience*? Or ever directed to a Divine Principle, or Agent, placed of God *in* Man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel its Power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them.

Some of them, indeed, have ſpoken of the *Spirit*, and the operations of it to ſanctification, and performance of worſhip to God; but *where*, and *how* to find it, and *wait* in it to perform our duty to God, was yet as a myſtery to be declared by this farther degree of Reformation. So that this People did, not only in words, more than equally preſs repentance, converſion and holineſs, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed thoſe, to whom they preached, to a ſufficient Principle; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their ſouls happineſs; which is more than *Theory* and *Speculation*, upon which moſt other miniſters depend: For here is Certainty, a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the Inward State and Condition of people, which is an evidence of the Virtue of their Principle, and of their miniſtering from it, and not from their own imaginations, gloſſes or comments upon ſcripture. For nothing reaches the Heart, but what is *from* the Heart, or pierces the Conſcience, but what comes from a *living* Conſcience. Inſomuch as it hath often happened, where people have, under ſecrecy, revealed their State or Condition to ſome choice friends, for advice or eaſe, they have been ſo particularly directed in the Miniſtry of this People, that they have challenged their friends with diſcovering their Secrets, and telling their preachers their Caſes, to whom a word had not been ſpoken. Yea, the very Thoughts and Purpoſes of the Hearts of many have been ſo plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried

1694. out, of this Inward Appearance of Chriſt, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the "King of Iſrael." And thoſe that have embraced this Divine Principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity (that the woman of Samaria did of Chriſt, when in the fleſh, to be the Meſſiah) viz. "It had told them all that ever they had done,;" ſhown them their Inſides, the moſt inward Secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to the plummet; of which thouſands can at this day give in their witneſs. So that nothing has been affirmed by this People, of the power and virtue of this Heavenly Principle, that ſuch as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have ſeen of the Power, Purity, Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God therein.

VI. The *Accompliſhments* with which this Principle fitted even ſome of the meaneſt of this People for their work and ſervice: Furniſhing ſome of them with an extraordinary Underſtanding in Divine Things, and an admirable Fluency, and Taking Way of Expreſſion; which gave Occaſion to ſome to wonder, ſaying of them, as of their Maſter, 'Is not this ſuch a Mechanick's Son? How came he by this Learning?' As from thence others took occaſion to ſuſpect and inſinuate they were Jeſuits in Diſguiſe, who had the reputation of Learned Men for an Age paſt: Though there was not the leaſt ground of truth for any ſuch reflection; in that their miniſters are known, the Places of their Abode, their Kindred and Education.

VII. That they came forth *low* and *deſpiſed*, and *hated*, as the Primitive Chriſtians did; and not by the help of Worldly Wiſdom or Power, as former Reformations, in part, have done: But in all things it may be ſaid, 'This People were brought forth in 'the Croſs; in a Contradiction to the Ways, Worſhips, Faſhions and Cuſtoms of this 'World; yea, againſt Wind and Tide, that ſo no Fleſh might glory before God.'

VIII. They could have *no Deſign* to *themſelves* in this Work, thus to expoſe themſelves to *Scorn* and *Abuſe*, to ſpend, and be ſpent: Leaving Wife and Children, Houſe and Land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their Lives in their Hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this *Primitive Meſſage*, revived in their ſpirits by the Good Spirit and Power of God, viz.

"That God is Light, and in him is no Darkneſs at all; and that he has ſent his Son "a Light into the World, to enlighten all men in order to Salvation; and that they "that ſay they have Fellowſhip with God, and are his Children and People, and yet walk "in Darkneſs, (viz. in Diſobedience to the Light in their Conſciences) and after the "Vanity of this World, they *Lie*, and do not the *Truth*. But that all ſuch as love the "Light, and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the Light, as God is Light, the blood "of Jeſus Chriſt his Son ſhould cleanſe them from all ſin." Thus John i. 4, 19. chap. iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.

IX. Their known great Conſtancy and Patience in ſuffering for their Teſtimony, in all the Branches of it; and that ſometimes unto *Death*, by *Beatings*, *Bruiſings*, long and crouded *Impriſonments*, and noiſome *Dungeons*: Four of them in New-England *dying* by the hands of the *Executioner*, purely for *Preaching* amongſt that people: Beſides *Baniſhments*, and exceſſive Plunders and Sequeſtrations of their *Goods* and *Eſtates*, almoſt in all parts, not eaſily to be expreſſed, and leſs to have been endured, but by thoſe that have the ſupport of a good and glorious Cauſe; *refuſing Deliverance* by any *indirect* ways or means, as often as it was offered unto them.

X. That they not only did not ſhow any diſpoſition to *Revenge*, when it was at any time in their Power, but *forgave* their cruel Enemies; ſhewing *Mercy* to *thoſe* that had *none* for *them*.

XI. Their *Plainneſs* with thoſe in Authority, like the ancient Prophets, not fearing to tell them, to their faces, of their private and publick ſins; and their Prophecies to them of their Afflictions and Downfal, when in the Top of their Glory. Alſo of ſome National Judgments, as of the *Plague*, and *Fire* of *London*, in expreſs terms; and likewiſe *particular* ones to divers Perſecutors, which accordingly overtook them; and were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt, which in time may be made publick, for the glory of God.

Thus, Reader, thou ſeeſt this People in their *Riſe*, *Principles*, *Miniſtry* and *Progreſs*, both their General and Particular Teſtimony; by which thou mayeſt be informed, how, and upon what foot, they ſprang, and became ſo conſiderable a People. It remains next, that I ſhew alſo their *Care*, *Conduct*, and *Diſcipline*, as a Chriſtian and Reformed Society, that they might be found living up to their own Principles and Profeſſion. And this the rather, becauſe they have hardly ſuffered more in their Character from the unjuſt charge of *Error*, than by the falſe imputation of *Diſorder*: Which calumny, indeed, has not failed to follow all the True Steps that were ever made to *Reformation*, and under which reproach none ſuffered more than the *Primitive Chriſtians themſelves*, that were the Honour of Chriſtianity, and the Great Lights and Examples of their own and ſucceeding ages.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Diſcipline *and* Practice *of this* PEOPLE, *as a Religious* Society. *The* Church Power *they own and exerciſe, and that which they* Reject *and* Condemn: *With the* Method *of their Proceedings againſt* Erring *and* Diſorderly *Perſons.*

THIS People increaſing daily both in town and country, an Holy Care fell upon ſome of the Elders among them, for the benefit and ſervice of the Church. And the firſt buſineſs in their view, after the example of the Primitive Saints, was the *Exerciſe* of *Charity*; to ſupply the neceſſities of the Poor, and anſwer the like occaſions. Wherefore *Collections* were early and liberally made, for that and divers other ſervices in the church, and intruſted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of *their own*, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or deſired ſhould be known, much leſs reſtored to them, that none might want, nor any ſervice be retarded or diſappointed.

They were alſo very careful, that every one that belonged to them anſwered their Profeſſion in their behaviour among men, upon all occaſions; that they lived Peaceably, and were in all things Good Examples. They found themſelves engaged to record their Sufferings and Services: And in caſe of Marriage, (which they could not perform in the uſual methods of the nation, but among themſelves) they took care that all things were *clear* between the parties, and all others: And it was then rare that any one entertained an Inclination to a perſon on that account, till he or ſhe had communicated it ſecretly to ſome very weighty and eminent Friends among them, that they might have a Senſe of the Matter; looking to the Counſel and Unity of their Brethren as of great moment to them. But becauſe the Charge of the Poor, the Number of Orphans, Marriages, Sufferings, and others matters *multiplied*; and that it was good that the Churches were in ſome Way and Method of proceeding in ſuch affairs among them, to the end they might the better correſpond upon occaſion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleaſed the Lord, in his wiſdom and goodneſs, to open the underſtanding of the *Firſt Inſtrument* of this *Diſpenſation* of *Life*, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt an holy concern to viſit the Churches in perſon throughout this Nation, to begin and eſtabliſh it among them: And by his *Epiſtles*, the like was done in other Nations and Provinces abroad; which he alſo afterwards viſited, and helped in that ſervice, as ſhall be obſerved when I come to ſpeak of him.

Now the Care, Conduct and Diſcipline, I have been ſpeaking of, and which are now practiſed among this People, is as followeth.

This godly Elder, in every County where he travelled, exhorted them, that *Some*, out of every Meeting for Worſhip, ſhould meet together once in the Month, to confer about the wants and occaſions of the Church. And as the caſe required, ſo thoſe *Monthly Meetings* were fewer or more in number in every reſpective County: Four or Six Meetings for Worſhip, uſually making *One Monthly Meeting for Buſineſs*. And accordingly the Brethren met him from place to place, and began the ſaid Meetings, viz. For the *Poor*, *Orphans*, *Orderly Walking*, *Integrity* to their *Profeſſion*, *Births*, *Marriages*, *Burials*, *Sufferings*, &c. And that theſe *Monthly Meetings* ſhould, in each County, make up *One Quarterly Meeting*, where the moſt zealous and eminent Friends of the county ſhould aſſemble to *communicate*, *adviſe* and *help* one another, eſpecially when any buſineſs ſeemed difficult, or a *Monthly Meeting* was tender of determining a matter.

Alſo that theſe ſeveral *Quarterly Meetings* ſhould digeſt the Reports of their *Monthly Meetings*, and prepare one for each reſpective *County*, againſt the *Yearly Meeting*, in which all Quarterly Meetings reſolve; which is held in *London*, where the churches in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet by *choſen* Members of their reſpective Counties, both *mutually* to *communicate* their Church-Affairs, and to adviſe, and be adviſed, in any depending caſe, to edification. Alſo to provide a *Requiſite Stock* for the diſcharge of general Expences for general Services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At theſe Meetings, *any* of the members of the churches may come, if they pleaſe, and ſpeak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter: But the mind of each *Quarterly* Meeting, therein repreſented, is chiefly underſtood, as to particular caſes, in the ſenſe delivered by the perſons deputed, or choſen for that ſervice by the ſaid meeting.

During their Yearly Meeting, to which their other Meetings refer in their order, and naturally reſolve themſelves, care is taken, by a *ſelect Number* for that ſervice,

1694. choſen by the General Aſſembly, to draw up the Minutes of the ſaid Meeting, upon the ſeveral matters that have been under conſideration therein; to the end that the reſpective *Quarterly* and *Monthly* Meetings may be informed of all proceedings; together with a General Exhortation to Holineſs, Unity, and Charity. Of all which proceedings in Yearly, Monthly, and Quarterly Meetings, due *Record* is kept, by ſome one appointed for that ſervice, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. Theſe Meetings are opened, and uſually concluded, in their ſolemn Waiting upon God, who is ſometimes graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer them with as ſignal evidences of his Love and Preſence, as in any of their Meetings for Worſhip.

It is farther to be noted, that in theſe Solemn Aſſemblies for the Churches ſervice, there is no one *preſides* among them, after the manner of the aſſemblies of other people; CHRIST only being their Preſident, as *He* is pleaſed to appear, in Life and Wiſdom, in any one or more of them; to whom, whatever be their Capacity or Degree, the reſt adhere with a firm Unity, not of Authority, but Conviction; which is the Divine Authority and Way of Chriſt's Power and Spirit in his people: Making good his bleſſed promiſe, that "He would be in the midſt of his, where, and whenever they were met together in his Name, even to the end of the world." So be it.

Now it may be expected, I ſhould here ſet down what ſort of authority is exerciſed by this People, upon ſuch members of their Society as correſpond not in their lives with their profeſſion, and that are refractory to this good and wholeſome order ſettled among them; and the rather, becauſe they have not wanted their reproach and ſufferings from ſome tongues and pens, upon this occaſion, in a plentiful manner.

The power they exerciſe, is ſuch as Chriſt has given to his own People, to the end of the world, in the perſons of his Diſciples, viz. 'To *overſee*, *exhort*, *reprove*, and, after long ſuffering and waiting upon the diſobedient and refractory, to *diſown* them, as any more of *their* Communion; or that they will any longer ſtand charged, in the ſight and judgment of God or men, with their Converſation or Behaviour, as any of *them*, until they *repent*.' The ſubject matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exerciſed, is, firſt, In relation to *Common* and *General Practice*: And, ſecondly, About thoſe things that more ſtrictly refer to their own character and profeſſion, and which diſtinguiſh them from all other Profeſſors of Chriſtianity; avoiding two extremes, upon which many ſplit, viz. *Perſecution* and *Libertiniſm*: That is, A *coercive* power, to *whip* people into the Temple; that ſuch as will not conform, though againſt Faith and Conſcience, ſhall be puniſhed in their *Perſons* or *Eſtates*: Or leaving all looſe, and at large, as to Practice; and ſo unaccountable to all, but God and the Magiſtrate. To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed than the Abuſe of Church-Power, by ſuch as ſuffer their paſſion and private intereſts to prevail with them to carry it to Outward Force and Corporal Puniſhment. A practice they have been taught to diſlike, by their extreme ſufferings, as well as their known principle for an *Univerſal Liberty* of *Conſcience*.

On the other hand, they equally diſlike an *Independency* in Society: An *Unaccountableneſs*, in Practice and Converſation, to the *Rules* and *Terms* of their own Communion, and to thoſe that are the Members of it. They diſtinguiſh between impoſing any practice that immediately regards *Faith* or *Worſhip* (which is *never* to be done, or ſuffered, or ſubmitted unto) and requiring Chriſtian Compliance with thoſe Methods that only reſpect Church-Buſineſs in its more *civil* part and concern; and that regard the *diſcreet* and *orderly* Maintenance of the Character of the Society, as a *Sober* and *Religious* Community. In ſhort, what is for the promotion of *Holineſs* and *Charity*; that men may *practiſe* what they profeſs, *live up* to their own *Principles*, and not be at liberty to give the *Lye* to their own Profeſſion without Rebuke, is their *Uſe*, and *Limit*, of Church-Power. They compel none *to them*, but oblige thoſe that are *of them* to walk *ſuitably*, or they are *denied* by them: That is all the *Mark* they ſet upon them, and the *Power* they exerciſe, or judge a Chriſtian Society *can* exerciſe, upon thoſe that are the Members of it.

The way of their proceeding againſt ſuch as have *lapſed* or *tranſgreſſed*, is this: He is *viſited* by ſome of them, and the Matter of Fact laid *home* to him, be it any Evil Practice againſt known and general Virtue, or any Branch of their particular Teſtimony, which he, in common, profeſſeth with them. They labour with him, in much love and zeal, for the Good of his Soul, the Honour of God, and Reputation of their Profeſſion, to *own* his fault, and condemn it in as ample a Manner, as the evil or ſcandal was *given* by him; which, for the moſt part, is performed by ſome *Written Teſtimony* under the Party's Hand: And if it ſo happen, that the party prove *refractory*, and is not willing to *clear* the Truth they profeſs, from the reproach of his or her Evil-doing or Unfaithfulneſs, they, after repeated Intreaties, and due waiting for a token of Repentance, give forth a Paper, to *diſown* ſuch a Fact, and the Party offending; *recording* the ſame, as a teſtimony of their care for the honour of the Truth they profeſs.

And if he, or ſhe, ſhall clear their *Profeſſion*, and *themſelves*, by ſincere Acknowledgment of their Faults, and godly Sorrow for ſo doing, they are *received*, and looked upon again as Members of their Communion. For as *God*, ſo his *true* People, *upbraid no man* after *Repentance*.

This is the Account I had to give of the People of God called Quakers, as to their Riſe, Appearance, Principles and Practices in this age of the world, both with reſpect to their Faith and Worſhip, Diſcipline and Converſation. And I judge it very proper in this place; becauſe it is to preface the *Journal* of the Firſt bleſſed and glorious Inſtrument of this work, and for a Teſtimony to him, in his ſingular Qualifications and Services; in which he abundantly excelled in this day, and are worthy to be ſet forth as an Example to all ſucceeding times, to the glory of the Moſt High God, and for a juſt Memorial to that worthy and excellent man, his faithful Servant and Apoſtle to *this* Generation of the World.

CHAP. V.

Of the Firſt Inſtrument, *or Perſon, by whom God was pleaſed to gather this People into the Way they profeſs. His name* G. FOX: *His many excellent Qualifications; ſhewing a Divine, and not an Human Power, to have been their Original in him. His Troubles and Sufferings, both from without and within. His End and Triumph.*

I Am now come to the third head or branch of my Preface, viz. The Inſtrumental Author. For it is natural for ſome to ſay, ‘Well; here is the People and Work, ‘but where and who was the *Man*, the *Inſtrument?* he that, in this age, was ſent to ‘begin this Work and People?’ I ſhall, as God ſhall enable me, declare who and what he was; not only by report of others, but from my own long and moſt inward converſe, and intimate knowledge of him; for which my ſoul bleſſeth God, as it hath often done: And I doubt not, but by that time I have diſcharged myſelf of this part of my Preface, my ſerious readers will believe I had good cauſe ſo to do.

The bleſſed inſtrument of, and in, this Day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was *George Fox*, diſtinguiſhed from another of that name, by that other's addition of Younger to his name, in all his writings; not that he was ſo in Years, but that he was ſo in the Truth: But he, alſo was a worthy man, witneſs and ſervant of God, in his time.

But this George Fox was born in *Leiceſterſhire*, about the year 1624. He deſcended of honeſt and ſufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the reſt of their children, in the way and worſhip of the Nation: Eſpecially his mother, who was a woman accompliſhed above moſt of her degree in the place where ſhe lived. But, from a child, he appeared of another frame of mind from the reſt of his brethren; being more religious, inward, ſtill, ſolid, and obſerving beyond his years, as the anſwers he would give, and the queſtions he would put, upon occaſion, maniſeſted, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that heard him, eſpecially in *divine* things.

His mother taking notice of his ſingular temper, and the gravity, wiſdom and piety, that very early ſhined through him, refuſing childiſh and vain ſports and company, when very young, ſhe was tender and indulgent over him, ſo that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his Employment, he was brought up in Country Buſineſs; and as he took moſt delight in Sheep, ſo he was very ſkilful in them; an employment that very well ſuited his mind in ſeveral reſpects, both for its Innocency and Solitude; and was a juſt Emblem of his after Miniſtry and Service.

I ſhall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the beſt that can be given; and therefore deſire, what I can, to avoid ſaying any thing of what is ſaid already, as to the particular paſſages of his coming forth: But, in general, when he was ſomewhat above Twenty, he left his friends, and viſited the moſt Retired and Religious people in thoſe parts: And ſome there were, ſhort of few, if any, in this nation, who “waited for the Conſolation of Iſrael, night and day;” as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon, did of old time. To theſe he was ſent, and theſe he ſought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he ſojourned till his more ample miniſtry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of, *Silence*, endeavouring to bring them from Self-performances: Teſtifying of, and turning them to, the Light of Chriſt *within* them, and encouraging them to wait in Patience, and to feel the power of it to ſtir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worſhip of God might ſtand in the Power of an Endleſs Life, which was to be found in the

1694. Light, as it was obeyed in the Manifeſtation of it in Man. For “ in the Word was “ Life, and that Life is the Light of Men.” *Life* in the Word, *Light* in Men; and Life in *Men* too, as the Light is obeyed: The children of the Light living by the *Life* of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the *Regeneration* and *New Birth*; without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God; and to which, whoever comes, is *greater* than *John*; that is, than John's *Diſpenſation*, which was not that of the Kingdom, but the Conſummation of the *Legal*, and Fore-running of the *Goſpel*-Times, the Time of the Kingdom. Accordingly ſeveral Meetings were gathered in thoſe parts; and thus his time was employed for ſome years.

In 1652, he being in his uſual retirement, his mind exerciſed towards the Lord, upon a very high mountain, (in ſome of the hither parts of Yorkſhire, as I take it) he had a Viſion of the great Work of God in the Earth, and of the Way that he was to go forth in a Publick Miniſtry, to begin it. He ſaw People, as thick as *Motes* in the *Sun*, that ſhould, in time, be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but “ One Shepherd and One Sheepfold, in all the Earth.” There his eye was directed Northward, beholding a great people that ſhould receive him and his meſſage in thoſe parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to ſound out his *Great* and *Notable Day*, as if he had been in a great Auditory; and from thence went North, as the Lord had ſhewn him. And in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exerciſe and ſervice ſhewn to him, ſo that the Lord was his *Leader* indeed. For it was not in vain that he travelled; God, in moſt places, ſealing his Commiſſion with the Convincement of ſome of all ſorts, as well Publicans, as ſober Profeſſors of Religion. Some of the firſt and moſt eminent of thoſe that came forth in a publick miniſtry, and which are now at reſt, were Richard Farnſworth, James Nayler, William Dewſberry, Thomas Aldam, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simſon, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Withers, Tho. Low, Joſiah Cole, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouſe, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named; together with divers, yet living, of the firſt and great convincement; who after the knowledge of God's purging judgment in themſelves, and ſome time of waiting in ſilence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high, to ſpeak in his name, (which none elſe rightly can, though they may uſe the ſame words) they felt its divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, eſpecially to viſit the Publick Aſſemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them: Sometimes in Markets, Fairs, Streets, and by the Highway-ſide; calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts, as well as their mouths; directing them to the Light of Chriſt within them, to ſee, examine, and conſider their ways by, and to eſchew the Evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they ſuffered great hardſhips for this their love and good-will; being often ſtocked, ſtoned, beaten, whipt and impriſoned; though honeſt men, and of good report where they lived; that had left wives, children, and houſes and lands to viſit them with a Living Call to Repentance. And though the Prieſts generally ſet themſelves to oppoſe them, and write againſt them, and inſinuated moſt falſe and ſcandalous ſtories to defame them; ſtirring up the Magiſtrates to ſuppreſs them, eſpecially in thoſe Northern Parts; yet God was pleaſed ſo to fill them with his living Power, and give them ſuch an open door of utterance in his ſervice, that there was a mighty Convincement over thoſe parts.

And through the tender and ſingular indulgence of Judge Bradſhaw and Judge Fell, and Colonel Weſt, in the infancy of things, the Prieſts were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood; and, if poſſible, Herod-like, by a cruel exerciſe of the civil power, to have cut them off, and rooted them out of the country. But eſpecially Judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the courſe of legal proceedings, but otherwiſe, upon occaſion; and finally countenanced this people. For his Wife receiving the Truth with the firſt, it had that influence upon his ſpirit, being a Juſt and Wiſe Man, and ſeeing in his own Wife and Family a full confutation of all the popular clamours againſt the Way of Truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his houſe to his Wife and her Friends; not valuing the reproach of ignorant or of evil-minded people; which I here mention, to his or her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a bleſſing to ſuch of their name and family as ſhall be found in that tenderneſs, humility, love and zeal for the Truth and People of the Lord.

That houſe was for ſome years, at firſt eſpecially, until the Truth had opened its way into the Southern Parts of this Iſland, an eminent receptacle of this People. Others, of good note and ſubſtance in thoſe Northern Counties, had alſo opened their houſes, together with their hearts, to the many Publiſhers, that, in a ſhort time, the Lord had raiſed to declare his ſalvation to the people; and where Meetings of the

Lord's Meſſengers were frequently held, to communicate their ſervices and exerciſes, and comfort and edify one another in their bleſſed miniſtry.

But leſt this may be thought a digreſſion, having touched upon this before, I return to this Excellent Man: And for his perſonal qualities, both natural, moral and divine, as they appeared in his converſe with the Brethren, and in the Church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a man that God endued with a Clear and Wonderful Depth; A Diſcerner of others ſpirits, and very much a Maſter of his own. And though that ſide of his Underſtanding which lay next to the World, and eſpecially the expreſſion of it, might ſound uncouth and unfaſhionable to nice ears, his Matter was nevertheleſs very profound; and would not only bear to be often conſidered, but the more it was ſo, the more weighty and inſtructing it appeared. And as *abruptly* and *brokenly* as ſometimes his Sentences would ſeem to fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as *Texts* to many fairer declarations. And, indeed, it ſhewed, beyond all contradiction, that *God* ſent him; in that no *Art* or *Parts* had any ſhare in the *Matter* or *Manner* of his *Miniſtry*; and that ſo many Great, Excellent, and Neceſſary Truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of Man's Wit or Wiſdom to recommend them. So that as to Man, he was an *Original*, being no Man's Copy. And his miniſtry and writings ſhew they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he ſaid by ſtudy. Nor were they notional or ſpeculative, but ſenſible and practical truths, tending to Converſion and Regeneration, and the ſetting up of the kingdom of God in the Hearts of men; and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myſelf, and been made to ſay, with my Lord and Maſter, upon the like occaſion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, "that thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent of this world, and revealed "them to babes:" For many times hath my ſoul bowed, in an humble thankfulneſs to the Lord, that he did not chooſe any of the wiſe and learned of this world to be the *firſt* meſſenger, in our age, of his bleſſed Truth to men; but that he took one that was not of *high degree*, or *elegant ſpeech*, or *learned* after the way of this world, that his meſſage and work, he ſent him to do, might come with *leſs ſuſpicion*, or jealouſy of Human Wiſdom and Intereſt, and with more *force* and *clearneſs* upon the *Conſciences* of thoſe that ſincerely ſought the Way of Truth in the love of it. I ſay, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of Heaven had opened in me, the Marks of God's Finger and Hand *viſibly*, in this Teſtimony, from the Clearneſs of the Principle, the Power and Efficacy of it, in the exemplary ſobriety, plainneſs, zeal, ſteadineſs, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumſpect care in the government of church-affairs, which ſhined in his and their life and teſtimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of *God*, and engaged my ſoul in a deep love, fear, reverence and thankfulneſs, for his Love and Mercy therein to mankind: In which mind I remain, and ſhall, I hope, through the Lord's ſtrength, to the end of my days.

II. In his Teſtimony or Miniſtry, he much laboured to open Truth to the people's Underſtandings, and to bottom them upon the *Principle* and *Principal*, Chriſt Jeſus, the Light of the world; that by bringing them to ſomething that was from God in themſelves, they might the better know and judge of him and themſelves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the Marrow of things, and ſhew the Mind, Harmony and Fulfilling of them with much plainneſs, and to great comfort and edification.

IV. The myſtery of the Firſt and Second Adam, of the Fall and Reſtoration, of the Law and Goſpel, of Shadows and Subſtance, of the Servant's and Son's State, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in *Chriſt*, and by Chriſt, the True Light, in all that are his, through the obedience of Faith, were much of the Subſtance and Drift of his Teſtimonies. In all which he was witneſſed to be of God; being ſenſibly felt to ſpeak that which he had received of Chriſt, and was his own experience, in that which never errs nor fails.

V. But, above all, he excelled in *Prayer*. The Inwardneſs and Weight of his Spirit, the Reverence and Solemnity of his Addreſs and Behaviour, and the Fewneſs and Fulneſs of his Words, have often ſtruck even Strangers with Admiration, as they uſed to reach others with Conſolation. The moſt awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I muſt ſay, was *his* in Prayer. And truly it was a teſtimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him moſt, will ſee moſt reaſon to approach him with reverence and fear.

VI. He was of an *Innocent Life*, no *Buſy-body*, nor *Self-ſeeker*; neither *touchy* nor *critical*: What fell from him was very inoffenſive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modeſt, eaſy, ſteady, tender, it was a pleaſure to be in his company. He exerciſed no Authority but over Evil; and that every-where, and in all; but with Love, Compaſſion, and Long-ſuffering. A moſt merciful man, as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence. Thouſands can truly ſay he was of an Excellent Spirit and

1694. Savour among them; and becauſe thereof, the moſt excellent ſpirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an *Inceſſant Labourer*: For in his younger time, before his many, great and deep ſufferings and travails had enfeebled his body for itinerant ſervices, he laboured much in the Word and Doctrine, and Diſcipline, in England, Scotland and Ireland; turning many to God, and confirming thoſe that were convinced of the truth, and ſettling Good Order, as to Church Affairs, among them. And towards the concluſion of his travelling ſervices, between the years Seventy-one and Seventy-ſeven, he viſited the Churches of Chriſt in the Plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his Journal relates; to the convincement and conſolation of many. After that time he chiefly reſided in and about the City of London: And beſides his labour in the Miniſtry, which was frequent and ſerviceable, he writ much, both to them that are within, and thoſe that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the *Records* of the Buſineſs of the Church are kept, and where the Letters from the many Meetings of God's people over all the world uſe to come: Which Letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the Meeting, that is weekly held, for ſuch ſervices; and he would be ſure to ſtir them up to anſwer them, eſpecially in ſuffering caſes; ſhowing great Sympathy and Compaſſion upon all ſuch occaſions; carefully looking into the reſpective caſes, and endeavouring ſpeedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the Churches, or any of the ſuffering Members thereof, were ſure not to be forgotten or delayed in their deſires, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearied, ſo he was undaunted, in his ſervices for God and his people: He was no more to be moved to Fear than to Wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceſton, Scarborough, Worceſter, and Weſtminſter-Hall, with many other places and exerciſes, did abundantly evidence it, to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as, in the primitive times, ſome roſe up againſt the bleſſed Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, even from among thoſe that they had turned to the Hope of the Goſpel, and they became their greateſt trouble; ſo this Man of God had his ſhare of ſuffering from ſome that were convinced *by* him, who, through prejudice or miſtake, ran againſt him, as one that ſought Dominion over Conſcience, becauſe he preſſed, by his preſence or epiſtles, a ready and zealous compliance with ſuch good and wholeſome things as tended to an Orderly Converſation about the Affairs of the Church and in their Walking before Men. That which contributed much to this ill work, was, in ſome, a begrudging of this meek man the love and eſteem he had, and deſerved, in the hearts of the people; and weakneſs in others, that were taken with their groundleſs ſuggeſtions of Impoſition and Blind Obedience.

They would have had every man Independent, that as he had the Principle in himſelf, he ſhould only ſtand and fall to that, and no body elſe: Not conſidering, that the Principle is One in all; and though the Meaſure of Light or Grace might differ, yet the Nature of it was the ſame; and being ſo, they ſtruck at the Spiritual Unity, which a people, guided by the ſame Principle, are naturally led into: So that what is an evil to One, is ſo to All, and what is virtuous, honeſt, and of good report to One, is ſo to All, from the ſenſe and ſavour of the One Univerſal Principle which is common to all, and which the diſaffected alſo profeſs to be the Root of all true Chriſtian Fellowſhip, and that Spirit into which the People of God drink, and come to be ſpiritually-minded, and of One Heart and One Soul.

Some weakly miſtook Good Order in the Government of Church Affairs, for Diſcipline in *Worſhip*, and that it was ſo preſſed or recommended by him and other brethren. And thereupon they were ready to reflect the ſame things that Diſſenters had very reaſonably objected upon the National Churches, that have coercively preſſed conformity to their reſpective creeds and worſhips. Whereas theſe things related *wholly* to *Converſation*, and the Outward (and as I may ſay) *Civil* Part of the Church; that men ſhould walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in Care and Charity. But though ſome have ſtumbled and fallen through miſtakes, and an unreaſonable obſtinacy, even to a prejudice; yet, bleſſed be God, the generality have returned to their Firſt Love, and ſeen the Work of the Enemy, that loſes no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the Work of God, and diſquiet the Peace of his Church, and chill the Love of his People to the Truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few that yet are at a diſtance.

In all theſe occaſions, though there was no perſon the diſcontented ſtruck ſo ſharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakneſs and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter ſpeeches, praying for them that they might have a ſenſe of their hurt, and ſee the ſubtilty of the Enemy to rend and divide, and return into their Firſt Love that thought no ill.

And truly I muſt ſay, that though God had viſibly clothed him with a divine Preference and Authority, and indeed his very Preſence expreſſed a religious majeſty; yet he never abuſed it; but held his place in the Church of God with great *Meekneſs*, and a moſt engaging *Humility* and *Moderation*. For upon all occaſions, like his bleſſed Maſter, he was a *Servant* to *All*; holding and exerciſing his Elderſhip in the Inviſible Power that had gathered them, with Reverence to the Head, and Care over the Body; and was received, only in that Spirit and Power of Chriſt, as the Firſt and Chief Elder in this Age; Who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, ſo, for the ſame reaſon, it was given by the faithful of this day; becauſe his authority was inward, and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the Love of God, and Power of an Endleſs Life. I write my Knowledge, and not Report, and my witneſs is *true*; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occaſions, and thoſe of the neareſt and moſt exerciſing nature; and that by night and by day, by ſea and by land, in this and in foreign countries; and I can ſay, I never ſaw him out of his Place, or not a Match for every ſervice or occaſion.

For in all things he acquitted himſelf like a Man, yea, a ſtrong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a Divine and a Naturaliſt, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been ſurpriſed at his queſtions and anſwers in natural things; that whilſt he was ignorant of *uſeleſs* and *ſophiſtical* Science, he had in him the grounds of uſeful and commendable Knowledge, and cheriſhed it every where. Civil, *beyond* all Forms of Breeding, in his behaviour; Very temperate, eating little, and ſleeping leſs, though a bulky perſon.

Thus he lived and ſojourned among us: And as he lived, ſo he died; feeling the ſame Eternal Power, that had raiſed and preſerved him, in his laſt moments. So full of *Aſſurance* was he, that he triumphed over death; and ſo *even* in his ſpirit to the laſt, as if death were hardly worth notice, or a mention: Recommending to ſome of us with him, the diſpatch and diſperſion of an Epiſtle, juſt before given forth by him, to the Churches of Chriſt throughout the World, and his own Books: But, above all, Friends; and of all Friends, thoſe in *Ireland* and *America*, twice over, ſaying, "Mind "poor Friends in *Ireland* and *America*."

And to ſome that came in, and inquired how he found himſelf, he anſwered, "Never heed, the Lord's Power is over all Weakneſs and Death; the Seed reigns, bleſſed be the Lord:" Which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meetings near Lombard-ſtreet, on the Firſt-day of the week; and it was the Third following, about ten at night, when he left us; being at the houſe of H. Goldney in the ſame court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to ſee his Childrens Children, in the Truth, to many generations. He had the comfort of a ſhort Illneſs, and the bleſſing of a clear Senſe to the laſt: And we may truly ſay, with a man of God of old, that "being dead, he yet ſpeaketh;" and though now abſent in body, he is "preſent in Spirit:" Neither Time nor Place being able to interrupt the Communion of Saints, or diſſolve the Fellowſhips of the Spirits of the Juſt. His Works praiſe him, becauſe they are to the praiſe of Him that wrought *by* him; for which his memorial is and ſhall be bleſſed. I have done, as to this part of my preface, when I have left this ſhort epitaph to his name, "Many ſons have done "virtuouſly in this day; but, dear George, thou excelleſt them all."

CHAP. VI.

Containing Five ſeveral Exhortations. Firſt, General, reminding this People of their Primitive Integrity and Simplicity. Secondly, in Particular, to the Miniſtry. Thirdly, to the Young Convinced. *Fourthly, to the Children of Friends. Fifthly, to thoſe that are yet Strangers to this People and Way, to whom this Book, (and that it was Preface to in its former Edition) may come. All the ſeveral Exhortations accommodated to their ſeveral States and Conditions; that all may anſwer the End of God's Glory and their own Salvation.*

AND now, Friends, you that profeſs to walk in the way that this bleſſed man was ſent of God to turn us into, ſuffer, I beſeech you, the word of exhortation, as well Fathers as Children, and Elders as Young Men.

The Glory of this day, and Foundation of the hope that has not made us aſhamed ſince we were a People, you know, is that bleſſed Principle of Light and Life of Chriſt which we profeſs, and direct all people to, as the great and Divine Inſtrument and Agent of man's converſion to God. It was by this that we were firſt touched, and effectually enlightned, as to our inward ſtate; which put us upon the conſidera-

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In feeling of the Stirrings and Motions of this Principle in our Hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel Drawings and Movings before we approached the Lord in Prayer, or opened our mouths in Miniſtry. And in our beginning and ending with This, ſtood our Comfort, Service and Edification. And as we ran faſter, or fell ſhort, we made burthens for ourſelves to bear; our ſervices finding in ourſelves a Rebuke, inſtead of an Acceptance; and in lieu of *Well done*, "Who has required *this* at your hands?" In that day we were an exerciſed people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourſelves; eſpecially of the Young Convinced. Often had we the burthen of the Word of the Lord to our Neighbours, Relations and Acquaintance; and ſometimes Strangers alſo. We were in travail likewiſe for one another's preſervation; not ſeeking, but ſhunning, occaſions of any coldneſs or miſunderſtanding; treating one another as thoſe that believed and felt God preſent. Which kept our converſation innocent, ſerious and weighty; guarding ourſelves againſt the cares and friendſhips of the world. We held the Truth in the Spirit of it, and not in our own ſpirits, or after our own will and affections.

They were bowed and brought into ſubjection; inſomuch that it was viſible to them that knew us. We did not think ourſelves at our own Diſpoſal, to go where we liſt, or ſay or do what we liſt, or when we liſt. Our Liberty ſtood in the Liberty of the Spirit of Truth; and no pleaſure, no profit, no fear, no favour could draw us from this retired, ſtrict and watchful frame. We were ſo far from ſeeking occaſion of company, that we avoided them what we could; purſuing our own buſineſs, with moderation, inſtead of meddling with other people's unneceſſarily.

Our Words were few and ſavoury, our Looks compoſed and weighty, and our whole Deportment very obſervable. True it is, that this retired and ſtrict ſort of life from the liberty of the converſation of the world, expoſed us to the cenſures of many, as Humouriſts, Conceited and Self-righteous perſons, &c. But it was our preſervation from many ſnares, to which others were continually expoſed, by the prevalency of the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occaſions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converſe of the world.

I cannot forget the Humility and Chaſte Zeal of that day. O, how conſtant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to Truth's Life, as well as Truth's Principles! And how intire and united in our communion, as indeed became thoſe that profeſs One Head, even Chriſt Jeſus the Lord.

This being the teſtimony and example the man of God, before-mentioned, was ſent to declare and leave amongſt us, and we having embraced the ſame, as the merciful Viſitation of God to us, the Word of Exhortation at this time is, 'That we continue to be found in the Way of this teſtimony, with all Zeal and Integrity; and 'ſo much the more, by how much the day draweth near.'

And firſt, as to you, my beloved and much honoured brethren in Chriſt, that are in the exerciſe of the Miniſtry: O, feel *Life* in your Miniſtry! Let *Life* be your Commiſſion, your Well-ſpring and Treaſury, in all ſuch occaſions; elſe, you well know, there can be no begetting to God; ſince nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the Life of God: And it muſt be a miniſtry in and from Life, that enlivens any people to God. We have ſeen the fruit of all other Miniſters, by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our *Parts*, or *Memory*, the repetition of *former* Openings, in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal miniſtry, however ſound in Words, can reach but the *Ear*, and is but a Dream at the beſt: There is another ſoundneſs, that is ſoundeſt of all, viz. 'Chriſt, 'the Power of God.' This is "the Key of David, that opens, and none ſhuts; "and ſhuts, and none can open:" As the Oil to the Lamp, and the Soul to the Body, ſo is *that* to the beſt of Words. Which made Chriſt to ſay, "My Words, they are "Spirit, and they are Life;" that is, 'They are *from* Life, and therefore they make 'you alive, that *receive* them.' If the diſciples, that had lived with Jeſus, were to ſtay at Jeruſalem, till *they* received it; much more muſt *we* wait to receive before we miniſter, if we will turn people from Darkneſs to Light, and from Satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you may always be like-minded, that you may ever *wait reverently*, for the Coming and Opening of the Word of Life, and attend upon it in your miniſtry and ſervice, that you may ſerve God in his Spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not *too* much, and the leaſt is *enough*, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never ſo little is too much, becauſe to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the Miniſtry of his Servants, that teacheth his people to profit; and, to be ſure, ſo far as we take *him* along with us in our ſervices, ſo far we are profitable, and no farther. For if it be the Lord that muſt work all things in us for our ſalvation, much more is it the Lord that muſt work in us for the converſion of *others*. If therefore it was once a Croſs to us to *ſpeak*, though the Lord *required* it at our hands; let it never be ſo to be *ſilent*, when he does *not*.

It is one of the moſt dreadful ſayings in the Book of God, That "he that adds to "the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add to him the plagues written "in this book." To keep back the counſel of God, is as terrible; for "he that "takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God ſhall take away his "part out of the book of life." And truly, it has great Caution in it, to thoſe that *uſe* the name of the Lord, to be well aſſured the Lord ſpeaks, that they may not be found of the number of thoſe that add to the words of the teſtimony of prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminiſh the ſame, both being ſo very offenſive to God.

Wherefore, Brethren, let us be careful neither to *out-go* our Guide, nor yet loiter *behind* him; ſince he that makes haſte, may *miſs* his *Way*, and he that ſtays *behind*, loſe his *Guide*. For even thoſe that have *received* the word of the Lord, had need wait for Wiſdom, that they may ſee how to divide the word aright: Which plainly implieth, that it is poſſible for one, that hath received the word of the Lord, to miſs in the *Dividing* and *Application* of it, which muſt come from an *Impatiency* of Spirit, and a *Self-working*, which makes an unſound and dangerous *Mixture*; and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

I am earneſt in this, above all conſiderations, as to publick Brethren; well knowing how much it concerns the preſent and future ſtate and preſervation of the Church of Chriſt Jeſus, that has been gathered and built up by a Living and Powerful Miniſtry, that the miniſtry be held, preſerved, and continued in the manifeſtations, motions and ſupplies of the ſame *Life* and *Power*, from time to time.

And where-ever it is obſerved, that any do miniſter more from *Gifts* and *Parts*, than *Life* and *Power*, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal Underſtanding, let them in time be adviſed and admoniſhed for their preſervation; becauſe, inſenſibly, ſuch will come to depend upon a *Self-ſufficiency*, to forſake Chriſt, the *Living Fountain*, and hew out unto themſelves *Ciſterns*, that will hold no living Waters: And, by degrees, ſuch will come to draw Others from waiting upon the Gift of God in themſelves, and to feel it in others, in order to their Strength and Refreſhment; to wait upon *them*, and to turn from God to *Man* again, and ſo make Shipwreck of the Faith, once delivered to the ſaints, and of a good conſcience towards God; which are only kept by that divine gift of Life, that begat the one, and awakened and ſanctified the other, in the beginning.

Nor is it enough, that we have known the divine Gift, and in it have reached to "the Spirits in Priſon," and been the Inſtruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourſelves, and as depending upon the Lord, as ever: Since no *Memory*, no *Repetitions* of *former* Openings, Revelations or Enjoyments, will bring a ſoul to God, or afford *Bread* to the Hungry, or *Water* to the Thirſty, unleſs *Life* go with what we ſay, and that muſt be *waited* for.

O that we may have *no other* Fountain, Treaſure or Dependence! That none may preſume, at any rate, to act of themſelves *for* God, becauſe they have long acted *from* God; that we may not ſupply want of Waiting with our own Wiſdom, or think that we may take leſs care, and more liberty in ſpeaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord, by his Power, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the Expectation of the People, or has been our Cuſtomary Supply and Character, we may not exceed, or fill up the time, with our own.

I hope we ſhall ever remember, who it was that ſaid, "Of yourſelves you can do "nothing:" Our ſufficiency is in Him. And if we are not to ſpeak our own *Words*, or take *Thought* what we ſhould ſay to men in our Defence, when expoſed for our Teſtimony; ſurely we ought to ſpeak none of our *own Words*, or take *Thought* what we ſhall ſay, in our teſtimony and miniſtry, in the name of our Lord, to the ſouls of the people: For then, of all times, and of all other occaſions, ſhould it be fulfilled in us, "for it is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father that ſpeaketh in you."

And, indeed, the *Miniſtry* of the Spirit muſt, and does, keep its Analogy and Agreement with the *Birth* of the Spirit; that as no Man can inherit the kingdom of God, "unleſs he be born of the Spirit," ſo no Miniſtry can beget a Soul to God, but that

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And, Brethren, as to you is committed the diſpenſation of the Oracles of God, which give you frequent opportunities, and great place, with the people among whom you travel, I beſeech you that you would not think it ſufficient to declare the Word of Life in their Aſſemblies, however edifying and comfortable ſuch opportunities may be to you and them: But, as was the practice of the man of God before mentioned, in great meaſure, when among us, inquire the *State* of the ſeveral Churches you viſit; who among them are *afflicted* or *ſick*, who are *tempted*, and if any are *unfaithful* or *obſtinate*; and endeavour to iſſue thoſe things in the Wiſdom and Power of God, which will be a glorious Crown upon your Miniſtry. As *that* prepares your Way in the hearts of the people, to receive you as Men of God, ſo it gives you Credit with them to do them good by your Advice in other reſpects; the Afflicted will be comforted by you, the Tempted ſtrengthened, the Sick refreſhed, the Unfaithful convicted and reſtored, and ſuch as are obſtinate, ſoftened and fitted for reconciliation, which is clinching the nail, and applying and faſtening the general teſtimony, by this particular Care of the ſeveral branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though Good and Wiſe Men, and Elders too, may reſide in ſuch places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the Room they deſerve in the hearts of the people they live among; or ſome particular occaſion may make it unfit for him or them to uſe that authority. But you that travel as God's meſſengers, if they receive you in the greater, ſhall they refuſe you in the leſs? And if they own the *general* teſtimony, can they withſtand the particular application of it, in their own caſes? Thus, ye will ſhew yourſelves workmen indeed, and carry your buſineſs before you, to the praiſe of his name, that hath called you from darkneſs to Light, that you might turn others from Satan's power unto God and his Kingdom, which is within. And O that there were more of ſuch faithful Labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord! Never more need, ſince the day of God.

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long profeſſors of the Truth, and know the Truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a ſober converſation among men, yet content yourſelves only to know Truth for yourſelves, to go to Meetings, and exerciſe an ordinary Charity in the Church, and an honeſt Behaviour in the World, and limit yourſelves within thoſe bounds; feeling little or no concern upon your ſpirits for the glory of the Lord in the proſperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others ſucceed in ſuch ſervice: Ariſe ye, in the Name and Power of the Lord Jeſus! Behold how white the fields are unto harveſt, in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country folks, neighbours and kindred, want to know the Lord and his Truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and ſee, and loſe no time, I beſeech you, for the Lord is at hand.

I do not judge you; there is One that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increaſed in your outward ſubſtance: May you equally increaſe in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you, for his name ſake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world, in the face of your enemies. But O, let it be your Servant, and not your Maſter! Your Diverſion, rather than your Buſineſs! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and ſee if God has nothing more for you to do: And if you find yourſelves ſhort in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the Word of Command, and be not weary of Well-doing, when you have put your hand to the Plough, and aſſuredly you ſhall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlaſting kingdom.

And, you Young-Convinced ones, be you intreated and exhorted to a *diligent* and *chaſte* Waiting upon God, in the way of his bleſſed Manifeſtation and Appearance of himſelf to you. Look not out, but within: Let not another's Liberty be your Snare: Neither act by *Imitation*, but *Senſe* and *Feeling* of God's Power in yourſelves: Cruſh not the tender buddings of it in your Souls, nor *over-run*, in your deſires, and warm-neſs of affections, the holy and gentle Motions of it. Remember it is a *ſtill Voice*, that ſpeaks to us in this day; and that it is not to be heard in the *Noiſes* and *Hurries* of the Mind; but it is diſtinctly underſtood in a *retired Frame*, Jeſus *loved* and *choſe* Solitudes; often going to Mountains, Gardens and Sea-ſides, to avoid Crowds and Hurries, to ſhew his Diſciples it was good to be ſolitary, and ſit looſe to the world. Two Enemies lie near your States, *Imagination* and *Liberty*; but the plain, practical, living, holy Truth, that has convinced you, will preſerve you, if you mind it in yourſelves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations and affections, to the teſt of it, to ſee if they are wrought in God, or of the Enemy, or your Own-ſelves: So will a true Taſte, Diſcerning and Judgment, be preſerved to you, of what you ſhould do and leave undone. And in your diligence and faithfulneſs in this way you will come to inherit ſubſtance; and Chriſt, the eternal Wiſdom, will fill your Treaſury. And when you are *converted*, as well as convinced, then *confirm* your Brethren; and be *ready* to every good *word* and *work*, that the Lord ſhall call you to; that you may be to his praiſe, who has choſen you to be partakers, with the Saints in Light, of a Kingdom that cannot be ſhaken, an Inheritance incorruptible in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you, that are the Children of God's People, a great concern is upon my ſpirit, for your Good: And often are my knees bowed to the God of your Fathers, for you, that you may come to be Partakers of the ſame divine Life and Power, that have been the glory of this day; that a generation you may be to God, "an holy Nation, and a Peculiar People, zealous of good works," when all our heads are laid in the duſt. O you Young Men and Women! Let it not ſuffice you, that you are the Children of the people of the Lord; you muſt alſo be *born again*, if you will inherit the Kingdom of God. Your Fathers are but ſuch after the Fleſh, and could but beget you into the Likeneſs of the *Firſt* Adam; but you muſt be begotten into the Likeneſs of the *Second* Adam, by a ſpiritual generation, or you will not, you cannot, be of his Children or Off-ſpring. And therefore, look carefully about you, O ye Children of the Children of God! conſider your ſtanding, and ſee what you are, in relation to this divine kindred, family and birth! Have you obeyed the Light, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible Seed of the Word and Kingdom of God, of which you muſt be born again. God is no Reſpecter of *Perſons*. The Father cannot ſave or anſwer for the Child, or the Child for the Father; but in the Sin thou ſinneſt thou ſhalt die; and in the Righteouſneſs thou doſt, through Chriſt Jeſus, thou ſhalt live; for it is the Willing and Obedient that ſhall eat the Good of the land. "Be not deceived, God is not mocked; ſuch as all Nations and People ſow, ſuch they ſhall reap at the Hand of the Juſt God." And then your many and great privileges, above the Children of other People, will add weight in the ſcale againſt you, if you chuſe not the Way of the Lord. For you have had "Line upon Line, and Precept upon Precept," and not only good *Doctrine*, but good *Example*; and, which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a Principle in yourſelves, which others have been ignorant of: And you know you may be as good as you pleaſe, without the fear of Frowns and Blows, or being turned out of Doors, and forſaken of *Father* and *Mother*, for God's Sake, and his holy Religion, as has been the caſe of ſome of *your Fathers*, in the day they firſt entered into this Holy Path. And if you, after hearing and ſeeing the Wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preſervation of them, through a Sea of Troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as ſpiritual bleſſings, that he has filled them with, in the ſight of their enemies, ſhould neglect and turn your backs upon ſo *great* and *near* a Salvation, you would not only be moſt ungrateful Children to God and them, but muſt expect that God will call the Children of thoſe that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord: But O that it may never be ſo with any of you! the Lord forbid! ſaith my ſoul.

Wherefore, O ye Young Men and Women, look to the Rock of your Fathers: There is no other God but him, no other Light but his, no other Grace but his, nor Spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide and preſerve you to God's everlaſting kingdom: So will you be Poſſeſſors, as well as Profeſſors, of the Truth, embracing it not only by Education, but Judgment and Conviction, from a Senſe begotten in your Souls, through the Operation of the eternal Spirit and Power of God; by which you may come to be the Seed of Abraham, through Faith, and the "Circumciſion not made with Hands;" and ſo Heirs of the promiſe made to the fathers, of an "incorruptible crown." That, as I ſaid before, a Generation you may be to God, holding up the Profeſſion of the bleſſed Truth in the Life and Power of it. For *Formality* in Religion is nauſeous to God and good Men; and the more ſo, where any form and appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practiſed, upon a Principle, with an *uncommon* Zeal and Strictneſs. Therefore, I ſay, for *you* to fall flat and formal, and continue the Profeſſion, without that Salt and Savour, by which it is come to obtain *a good Report* among *Men*, is not to anſwer God's Love, or your Parents Care, or the Mind of Truth in yourſelves, or in thoſe that are without: Who, though they will not obey the Truth, have ſight and ſenſe enough to ſee if *they* do that make a Profeſſion of it. For where the Divine Virtue of it is not felt in the ſoul, and waited for, and lived in, Imperfections will quickly break out, and ſhew themſelves, and detect the Unfaithfulneſs of ſuch Perſons; and that their Inſides are not ſeaſoned with the Nature of that holy Principle which they profeſs.

Wherefore, Dear Children, let me intreat you to *ſhut* your *Eyes* at the Temptations and Allurements of this low and periſhing world, and not ſuffer your affections to be captivated by thoſe Luſts and Vanities, that your Fathers, for the Truth's ſake, long ſince turned their backs upon: But as you believe it to *be* the Truth, receive it into your *Hearts*, that you may become the Children of God: So that it may never be ſaid of you, as the Evangeliſt writes of the Jews in his time, that “ Chriſt,” the true Light, “ came to his own, but his own received him not: But to as many as received “ him, to them he gave power to become the children of God; which were born, not “ of Blood, nor of the Will of the Fleſh, nor of the Will of Man, but of God.” A moſt cloſe and comprehenſive paſſage to this occaſion. You exactly, and peculiarly, anſwer to thoſe profeſſing Jews, in that you bear the Name of God's People, by being the children and wearing of the Form of God's People: And *He*, by his *Light* in you, may be very well ſaid to come to his *own*; and if you obey it not, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the Vanities of your minds, you will be of thoſe that *received* him not; which I pray God may never be your caſe and judgment. But that you may be throughly ſenſible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his Love, and to your Parents for their Care: And with all your *Heart*, and all your *Soul*, and all your *Strength*, turn to the *Lord*, to his Gift and Spirit in you, and hear his *Voice*, and *obey* it, that you may *ſeal* to the Teſtimony of your Fathers, by the Truth and Evidence of your own *Experience*; that your Childrens Children *may bleſs you*, and the Lord *for you*, as thoſe that delivered a faithful *Example*, as well as Record, of the Truth of God unto them. So will the grey hairs of your dear Parents, yet alive, “ go down to the grave with joy,” to ſee you the Poſterity of *Truth*, as well as *theirs*; and that not only their Nature, but Spirit, ſhall live *in* you when they are gone.

I ſhall conclude this Account with a few words to thoſe that are not of our Communion, into whoſe hands this may come; eſpecially thoſe of our own nation.

FRIENDS,

As you are the ſons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the fleſh, often and earneſt have been my deſires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know your Creator to be your *Redeemer* and *Reſtorer* to the holy Image, that through ſin you have loſt, by the Power and Spirit of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, whom he hath given for the Light and Life of the World. And O that you, who are called Chriſtians, would receive him into your *Hearts!* for *there* it is you want him, and at *that* door he ſtands knocking, that you might let him in, but you do not open to him: You are full of other gueſts, ſo that a Manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of Profeſſion, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly intreated him. So that if you come not to the Poſſeſſion and Experience of what you *profeſs*, all your Formality in Religion will ſtand you in no ſtead in the day of God's Judgment.

I beſeech you ponder with yourſelves your eternal condition, and ſee what *Title*, what Ground and Foundation, you have for your Chriſtianity: If more than a Profeſſion, and an Hiſtorical Belief of the Goſpel? Have you known the *Baptiſm of Fire*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*, and the *Fan* of Chriſt that winnows away the *Chaff* in your Minds, and *Carnal Luſts* and *Affections?* That divine *Leaven* of the Kingdom, that, being received, leavens the *Whole Lump* of Man, ſanctifying him *throughout*, in Body, Soul and Spirit? If this be not the Ground of your Confidence, you are in a miſerable eſtate.

You will ſay, perhaps, that though you are ſinners, and live in daily commiſſion of ſin, and are not ſanctified, as I have been ſpeaking, yet you have Faith in Chriſt, who has borne the Curſe for you, and in him you are complete by Faith, his Righteouſneſs being imputed to you:

But, my Friends, let me intreat you not to deceive yourſelves, in ſo important a point, as is that of your immortal ſouls. If you have *true* Faith in Chriſt, your Faith will make you *clean*; it will ſanctify you: For the Saints *Faith* was their *Victory* of old: By this they overcame Sin *within*, and Sinful Men *without*. And if thou art in Chriſt, thou walkeſt not after the *Fleſh*, but after the *Spirit*, whoſe fruits are manifeſt. Yea, thou art a *New Creature:* New-made, New-faſhioned, after God's Will and Mould. Old Things are done away, and behold, all things are become *New:* New *Love*, *Deſires*, *Will*, *Affections* and *Practices*. It is not any longer *Thou* that liveſt; thou *diſobedient*, *carnal*, *worldly* one; but it is *Chriſt* that liveth *in* thee: And to live is Chriſt, and to die is thy eternal gain: Becauſe thou art aſſured, “ That thy Corrup- “ tible ſhall put on Incorruption, and thy Mortal, Immortality; and that thou haſt a

" glorious Houſe, Eternal in the Heavens, that will never wax old, or paſs away." All this follows being in Chriſt, as *Heat* follows *Fire*, and *Light* the *Sun*.

Therefore have a care how you preſume to rely upon ſuch a notion, as that you are in *Chriſt*, whilſt in your old *fallen Nature*. " For what communion hath Light with Darkneſs, or Chriſt with Belial?" Hear what the beloved diſciple tells you: " If we ſay we " have Fellowſhip with God, and walk in Darkneſs, we lie, and do not the Truth." This is, If we go on in a ſinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkneſs, and cannot poſſibly, in *that* State, have any fellowſhip with God. Chriſt *clothes them* with his *Righteouſneſs*, that *receive* his Grace in their hearts, and deny *themſelves*, and take up *his Croſs daily* and *follow* him. Chriſt's Righteouſneſs makes men *inwardly* holy; of holy Minds, Wills and Practices. It is, nevertheleſs, *Chriſt's*, though we have it; for it is ours not by *Nature*, but by *Faith* and *Adoption*: It is the Gift of *God*. But ſtill, though *not* ours, as of or from *ourſelves*, (for in that ſenſe it is *Chriſt's*, for it is of and from *him*); yet it *is* ours, and *muſt be* ours, in *Poſſeſſion*, *Efficacy*, and *Enjoyment*, to do us any *Good*; or Chriſt's righteouſneſs will profit us *nothing*. It was after *this* manner that he was made to the Primitive Chriſtians, " Righteouſneſs, Sanctification, Juſtification and Redemption:" And if ever you will have the *Comfort*, *Kernel*, and *Marrow* of the *Chriſtian Religion*, thus you muſt come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my Friends, by what you have read, and will read in what follows, you may perceive that God has viſited a Poor People among you with this ſaving Knowledge and Teſtimony; whom he has upheld and increaſed to this day, notwithſtanding the fierce oppoſition they have met withal. Deſpiſe not the Meanneſs of this Appearance: It was, and yet is, (we know) a Day of *ſmall* things, and of ſmall Account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it: But it is of *God*, it came *from* him, becauſe it leads *to* him.

This we know; but we cannot make another to know it, unleſs he will take the *ſame Way* to know it that we took. The world *talks* of God, but what do they *do*? They pray for *Power*, but reject the *Principle* in which it *is*. If you would know God, and worſhip and ſerve God as you ſhould do, you muſt come to the Means he has ordained and given for that purpoſe. Some ſeek it in Books, ſome in Learned Men; but what they look for, is *in* themſelves, though not *of* themſelves, but they *overlook* it. The Voice is too *ſtill*, the Seed too *ſmall*, and the Light ſhineth in *darkneſs*: They are Abroad, and ſo cannot divide the Spoil: But the Woman, that loſt her *Silver*, found it at *home*, after ſhe had *lighted* her *Candle*, and *ſwept* her *Houſe*. Do you ſo too, and you ſhall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz. *Truth*: Truth in the Inward Parts, ſo valuable in the ſight of God.

The Light of Chriſt within, who is the Light of the *World*, (and ſo a Light to *you*, that tells you the Truth of your Condition) leads all, that take heed unto it, *out of* darkneſs, into God's marvellous Light. For Light *grows* upon the Obedient: " It is " *ſown* for the *Righteous*, and their *Way* is a ſhining *Light*, that ſhines forth more " and more to the perfect Day."

Wherefore, O Friends, Turn *in*, turn *in*, I beſeech you: *Where* is the Poiſon, *There* is the Antidote. *There* you *want* Chriſt, and *There* you muſt *find* him; and, bleſſed be God, there you *may* find him. " Seek, and you ſhall find," I teſtify for God. But then you muſt ſeek *aright*, with your *whole Heart*, as men that ſeek for their Lives, yea, for their *eternal* lives, diligently, humbly, patiently, as thoſe that can taſte no pleaſure, comfort, or ſatisfaction in any thing elſe, unleſs you find Him whom your ſouls deſire to know, and love, above *all*. O it is a Travail, a *ſpiritual* Travail! Let the carnal, profane world, think and ſay as it will. And through *this* Path you muſt walk to the City of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! And what does this bleſſed Light do for you? Why, 1. It ſets all your Sins in order before you: It detects the Spirit of this World, in all its baits and allurements, and ſhews how man came to fall from God, and the fallen Eſtate he is in. 2. It begets a *Senſe* and *Sorrow*, in ſuch as believe in it, for this fearful Lapſe. You will then ſee Him, diſtinctly, whom you have *pierced*, and all the Blows and Wounds you have given him by your Diſobedience, and how you have made him to ſerve with your Sins; and you will weep and mourn for it, and your ſorrow will be a *Godly* ſorrow. 3. After this, it will bring you to the Holy Watch, to take care that you do ſo no more, and that the Enemy ſurprize you not again. Then *Thoughts*, as well as Words and Works, will come to *Judgment*, which is the Way of Holineſs, in which the Redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to " love God above all, and your " Neighbours as yourſelves." Nothing *hurts*, nothing *harms*, nothing makes *afraid*, on this Holy Mountain. Now you come to be *Chriſt's* indeed; for you are his in Nature and Spirit, and not your *own*. And when you are *thus* Chriſt's, then Chriſt *is yours*, and not before. And here Communion with the Father, and with the Son, you will know, and the Efficacy of the Blood of Cleanſing, even the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that Immaculate Lamb, which " ſpeaks better things than the Blood of Abel;"

1694. and which cleanſeth from *all Sin* the Conſciences of thoſe, that, through the *living* Faith, come to be "*ſprinkled* with it, from dead works, to ſerve the living God."

To conclude: Behold the Teſtimony and Doctrine of the People called Quakers! Behold their Practice and Diſcipline! And behold the bleſſed Man and Men (at leaſt many of them) that were ſent of God in this excellent work and ſervice! All which is more particularly expreſſed in the Annals of that Man of God: Which I do heartily recommend to my Reader's moſt ſerious Peruſal; and beſeech Almighty God, that his Bleſſing may go along with both, to the Convincement of many, as yet Strangers to this Holy Diſpenſation, and alſo to the Edification of God's Church in general, Who, for his manifold and repeated Mercies and Bleſſings to his People, in this Day of his great Love, is worthy ever to have the Glory, Honour, Thankſgiving and Renown; and be it rendered and aſcribed, with fear and reverence, through Him in whom he is well pleaſed, his beloved Son and Lamb, our Light and Life, that ſits with him upon the Throne, World without End, Amen!

Says one that God has long ſince mercifully favoured with his Fatherly Viſitation, and who was not diſobedient to the Heavenly Viſion and Call; to whom the Way of Truth is more lovely and precious than ever; and that, knowing the Beauty and Benefit of it, above all worldly treaſures, has choſen it for his Chiefeſt Joy; and therefore recommends it to thy Love and Choice, becauſe he is, with great ſincerity and affection,

Thy Soul's Friend,

W. PENN.

7 AP 59

PRIMITIVE

CHRISTIANITY

REVIVED,

IN THE

FAITH AND PRACTICE

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

WRITTEN

In Teſtimony to the Preſent Diſpenſation of GOD, through
THEM, to the World;

THAT

PREJUDICES may be Removed, the SIMPLE Informed the WELL-INCLINED Encouraged, and the TRUTH and its innocent FRIENDS Rightly Repreſented.

By W. PENN.

BRITISH MUSEUM

READER,

1696. BY this ſhort enſuing treatiſe, thou wilt perceive the ſubject of it, viz. 'The 'Light of Chriſt in Man, as the Manifeſtation of God's Love for Man's Happi'neſs.' Now, foraſmuch as this is the peculiar Teſtimony and Characteriſtick of the People called Quakers; their Great Fundamental in Religion; that by which they have been diſtinguiſhed from other profeſſors of chriſtianity in their time, and to which they refer all people about faith, worſhip, and practice, both in their miniſtry and writings; that as the fingers ſhoot out of the hand, and the branches from the body of the tree, ſo true Religion, in all the parts and articles of it, ſprings from this Divine Principle in Man. And becauſe the prejudices of ſome are very great againſt this People and their Way; and that others, who love their ſeriouſneſs, and commend their good life, are yet, through miſtakes, or want of enquiry, under jealouſy of their unſoundneſs in ſome points of faith; and that there are not a few in all perſuaſions, which deſire earneſtly to know and enjoy God in that ſenſible manner this people ſpeak of, and who ſeem to long after a ſtate of holineſs and acceptance with God; but are under doubts and deſpondings of their attaining it, from the want they find in themſelves of Inward Power to enable them, and are unacquainted with this Efficacious Agent, which God hath given and appointed for their ſupply:

For theſe reaſons and motives, know, Reader, I have taken in hand to write this ſmall Tract, 'Of the Nature and Virtue of the Light of Chriſt Within Man;' What, and Where it is, and for what End, and therein of the Religion of the People called Quakers; that, at the ſame time, all people may be informed of their True Character, and what True Religion is, and the Way to it, in this age of high pretences, and as deep irreligion. That ſo the merciful Viſitation of the God of Light and Love, (more eſpecially to theſe Nations,) both immediately and inſtrumentally, for the promotion of piety, (which is Religion indeed) may no longer be neglected by the inhabitants thereof, but that they may come to ſee, and ſay with heart and mouth, 'This is a diſpenſation of 'Love and Life from God to the World; and this poor People, that we have ſo much 'deſpiſed, and ſo often trod upon, and treated as the off-ſcouring of the earth, are the 'People of God, and Children of the Moſt High.'

Bear with me, Reader; I know what I ſay, and am not high-minded, but fear: For I write with humility towards God, though with confidence towards thee. Not that thou ſhouldeſt believe upon my Authority, nothing leſs; for that is not to act upon Knowledge, but Truſt; but that thou ſhouldeſt try and approve what I write: For that is all I aſk, as well as all I need for thy conviction, and my own juſtification. The whole, indeed, being but a Spiritual Experiment upon the Soul, and therefore ſeeks for no implicit credit, becauſe it is ſelf-evident to them that will uprightly try it.

And when thou, Reader, ſhalt come to be acquainted with this Principle, and the plain and happy teachings of it, thou wilt, with us, admire thou ſhouldeſt live ſo long a Stranger to that which was ſo *near* thee, and as much wonder that other folks ſhould be ſo blind as not to ſee it, as formerly thou thoughteſt us ſingular for obeying it. The day, I believe, is at hand, that will declare this with an uncontroulable Authority, becauſe it will be with an unqueſtionable Evidence.

I have done, Reader, with this preface, when I have told thee, Firſt, That I have ſtated the Principle, and opened, as God has enabled me, the Nature and Virtue of it in Religion; wherein the common Doctrines and Articles of the Chriſtian Religion are delivered and improved; and about which, I have endeavoured to expreſs myſelf in plain and proper terms, and not in figurative, allegorical, or doubtful phraſes; that ſo I may leave no room for an equivocal or double ſenſe; but that the truth of the ſubject I treat upon, may appear eaſily and evidently to every common underſtanding. Next, I have confirmed what I have writ, by Scripture, Reaſon, and the Effects of it upon ſo great a People; whoſe uniform concurrence in the experience and practice thereof, through all times and ſufferings, ſince a People, challenge the notice and regard of every ſerious reader. Thirdly, I have written briefly, that ſo it might be every one's money and reading: And, Much in a Little is Beſt, when we ſee daily that the richer people grow, the leſs money or time they have for God or Religion: And perhaps thoſe that would not buy a large book, may find in their hearts to give away ſome of theſe for their neighbour's good, being little and cheap. Be ſerious, Reader, be impartial, and then be as inquiſitive as thou canſt; and that for thine own ſoul, as well as the credit of this moſt miſunderſtood and abuſed People: And the God and Father of *Lights* and *Spirits*, ſo bleſs *thine*, in the peruſal of this ſhort treatiſe, that thou mayeſt receive real benefit by it, to his glory, and thine own comfort: Which is the deſire and end of him that wrote it; who is, in the bonds of Chriſtian Charity, very much, and very ardently,

Thy Real Friend,
WILLIAM PENN.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. *Their* Fundamental Principle. §. 2. *The* Nature *of it*. §. 3. *Called by ſeveral* Names. §. 4. *They refer all to* This, *as to* Faith *and* Practice, Miniſtry *and* Worſhip.

§. 1. THAT which the People called Quakers lay down, as a main fundamental in Religion, is this, ‘ That God, through Chriſt, hath placed a Principle in every man to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it; and that ‘ thoſe that live up to this Principle, are the People of God; and thoſe that live in ‘ diſobedience to it, are not God's People, whatever name they may bear, or profeſſion ‘ they may make of religion.’ This is their ancient, firſt and ſtanding teſtimony: With this they began, and this they bore, and do bear, to the world. 1696.

§. 2. By this Principle they underſtand ſomething that is Divine; and though *in* man, yet not *of* man, but of God; and that it came *from* him, and leads *to* him all thoſe that will be led by it.

§. 3. There are divers ways of ſpeaking they have been led to uſe, by which they declare and expreſs what this Principle is, about which I think fit to precaution the reader, viz, they call it, “ The *Light* of *Chriſt* within *Man*,” or, ‘ *Light Within*,’ which is their ancient, and moſt general and familiar phraſe, alſo the (*a*) *Manifeſtation* (*b*) or *Appearance* of *Chriſt* (*c*); the (*d*) *Witneſs* of *God*, the (*e*) *Seed* of *God*; the (*f*) *Seed* of the *Kingdom*; (*g*) *Wiſdom*; the (*h*) *Word* in the *Heart*; the *Grace* (*i*) that appears to *all Men*; the (*k*) *Spirit* given to *every Man* to *profit with*; the (*l*) *Truth* in the *Inward Parts*; the (*m*) *Spiritual Leaven*, that leavens the *whole Lump* of *Man*: Which are many of them figurative expreſſions, but all of them ſuch as the Holy Ghoſt hath uſed, and which will be uſed in this treatiſe, as they are moſt frequently in the writings and miniſtry of this People. But that this Variety and Manner of Expreſſion may not occaſion any miſapprehenſion or confuſion in the underſtanding of the Reader, I would have him know, that they always mean by theſe terms, or denominations, not *another*, but the *ſame* Principle, before mentioned: Which, as I ſaid, though it be *in* man, is not *of* man, but of *God*, and therefore *Divine*: And *One* in itſelf, though diverſly *expreſſed* by the holy men, according to the various Manifeſtations and Operations thereof.

§. 4. It is to this Principle of Light, Life and Grace, that this People refer all: For they ſay, it is the Great Agent in Religion; That, without which, there is no *Conviction*, ſo no *Converſion*, or *Regeneration*; and conſequently no entering into the kingdom of God. That is to ſay, there can be no true *Sight* of Sin, nor *Sorrow* for it, and therefore no Forſaking or Overcoming of it, or Remiſſion or Juſtification from it. A neceſſary and powerful Principle indeed, when neither Sanctification nor Juſtification can be had without it. In ſhort, there is no becoming virtuous, holy and good, without this Principle; no acceptance with God, nor peace of ſoul, but through it. But, on the contrary, that the reaſon of ſo much *Irreligion* among Chriſtians, ſo much *Superſtition*,

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(*a*) John i. 9. (*b*) Rom. i. 19. Tit. iii. 4. (*c*) Acts xvii. 28. 2 Pet. iv. (*d*) Rom viii. 6. 1 John v. 10. 12. (*e*) 1 Pet. i. 23. 1 John iii. 9. (*f*) Mat. xiii. 19, 23. (*g*) Prov. i. 20, 21, 22, 23. and viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. (*h*) Deut. xxx. 12. Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. Pſa. cxix. 10. (*i*) Tit. ii. 11. 12. (*k*) 1 Cor. xii. 7. (*l*) Pſal. li. 6. Iſa. xxvi. 2. John xiv. 6. (*m*) Mat. xiii. 33.

1696. perſtition, inſtead of Devotion, and ſo much Profeſſion without Enjoyment, and ſo little Heart-Reformation, is, becauſe people, in Religion, *overlook* this Principle, and leave it behind them.

They will be religious *without* it, and Chriſtians without it, though this be the only means of making them ſo indeed. So natural is it to man, in his degenerate ſtate, to prefer Sacrifice before Obedience, and to make Prayers go for Practice, and ſo flatter himſelf to hope, by ceremonial and bodily Service, to excuſe himſelf with God from the ſtricter diſcipline of this Principle in the ſoul, which leads man to take up the Croſs, deny Self, and do that which God requires of him: And that is every man's *true* religion, and every ſuch man is truly *religious*: That is, he is *holy*, *humble*, *patient*, *meek*, *merciful*, *juſt*, *kind*, and *charitable*; which, they ſay, no man can make *himſelf*; but that this Principle will make them *all* ſo, that will embrace the Convictions and Teachings of it, being the *Root* of all True Religion in Man, and the good *Seed* from whence all good Fruits proceed. To ſum up what they ſay upon the nature and virtue of it, as contents of that which follows, they declare that this Principle is, Firſt, Divine. Secondly, Univerſal. Thirdly, Efficacious: In that it gives Man,

Firſt, The knowledge of *God*, and of *himſelf*; and therein, a ſight of his Duty, and Diſobedience to it.

Secondly, It begets a true *Senſe* and *Sorrow* for Sin in thoſe that ſeriouſly regard the convictions of it.

Thirdly, It enables them to *forſake* Sin, and *ſanctifies* from it.

Fourthly, It applies God's Mercies, in Chriſt, for the *Forgiveneſs* of Sins that are paſt, unto Juſtification, upon ſuch ſincere Repentance and Obedience.

Fifthly, It gives, to the faithful, Perſeverance unto a perfect man, and the Aſſurance of bleſſedneſs, world without end.

To the truth of all which, they call in a threefold evidence: Firſt, The Scriptures, which give an ample witneſs, eſpecially thoſe of the New and better Teſtament. Secondly, The Reaſonableneſs of it in itſelf. And laſtly, A General Experience, in great meaſure; but particularly *their* own, made credible by the good Fruits they have brought forth, and the Anſwer God has given to their Miniſtry: Which, to impartial obſervers, have commended the Principle, and gives me occaſion to abſtract their Hiſtory, in divers particulars, for a concluſion to this little treatiſe.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. *The Evidence of* Scripture *for this* Principle, John i. 4, 9. §. 2. *Its* Divinity. §. 3. *All Things* created *by it*. §. 4. *What it is to* Man, *as to Salvation*.

§. 1. I Shall begin with the evidence of the bleſſed Scriptures of Truth, for this Divine Principle, and that under the name of *Light*, the firſt and moſt common word uſed by them, to expreſs and denominate this Principle by, as well as moſt apt and proper in this dark ſtate of the world.

John i. 1. " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and " the Word was God."

Verſ. 3. " All things were made by Him."

Verſ. 4. " In him was Life, and that Life was the Light of Men."

Verſe 9. " That was the True Light, which lighteth every Man that cometh into " the World."

§. 2. I have begun with *him*, that began his Hiſtory with HIM that was " the Beginning of the Creation of God," the moſt beloved Diſciple, and longeſt Liver of all the Apoſtles; and he, that for excellent knowledge and wiſdom in heavenly things, is juſtly intituled ' John the Divine.' He tells us, firſt, What he was in the Beginning, viz. *The Word*. " In the Beginning was the Word."

And though that ſhews what the Word muſt be, yet he adds and explains, that the " Word was with God, and the Word was God;" leſt any ſhould doubt of the Divinity of the Word, or have lower Thoughts of Him than He deſerved. The *Word*, then, is *Divine*; and an apt term it is, that the Evangeliſt ſtiles Him by, ſince it is ſo great an Expreſſion of the Wiſdom and Power of God to Men.

§. 3. " All Things were made by Him." If ſo, he wants no *Power*. And if we were *made* by him, we muſt be *new*-made by him too, or we can never enjoy God. His Power ſhews his dignity, and that nothing can be too hard for ſuch a Sufficiency as " made all things, and without which nothing was made, that was made." As Man's " *Maker* muſt be his *Huſband*," ſo his *Creator* muſt be his *Redeemer* alſo.

§. 4. " In him was Life, and the Life was the Light of Men." This is our point. The Evangeliſt firſt begins with the *Nature* and *Being* of the Word: From thence he deſcends to the *Works* of the Word: And laſtly, then he tells us, *what* the Word is, with reſpect to *Man* above the reſt of the Creation, viz. " The Word was *Life*, " and the Life was the *Light* of *Men*." The relation muſt be very near and intimate, when the very *Life* of the *Word* (that was *with* God, and *was* God) is the *Light* of Men: As if Men were *next* to the Word, and *above* all the reſt of his Works; for it is not ſaid ſo of any other Creature.

Man cannot want Light then; no not a *divine* Light! For if *This* be not divine, that is the *Life* of the Divine *Word*, there can be no ſuch thing at all as *divine* or *ſupernatural* Light and Life. And the text does not only prove the *Divinity* of the Light, but the *Univerſality* of it alſo; becauſe *Man*, mentioned in it, is *Mankind*: Which is yet more diſtinctly expreſſed in his 9th verſe, " *That* was the *true* Light, " which lighteth *every Man* that cometh into the World." Implying, that he that lighteth not *Mankind*, is not that *True* Light; and therefore *John* was not that *Light*, but bore witneſs of him that *was*, who *lighteth every Man*; to wit, the *Word* that took Fleſh: So that both the Divine Nature, and Univerſality, of the Light of Chriſt within, are confirmed together.

CHAP. III.

§. 1. *How this Scripture is* wreſted. §. 2. *That it is a* Natural *Light*. §. 3. *That it lighteth not* all. §. 4. *That it is only the* Doctrine *and* Life *of* Chriſt *when in the* Fleſh. All anſwered, and its Divinity and Univerſality proved.

§. 1. BUT though there be no paſſage or propoſition to be found in Holy Scripture, in which mankind is more intereſted, or that is more clearly laid down by the Holy Ghoſt, than this I have produced, yet hardly hath any place been more induſtriouſly wreſted from its true and plain ſenſe: Eſpecially ſince this People have laid any ſtreſs upon it, in defence of their teſtimony of the Light within. Some will have it to be but a *Natural* Light, or a *Part* of Man's *Nature*, though it be the very *Life* of the *Word* by which the world was made; and mentioned within thoſe verſes, which only concern his Eternal *Power* and *Godhead*. But becauſe I would be underſtood, and treat of things with all plainneſs, I will open the terms of the objection as well as I can, and then give my anſwer to it.

§. 2. If by *natural* be meant a *created* thing, as *Man* is, or any thing that is requiſite to the *Compoſition* of Man, I deny it: The text is expreſly againſt it; and ſays, ' The *Light* with which Man is lighted, is the *Life* of " the Word, which was with " God, and was God." But if by Natural is only intended, that the Light comes *along with us* into the World, or that we have it as ſure as we are *born*, or have *Nature*, and is the *Light* of our Nature, of our Minds and Underſtandings, and is not the Reſult of any Revelation from *without*, as by Angels or Men; then we mean and intend the ſame thing. For it is *natural* to Man to have a *ſuper*-natural *Light*, and for the Creature to be lighted by an *uncreated* Light, as is the Life of the *Creating Word*. And did people but conſider the *Conſtitution* of Man, it would conduce much to preſerve or deliver them from any dilemma upon this account. For *Man* can be no more a Light to his *Mind*, than he is to his *Body*: He has the Capacity of *ſeeing* Objects when he has the Help of *Light*, but cannot be a Light to *himſelf*, by which to ſee them. Wherefore as the *Sun* in the Firmament is the Light of the *Body*, and gives us Diſcerning in our temporal affairs; ſo the *Life* of the *Word* is the glorious *Light* and *Sun* of the *Soul*; our *Intellectual Luminary*, that informs our Mind, and give us true Judgment and Diſtinction about thoſe things that more immediately concern our better, inward and eternal man.

§. 3. But others will have this text read thus, ' Not that the Word enlightens *all* ' *Mankind*, but that all who *are* enlightened, are enlightened by *him*;' thereby not only narrowing and abuſing the text, but rendering God partial, and ſo ſevere to his creatures, as to leave the greateſt part of the world in darkneſs, without the means or opportunity of ſalvation; though we are aſſured, from the Scriptures, " That *all* have " Light (*a*); that Chriſt is the Light of the *World* (*b*); and that he died for *all* (*c*); " yea, the Ungodly (*d*); and that God deſires not the Death of any (*e*), but rather " that all ſhould repent, and come to the Knowledge of the Truth, and be ſaved; and " that the Grace of God has appeared to *all* Men," (*f*) &c.

§. 4. There is a third ſort that will needs have it underſtood, not of any Illumination by a Divine Light or Spirit in man, but by the *Doctrine* Chriſt preached, and the *Life* and *Example* he lived, and led in the world; which yet neither reached the Thouſandth Part of Mankind, nor can conſiſt with what the Apoſtle John intends in the beginning of his hiſtory, which wholly relates to what Chriſt was before he took fleſh, or, at leaſt, what he is to the Soul, by his immediate *Inſhinings* and *Influences*. It is

(*a*) John i. 4, 9.
(*b*) Ch. viii. 12.
(*c*) Rom. v. 6.
(*d*) 2 Cor. v. 15.
(*e*) 1 Tim. ii. 4.
(*f*) Tit. ii. 11, 12.

1696. moſt true, Chriſt was, in a ſenſe, the *Light* of the World in that very *Appearance*, and ſhined forth by his heavenly *Doctrine*, many admirable *Miracles*, and his ſelf-denying *Life* and *Death*: But ſtill that hinders not, but that he was, and is, that *Spiritual Light*, which ſhineth, more or leſs, in the hearts of the ſons and daughters of men. For as he was a *Light* in his *Life* and *Converſation*, he was only a Light in a more excellent ſenſe than he ſpoke of to his Diſciples, when he ſaid, "Ye are the "Lights of the World." But Chriſt, the *Word*, enlightened *them*, and enlightens *us*, and enlightens *all* men that come into the World; which he could not be ſaid to do, if we only regard his *perſonal* and *outward* appearance: For in that ſenſe, it is long ſince he *was* that light, but in this he is *continually* ſo. In that reſpect he is *remote*, but in this ſenſe he is *preſent* and *immediate*; elſe we ſhould render the text, 'That 'was the True Light which *did* lighten,' inſtead of "which *lighteth*, every Man that "cometh into the World." And that the Evangeliſt might be ſo underſtood, as we ſpeak, he refers to this, as an evidence of *his* being the Meſſiah, and not *John*; for whom many people had much Reverence, for Verſe 8. he ſaith of John, "*He* was "*not* that Light, but was ſent to *bear witneſs* of that Light;" (now comes his proof, and our teſtimony) "that was the *true* Light which lighteth *every* Man that cometh "into the World;" which was not *John*, or any elſe, but "the *Word* that was *with* "God, and *was* God." The Evangeliſt did not deſcribe him by his faſting forty Days, preaching ſo many Sermons, working ſo many Miracles, and living ſo holy a Life; and, after all, ſo patiently ſuffering Death, (which yet Chriſt did) thereby to prove him the Light of the World; but, ſays the Evangeliſt, "That was the True "Light," the Word in Fleſh, the Meſſiah, and not *John*, or any elſe, "which lighteth *every* Man that cometh into the World." So that Chriſt is manifeſted and diſtinguiſhed by *giving* Light: And, indeed, ſo are all his Followers from other people, by *receiving* and *obeying* it. There are many other ſcriptures, of both Teſtaments, that refer to the Light within, either expreſly, or implicitly, which, for brevity's ſake, I ſhall wave reciting; but the reader will find ſome directions in the margin, which will guide him to them.*

CHAP. IV.

§. 1. *The* Virtue *of the* Light within: *It gives* Diſcerning. §. 2. *It* manifeſts God. §. 3. *It gives* Life *to the* Soul. §. 4. *It is the* Apoſtolical Meſſage. §. 5. *Objection anſwered about* Two *Lights*. §. 6. *About* Natural *and* Spiritual *Light*: *Not* Two *Darkneſſes within, therefore not* Two *Lights within*. §. 7. *The Apoſtle* John anſwers the Objection fully: *The* Light *the* ſame, 1 John ii. 8, 9.

§. 1. THE third thing, is the *Virtue* and *Efficacy* of this Light for the End for which God hath given it, viz. 'To lead and guide the Soul of Man to 'Bleſſedneſs.' In order to which, the firſt thing it does in and for Man, is to give him a true Sight or Diſcerning of himſelf; what he is, and what he does; that he may ſee and know his own condition, and what judgment to make of himſelf, with reſpect to Religion and a future State: Of which, let us hear what the *Word himſelf* ſaith, that cannot err, as John relates it, chap. iii. 20, 21. "For every one that "doth Evil, hateth the Light, neither cometh to the Light, leſt his Deeds ſhould be "reproved. But he that doth Truth, cometh to the Light, that his Deeds may be "made manifeſt, that they are wrought in God." A moſt pregnant inſtance of the Virtue and Authority of the Light. Firſt, It is that which men ought to *examine* themſelves by. Secondly, It gives a *true Diſcerning* betwixt Good and Bad, what is of *God*, from what is *not* of God. And, laſtly, It is a *Judge*, and condemneth or acquitteth, reproveth or comforteth, the Soul of man, as he rejects or obeys it. That muſt needs be *divine* and *efficacious*, which is able to diſcover to man what is of God, from what is *not* of God; and which gives him a *diſtinct Knowledge*, in himſelf, of what is wrought in God, from what is *not* wrought in God. By which it appears, that this place does not only regard the Diſcovery of *Man* and his *Works*, but, in ſome meaſure, it manifeſteth *God*, and his *Works* alſo, which is yet ſomething higher; foraſmuch as it gives the obedient man a diſcovery of what is wrought or performed by *God*'s Power, and after *his* Will, from what is the *mere* Workings of the Creature *of himſelf*. If it could not *manifeſt* God, it could not tell Man what was God's *Mind*, nor give him ſuch a grounded Senſe and Diſcerning of the Riſe, Nature, and Tendency of the Workings of his Mind or Inward Man, as is both expreſſed and abundantly implied in this paſſage of our Saviour. And if it reveals God, to be ſure it manifeſts Chriſt, that flows and comes from God. Who then would oppoſe or ſlight this bleſſed Light?

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* Job xviii. 5, 6, & xxi. 17. & xxv. 3. & xxxviii. 5. Pſalm xviii. 28. & xxvii. 1. & xxxiv. 5. & xxxvi. 9. & cxviii. 27. & cxix. 105. Prov. xiii. 9. & xx. 20, 27. & xxiv. 20. Iſa. ii. 5. & viii. 20. & xlii. 6. & xlix. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

§. 2. But that this Light doth *manifeſt* God, is yet evident from Rom. i. 19. "Becauſe that which may be *known* of (God) is *manifeſt* in Men, for God hath *ſhewed* it unto them." An Univerſal Propoſition; and we have the Apoſtle's Word for it, who was "One of a Thouſand," and inſpired *on purpoſe* to tell us the Truth: Let it then have its due weight with us. If that which may be known of God is manifeſt in Men, the People called Quakers cannot, certainly, be out of the way in preaching up the *Light within*, without which, nothing *can be* manifeſted to the Mind of man; as ſaith the ſame Apoſtle to the Epheſians, Eph. v. 13. "Whatſoever doth make *manifeſt* is *Light*." Well then may they call this Light within a *Manifeſtation* or *Appearance* of *God*, that ſheweth *in* and *to* Man, *all* that may be *known* of God. A paſſage much like unto this, is that of the Prophet Micah, chap. vi. 8. "God hath "*ſhewed* thee, O Man, what is *good*; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to "do Juſtly, and to love Mercy, and to walk Humbly with thy God?" God hath *ſhewed thee*, O *Man!* It is very emphatical. But how hath he *ſhewed* him? Why by his *Light* in the *Conſcience*, which the Wicked *rebel* againſt, Job. xxiv. 13. "Who, for "*that* Cauſe, know not the Ways, nor abide in the Paths thereof:" For "its Ways "are Ways of Pleaſantneſs, and all its Paths are Peace," to them that obey it.

§. 3. But the *Light* giveth the Light of *Life*, which is *Eternal Life*, to them that receive and obey it. Thus, ſays the bleſſed Saviour of the World, John viii. 12. "I am the Light of the World, he that followeth me ſhall not abide in Darkneſs, "but ſhall have the Light of Life." Now he is the Light of the *World*, becauſe he lighteth every Man that cometh *into* the World, and they that obey that *Light* obey *Him*, and therefore have the Light of Life. That is, the Light becomes Eternal *Life* to the Soul: That as it is the *Life* of the *Word*, which is the *Light* in Man, ſo it becomes the *Life* in Man, through his Obedience to it, as his Heavenly *Light*.

§. 4. Farthermore, this Light was the very Ground of the *Apoſtolical Meſſage*, as the beloved diſciple aſſures us, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. "This then is the *Meſſage*, which "we have heard of *him*, and declare unto *you*, That God is *Light*, and in him is no "Darkneſs at all: If we ſay we have Fellowſhip with *him*, and walk in Darkneſs, "we lye, and do not the truth: But if we *walk* in the Light, as *he* is in the Light, "we have Fellowſhip one with another, and the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſeth us "from all Sin." Which is ſo comprehenſive of the Virtue and Excellency of the Light, in reference to Man, that there is little need that more ſhould be ſaid upon it; foraſmuch as, Firſt, It reveals *God*, and that God *himſelf* is *Light*. Secondly, It diſcovers Darkneſs from Light, and that there is no Fellowſhip between them. Thirdly, That Man ought to *walk* in the Light. Fourthly, That it is the Way to obtain Forgiveneſs of Sin, and Sanctification from it. Fifthly, That it is the Means to have Peace and Fellowſhip with God and His people; his true Church, redeemed from the pollutions of the world.

§. 5. Some, perhaps, may object, as indeed it hath been more than once objected upon us, 'That this is *another* Light, not that Light wherewith *every Man* is en'lightened.' But the ſame Apoſtle, in his Evangelical Hiſtory, tells us, that "in "the Word was Life, and the *Life* was the Light of *Men*," and that that *very* Light, that was the *Life* of the Word, was the *True Light* which lighteth *every Man* that cometh into the World, John. i. 4, 9. Where is there ſo plain a text to be found *againſt* the Sufficiency, as well as Univerſality, of the Light within; or a plainer for any article of Faith in the whole Book of God? Had the beloved diſciple intended *Two* Lights, in his Evangelical Hiſtory, and his Epiſtles, to be ſure he would have noted to us his Diſtinction: But we read of none, and by the Properties aſcribed in each writing, we have reaſon to conclude he meant the *ſame*.

§. 6. But if any ſhall yet object, 'That this is to be underſtood a *Spiritual* Light, 'and that ours is to be a *Natural* one,' I ſhall deſire them to do two things: Firſt, To prove that a *Natural* Light, as they phraſe it, doth manifeſt *God*, other than as I have before explained and allowed: Since whatever is *Part* of Man, in his *Conſtitution*, but eſpecially in his Degeneracy from God, is ſo far from yielding him the *Knowledge* of God, that it cannot *rightly* reprove or diſcover that which *offends* him, without the Light we ſpeak of: And it is granted, that what we call *Divine*, and ſome, miſtakenly, call *Natural* Light, can do *both*. Secondly, If this Light be *Natural*, notwithſtanding it doth manifeſt our Duty, and reprove our Diſobedience to God, they would do well to aſſign us ſome certain *Medium*, or *Way*, whereby we may truly diſcern and diſtinguiſh between the Manifeſtations and Reproofs of the *Natural* Light within, from thoſe of the *Divine* Light within, ſince they allow the Manifeſtation of *God*, and Reproof of *Evil*, as well to the *one*, as to the *other*. Let them give us but one ſcripture that diſtinguiſhes between a *Natural* and a *Spiritual* Light within.

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1696. They may, with as much reaſon, talk of a *Natural* and a *Spiritual Darkneſs* within. It is true, there is a natural *proper* Darkneſs, to wit, The Night of the Outward World; and there is a *ſpiritual* Darkneſs, viz. The *clouded* and *benighted* Underſtandings of Men, through Diſobedience to the Light and Spirit of God: But let them aſſign us a Third, if they can. People uſe, indeed, to ſay, improperly, of Blind Men, they are *Dark*; we may call a *Natural* or *Idiot* ſo, if we will: But where is there *another* Darkneſs of the *Underſtanding*, in the things of God? If they can, I ſay, find that, in and about the things of God, they do ſomething.

Chriſt diſtinguiſhed not between Darkneſs and Darkneſs, or Light and Light, in any ſuch Senſe; nor did any of his Diſciples: Yet both have frequently ſpoken of Darkneſs and Light. What difference, pray, doth the Scripture put between *Spiritual* Darkneſs, and *Darkneſs*, mentioned in theſe places, Luke i. 7, 9. Mat. iv. 16. John i. 5. & iii. 19. & viii. 12, 31, 46. 1 Theſ. v. 4. 1 John i. 6. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 14, 22. Eph. v. 8. Col. i. 13. Upon the ſtricteſt compariſon of them I find none. It is all one *ſpiritual* Darkneſs. Neither is there ſo much as one ſcripture that affords us a diſtinction between *Light within* and *Light within*; or that there are really *Two Lights* from God, in *Man*, that regard *Religion*. Peruſe Mat. iv. 16. Luke ii. 32. & xv. 8. John i. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. & iii. 19, 20, 21. & viii. 12. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. iv. 6. & vi. 14. Eph. v. 8, 13. Col. i. 12. 1 Theſſ. v. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John i. 5, 7. & ii. 8. Rev. xxi. 23, 24. & xxii. 5. And we believe the greateſt oppoſer to our aſſertion, will not be able to ſever Light from Light, or find out *Two Lights within*, in the paſſages here mentioned, or any other, to direct Man in his duty to God and his neighbour: And if he cannot, pray let him forbear his mean Thoughts and Words of the *Light of Chriſt* within *Man*, as Man's *Guide* in Duty to God and Man. For as he muſt yield to us, that the Light manifeſteth *Evil*, and *reproveth* for it, ſo doth Chriſt himſelf teach us of the Light, John iii. 20. "For every one that doth Evil hateth the Light, neither cometh unto the Light, leſt his Deeds ſhould be reproved." And the Apoſtle Paul plainly ſaith, Eph. v. 13. "But all things that are reproved are made manifeſt by the *Light*;" therefore there are not *Two* diſtinct Lights within, but *One* and the *ſame* manifeſting, reproving, and teaching *Light within*. And this the Apoſtle John, in his Firſt Epiſtle, makes plain, beyond all exception, to all conſiderate people: Firſt, In that he calls God, *Light*, Chap. i. 5. Secondly, In that he puts no *Medium*, or *Third* thing, between that *Light*, and *Darkneſs*, verſe 6. "If we ſay we have Fellowſhip with him, and walk in Darkneſs, we lye," &c. Intimating, that Men muſt walk either in *Light* or *Darkneſs*, and not in a *Third* or *other* State or Region. I am ſure, that which *manifeſts* and *reproves* Darkneſs, cannot be *Darkneſs*. This all men muſt confeſs.

§. 7. And, as if the Apoſtle John would have anticipated their objection, viz. 'It is true, your Light within reproves for Evil; but it is not therefore the Divine Light, which leads into higher things, and which comes by the Goſpel;' he thus expreſſeth himſelf, 1 John ii. 8, 9. "The Darkneſs is paſt, and the true Light now ſhineth. He that ſaith he is in the Light, and hateth his Brother, is in Darkneſs even until now;" which is not *another* Light than that mentioned before, chap. i. For as Light is put *there* in Oppoſition to Darkneſs, ſo Light *here*, is put in Oppoſition to Darkneſs. And as the *Darkneſs* is the *ſame*, ſo muſt the *Light* be the *ſame*. Wherefore we may plainly ſee, that it is *not another Light*, than that which reproves a man for *hating his Brother*, which brings a man *into Fellowſhip with God*, and *to the Blood of Cleanſing*, as the next verſe ſpeaks: Therefore that *Light* which reproveth a Man for hating his Brother, is of a *Divine* and *Efficacious Nature*. In ſhort, that Light which is oppoſite to, and reproves, Spiritual Darkneſs, in a man and woman, is a *Spiritual Light*; but ſuch a Light is that which we confeſs, teſtify to, and maintain: Therefore it is a *Spiritual* Light. It is alſo worth our notice, that the Apoſtle uſeth the ſame manner of Expreſſion here, chap. ii. 8. "The *True Light* ſhineth," that he doth in his Evangelical Hiſtory, chap. i. 9. "That was the *True Light*;" intimating the ſame Divine Word, or *True* Light *now* "ſhineth;" and that it is the ſame *True Light* in his account, that *reproveth* ſuch as *hate their Brethren*: Conſequently, that Light that ſo reproveth them, is the *True Light*. And ſtrange it is, that Chriſt and his diſciples, but eſpecially his beloved one, ſhould ſo often make that very Light, which *ſtoops* to the *loweſt* Step of Immorality, and to the Reproof of the *groſſeſt* Evil, to be no other than the *ſame Divine* Life, in a farther Degree of Manifeſtation, which brings ſuch as follow it to the *Light of Life*, to the *Blood* of *Cleanſing*, and to have *Fellowſhip with God, and One with another*; Nay, not only ſo, but the Apoſtle makes a Man's being a *Child of God*, to depend upon his *anſwering* of this Light in a palpable and common caſe, viz. "Not hating of his Brother:" And that yet any ſhould ſhut their eyes ſo faſt againſt beholding the Virtue of it, as to conclude it a *natural* and *inſufficient* Light, is both *unſcriptural* and *unreaſonable*. Shall we ſlight it, becauſe we come ſo *eaſily* by it, and it is ſo familiar and domeſtick to us? Or make its being ſo *common*, an argument to undervalue ſo Ineſtimable a Mercy? What is more common than *Light* and *Air*, and *Water*? And ſhould we therefore contemn them, or prize them? *Prize* them, certainly, as what we cannot live, nor live *comfortably*, without. The more general the mercy is, the greater; and therefore the greater obligation upon man to live humbly and thankfully for it. And to thoſe alone that do ſo, are its Divine Secrets revealed.

CHAP. V.

§. 1. *The* Light *the* ſame *with the* Spirit. *It is of* God; *proved by its Properties.* §. 2. *The Properties of the* Spirit *compared with thoſe of the* Light. §. 3. *The Light and Grace* flow *from the* ſame *Principle, proved by their* agreeing *Properties.* §. 4. *An Objection anſwered.* §. 5. *Difference in* Manifeſtation, *or* Operation, *eſpecially in* Goſpel-times, *but not in* Principle, *illuſtrated.*

Obj. BUT ſome may ſay, ‘ We could willingly allow to the *Spirit* and *Grace* of ‘ God, which ſeemed to be the peculiar Bleſſing of the New and Second ‘ Covenant, and the Fruit of the Coming of Chriſt, all that which you aſcribe to the ‘ *Light within*; but except it appeared to us that this *Light* were the ſame in *Nature* ‘ with the *Spirit* and *Grace of God*, we cannot eaſily bring ourſelves to believe what ‘ you ſay in favour of the Light within.’

Anſw. This objection, at firſt look, ſeems to carry weight with it. But upon a juſt and ſerious review, it will appear to have more Words than Matter, Shew than Subſtance: Yet becauſe it gives occaſion to ſolve ſcruples, that may be flung in the way of the ſimple, I ſhall attend it throughout. I ſay, then, if it appear that the *Properties*, aſcribed to the *Light within*, are the ſame with thoſe that are given to the *Holy Spirit* and *Grace of God*; and that thoſe ſeveral Terms, or Epithets, are only to expreſs the divers Manifeſtations or Operations of one and the ſame Principle, then it will not, it cannot, be denied, but this Light within is *divine* and *efficacious*, as we have aſſerted it. Now, that it is of the ſame *Nature* with the Spirit and Grace of God, and tends to the ſame End, which is to bring people to God, let the *Properties* of the *Light* be compared with thoſe of the *Spirit* and *Grace of God*. I ſay, they are the ſame, in that, firſt, The Light proceeds from the *One Word*, and *One Life* of that *One Word*, which was *with* God and *was* God, John i. 4. & i. 9. Secondly, It is *Univerſal*, it lighteth *every* man. Thirdly, *It giveth* the *Knowledge* of *God*, and *Fellowſhip with him.* Rom. i. 19. John iii. 21. 1 John i. 5, 6. Fourthly, *It manifeſteth* and *reproveth Evil*, John iii. 20. Eph. v. 13. Fifthly, *It* is made the *Rule* and *Guide* of *Chriſtian Walking*, Pſalm xliii. 3. John viii. 12. Eph. v. 13, 15. Sixthly, It is the *Path* for God's People to *go in*, Pſalm cxix. 105. Prov. iv. 18. Iſaiah ii. 5. 1 John i. 7. Rev. xxiv. 23. “ And the Nations of them that are ſaved, ſhall walk in the *Light* (of the Lamb.)” Laſtly, It is the *Armour* of the Children of God againſt *Satan*, Pſalm xxvii. 1. “ The “ Lord is my *Light*, whom ſhall I fear?” Rom. xiii. 12. “ Let us put on the Ar- “ mour of *Light*.”

§. 2. Now let all this be compared with the *Properties* of the *Holy Spirit*, and their agreement will be very manifeſt. Firſt, It *proceedeth* from God, becauſe it is the *Spirit* of God, Rom. vi. 11. Secondly, It is *Univerſal*. It *ſtrove* with the Old World, Gen. vi. 3. Then to be ſure, with the New One: *Every one* hath a *Meaſure* of it given to *profit withal*, 1 Cor. xii. 7. Thirdly, It *revealeth God*, Job. xxxii. 8. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. Fourthly, It *reproveth Sin*, John xvi. 8. Fifthly, It is a *Rule* and *Guide* for the Children of God to *walk* by, Rom. viii. 14. Sixthly, It is alſo the *Path* they are to *walk in*, Rom. viii. 1. Gal. v. 15. “ *Walk* in the *Spirit*.” Laſtly, This is not all; It is likewiſe the *Spiritual Weapon* of a true Chriſtian, Eph. vi. 17. “ Take “ the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.” After this, I hope none will deny that this *Light* and this *Spirit* muſt be of one and the ſame *Nature*, that work one and the ſame *Effect*, and tend evidently to one and the ſame holy *End*.

§. 3. And what is ſaid of the *Light* and *Spirit*, may alſo very well be ſaid of the *Light* and *Grace* of God; in that, Firſt, The *Grace* floweth from Chriſt, the Word, that took fleſh, as well as the *Light*; for as in him was Life, and that Life the *Light* of Men, ſo he was “ full of *Grace* and Truth, and of his Fulneſs have all we re- “ ceived, and Grace for Grace,” John i. 4, 9, 14, 16. Secondly, It is *univerſal*; both from this Text, and what the Apoſtle to Titus teacheth; “ For the *Grace* of God “ that bringeth ſalvation, hath appeared to *all* Men.” Tit. ii. 11, 12. Thirdly, It *manifeſteth Evil*, for if it teaches to *deny* Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, it muſt needs *detect* them, and ſo ſays the text. Fourthly, It *revealeth Godlineſs*, and conſequently it muſt manifeſt *God*. Fifthly, It is an *Inſtructor* and *Guide*; for, ſays the Apoſtle,

“ It teaches to deny Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, “ and godly in this preſent World,” and herein a *Rule* of Life, Tit. ii. 11, 12. Sixthly, It is, to all that *receive* it, all that they can *need* or *deſire*, 2 Cor. xii. 9. “ My Grace is *ſufficient* for thee.” An high teſtimony from *Heaven*, to the power of this *teaching* and *ſaving Grace*, under the ſtrongeſt temptations.

§. 4. Obj. ‘ But there is little Mention made of the *Spirit*, and none of the *Grace*, ‘ before Chriſt's Coming; and therefore the *Spirit*, as ſpoken of in the Writings of ‘ the New Teſtament, and eſpecially the *Grace*, muſt be another, and a nobler thing ‘ than the Light within.’

Anſw. By no means another *Thing*, but another *Name*, from another *Manifeſtation*, or *Operation*, of the ſame *Principle*. It is called *Light* from the *Diſtinction* and *Diſcerning* it gives. “ Let there be Light, and there was Light,” ſaid God in the Beginning of the Old World; ſo there is firſt *Light* in the Beginning of the New Creation of God in Man. It is called *Spirit*, becauſe it giveth *Life*, *Senſe*, *Motion*, and *Vigour*: And it is as often mentioned in the Writings of the Old as New Teſtament; which every reader may ſee, if he will but pleaſe to look into his Scripture-Concordance. Thus, “ God's Spirit ſtrove with the Old World.” Gen. vi. 3. and with “ Iſrael in the Wilderneſs,” Neh. ix. 30. And David aſked, in the agony of his ſoul, “ Whither ſhall I go from thy Spirit?” Pſalm cxxxix. 7. and the Prophets often felt it. It is ſtiled *Grace*, not from its being another Principle, but becauſe it was a *fuller* Diſpenſation of the Virtue and Power of the ſame Divine Principle: And that being purely God's Favour and Mercy, and not man's Merit, is aptly, and deſervedly, called the *Grace*, *Favour*, or *Good-will* of God, to *undeſerving* Man. The Wind does not always blow *freſh*, nor Heaven ſend down its Rain *freely*, nor the Sun ſhine forth *clearly*; ſhall we therefore ſay, it is not of the ſame *Kind* of Wind, Rain or Light, when it blows, rains, or ſhines but a *little*, as when it blows, rains, or ſhines *much*? It is certainly the *ſame* in Nature and Kind; and ſo is this *Bleſſed Principle*, under all its ſeveral Diſpenſations, Manifeſtations and Operations, for the benefit of man's ſoul, ever ſince the world began.

§. 5. But this is moſt freely, humbly, and thankfully acknowledged by us, That the Diſpenſation of the *Goſpel*, was the cleareſt, fulleſt, and nobleſt of all other; both with regard to the Coming of Chriſt in the Fleſh, and being our One Holy Offering to God for Sin, through the Eternal Spirit; and the breaking-forth of His Light, the Effuſion of His Spirit, and Appearance of His Grace, in and to Man, in a more excellent Manner after His Aſcenſion. For though it was not *another* Light, or Spirit, than that which he had given to man in former ages, yet it was another and Greater *Meaſure*; and that is the privilege of the Goſpel above former Diſpenſations. What before ſhined but *dimly*, ſhines ſince with *great glory*. Then it appeared but *darkly*, but now with *open face*. Types, Figures and Shadows *veiled* its appearances, and made them look *low* and *faint*; but in the *Goſpel-time*, the *veil* is *rent*, and the *Hidden* Glory *manifeſt*. It was under the Law but as a *dew*, or ſmall Rain; but under the Goſpel, it may be ſaid to be *poured out* upon Men: According to that gracious and notable promiſe of God, by the Prophet Joel, “ In the latter days I will “ *pour out* of my Spirit upon *all Fleſh*.” Thus we ſay, when it rains plentifully, look how it *pours*. So God augments his Light, Grace and Spirit to theſe latter days. They ſhall not have it ſparingly, and by ſmall drops, but *fully* and *freely*, and *overflowing* too. And thus Peter, that deep and excellent Apoſtle, applies that promiſe in Joel, on the *Day of Pentecoſt*, as the *Beginning* of the Accompliſhment of it. This is Grace, and Favour, and Goodneſs indeed. And therefore well may this Brighter Illumination, and Greater Effuſion of the Spirit, be called *Grace*; for as the Coming of the *Son* excelled that of the *Servant*, ſo did the Manifeſtation of the Light and Spirit of God, ſince the Coming of Chriſt, excel that of the foregoing Diſpenſations; yet ever ſufficient to Salvation, to all thoſe that walked in it. This is *our Senſe* of the *Light*, *Spirit*, and *Grace* of God: And by what is ſaid, it is evident they are *One and the ſame Principle*; and that he that has Light, need not want the Spirit or Grace of God, if he will but receive it, in the Love of it: For the very PRINCIPLE, that is LIGHT to *ſhow* him, is alſo SPIRIT to *quicken* him, and GRACE to *teach*, *help*, and *comfort* him. It is ſufficient in all Circumſtances of Life, to them that diligently mind and obey it.

2 Cor. iii. 18.
John i. 5, 17.
Joel ii. 28.

CHAP. VI.

§. 1. *An Objection anſwered:* All *are not* good, *though* All *are* lighted. §. 2. *Another Objection anſwered, That* Goſpel-truths *were known before* Chriſt's Coming. §. 3. *Another: The* Gentiles *had the* ſame Light, *though not with thoſe* Advantages: *Proved from* Scripture.

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§. 1. Obj. BUT ſome may yet ſay ‘ If it be as you declare, How comes it, that all who ‘ are enlightened, are not ſo good as they ſhould be; or, as you ſay, this ‘ would make them?’

Anſw. Becauſe people do not receive and obey it: All Men have *Reaſon*, but all Men are not *Reaſonable*. Is it the fault of the *Grain*, in the GRANARY, that it yields no *Increaſe*, or of the *Talent* in the NAPKIN, that it is not *improved?* It is plain a *Talent* was given; and as plain that it was *improveable*; both becauſe the like Talents were actually improved by others, and, ‘ That the Juſt Judge expected his Talent with *Advantage*;’ which elſe, to be ſure, he would never have done. Now when our objectors will tell us, whoſe fault it was the Talent was not *improved*, we ſhall be ready to tell them, ‘ Why the Unprofitable Servant was not ſo Good as he ‘ *ſhould* have been.’ The Blind muſt not blame the *Sun*, nor Sinners tax the Grace of *Inſufficiency*. It is *Sin* that darkens the *Eye*, and hardens the *Heart*, and that *hinders* good things from the ſons of men. “ If we do his *Will*, we ſhall know of his divine “ Doctrine,” ſo Chriſt tells us. Men not living to what they know, cannot blame God, that they know no more. The Unfruitfulneſs is in *Us*, not in the *Talent*. It were well, indeed, that this were laid to heart. But, alas! Men are too apt to follow their Senſual Appetites, rather than their Reaſonable Mind, which renders them Brutal, inſtead of Rational. For the *Reaſonable Part* in Man, is his *Spiritual Part*; and *that* guided by the Divine Λόγος, or *Word*, which Tertullian interprets REASON *in the moſt Excellent Senſe*, makes *Man truly Reaſonable*; and then it is that Man comes to offer up Himſelf to God a *Reaſonable Sacrifice*. Then a *Man indeed*; a *Compleat Man*; Such a man as GOD *made*, when he made Man in *His Own Image*, and gave him Paradiſe for his Habitation.

§. 2. Obj. But ſome yet object, ‘ If Mankind had *always* this Principle, how ‘ comes it that Goſpel-Truths were not ſo fully known before the Coming of Chriſt, ‘ to thoſe that were Obedient to it?’

Anſw. Becauſe a *Child* is not a *Grown Man*, nor the *Beginning* the *End*; and yet He that is the *Beginning*, is alſo the *End:* The PRINCIPLE is the ſame, though not the *Manifeſtation*. As the World has many Steps and Periods of Time towards its End, ſo hath Man to his Perfection. They that are Faithful to what they know of the Diſpenſation of their *own* Day, ſhall hear the Happy Welcome, of “ Well done, “ Good and Faithful Servant.” And yet many of God's People in thoſe Days, had a Proſpect of the Glory of the Latter Times, the Improvement of Religion, the Happineſs of the Church of God.

This we ſee in the Prophecy of *Jacob* and *Moſes*, concerning the “ Reſtoration of “ Iſrael by Chriſt.” So *David*, in many of his excellent Pſalms, expreſſing moſt Senſible and Extraordinary Enjoyments, as well as Prophecies; particularly his ii. xv. xviii, xxii, xxiii, xxv, xxvii, xxxii, xxxvi, xxxvii, xlii, xliii, xlv, li, lxxxiv, &c. The Prophets are full of it, and for that reaſon have their Name; particularly *Iſaiah*, Chap. ii, ix, xi, xxv, xxviii, xxxii, xxxv, xlii, xlix, l, li, lii, liii, liv, lix, lx, lxi, lxiii, lxv, lxvi. *Jeremiah* alſo, Chap. xxiii, xxx, xxxi. xxxiii. *Ezekiel*, Chap. xx. xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii. *Daniel*, Chap. viii, ix, x, xi, xii. *Hoſea*, Chap. i, iii. *Joel*, Chap. ii, iii. *Amos*, Chap. ix. *Micah*, Chap. iv, v. *Zachariah*, Chap. vi, viii, ix, xi, xiii, xiv. *Malachi*, Chap. iii, iv. This was not *another Principle*, though another *Manifeſtation* of the *ſame Principle*; nor was it *common*, but particular and extraordinary in the *Reaſon* of it.

Gen. xlix. 10. Deut. xviii. 15, 18.

It was the *ſame* Spirit that came upon *Moſes*, which came upon *John the Baptiſt*; and it was alſo the *ſame* Spirit that came upon *Gideon* and *Sampſon*, that fell upon *Peter* and *Paul*; but it was not the ſame *Diſpenſation* of that Spirit. It hath been the Way of God, to viſit and appear to Men according to their *States* and *Conditions*, and as they have been *prepared* to *receive* him, be it more outwardly or inwardly, ſenſibly or ſpiritually. There is no Capacity too low, or too high, for this Divine Principle: For as it *made* and *knows* all, ſo it reaches unto *all People*. It extends to the Meaneſt, and the Higheſt cannot ſubſiſt without it. Which made David break forth in his Expoſtulations with God, “ Whither ſhall I go from thy Spirit, or whither “ ſhall I flee from thy Preſence?” Pſal. cxxxix. 7, 8, 9, 10. Implying it was every-where; though not every-where, nor at every Time, *alike.* "If I go to Heaven, "to Hell, or beyond the Seas, even there ſhall thy Hand lead me, and thy Right-"Hand ſhall hold me." That is, 'There will this Divine Word, this Light of 'Men, this Spirit of God, find me, lead me, help me, and comfort me. For it is 'with me where-ever I am, and where-ever I go, in one reſpect or other;' Prov. vi. 22. "When thou goeſt, it ſhall lead thee; when thou ſleepeſt, it ſhall keep thee; "and when thou awakeſt, it ſhall talk with thee:" And I can no more get rid of it, if I would, than of *myſelf,* or my own *Nature*; ſo preſent is it with me, and ſo cloſe it ſticks unto me. Iſa. xliii. 2. "When thou paſſeſt through the Waters, I will be "with thee; and through the Rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee; when thou walkeſt "through the Fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt, neither ſhall the Flame kindle upon thee." David knew it, and therefore had a Great Value for it. "In thy Light ſhall we *ſee* "Light," or, We ſhall be *enlightened* by *thy* Light. "Thou wilt Light my Candle; "the Lord my God will Lighten my Darkneſs." Again, "The Lord is my Light, "whom ſhall I fear?" It was his Armour againſt all Danger. It took Fear away from him, and he was undaunted, becauſe he was Safe in the Way of it. Of the ſame Bleſſed Word he ſays elſewhere, "It is a Lamp unto my feet, and a Lanthorn to my "paths." In ſhort, a Light to him in his Way to Bleſſedneſs.

§. 3. Obj. 'But if the *Jews* had this Light, it does not follow that the *Gentiles* 'had it alſo; but by your Doctrine *all* have it.'

Anſw. Yes, and it is the glory of this doctrine which we profeſs, that God's Love is therein held forth to *All.* And beſides the texts cited in general, and that are as full and poſitive as can be expreſſed, the Apoſtle is very particular in the Second Rom. ii. 7, to 17. Chapter of his Epiſtle to the Romans, "That the Gentiles having not the Law, did "by Nature the Things contained in the Law, and were a Law unto themſelves." That is, They had not an Outward Law, circumſtanced as the *Jews* had; but they had "the *Work* of the Law written in their *Hearts,*" and therefore might well be a Law *to* themſelves, that had the Law *in* themſelves. And ſo had the *Jews* too, but then they had greater Outward Helps to quicken their Obedience to it; ſuch as God afforded not unto any other nation: And therefore the Obedience of the *Gentiles,* or Uncircumciſion, is ſaid to be by Nature, or Naturally, becauſe it was without thoſe Additional, External, and Extraordinary Miniſtries and Helps which the *Jews* had to provoke them to duty. Which is ſo far from *leſſening* the Obedient Gentiles, that it *exalts* them in the Apoſtle's judgment; becauſe though they had leſs advantages than the *Jews,* yet the "Work of the Law written in their Hearts," was made ſo much the more evident by the Good Life they lived in the World. He adds, "their Con-"ſciences bearing Witneſs (or as it may be rendered, *witneſſing with them*) and their "Thoughts, mean while, accuſing, or elſe excuſing one another, in the Day when "God ſhall judge the Secrets of all Hearts by Jeſus Chriſt, according to my Goſpel." Which preſents us with four things to our point, and worth our ſerious reflection. Firſt, That the *Gentiles* had the Law written in their *Hearts.* Secondly, That their Conſcience was an allowed Witneſs or Evidence about Duty. Thirdly, That the Judgment made thereby ſhall be Confirmed by the Apoſtle's Goſpel at the Great Day, and therefore Valid and Irreverſible. Fourthly, That this could not be, if the *Light* of this Conſcience were not a *divine* and *ſufficient* Light: For *Conſcience,* truly ſpeaking, is no other than 'the *Senſe* a Man hath, or *Judgment* he maketh, of his *Duty* 'to God, according to the *Underſtanding* God gives him of *His Will.*' And that no ill, but a true and ſcriptural uſe, may be made of this word *Conſcience,* I limit it to Duty, and that to a Virtuous and Holy Life, as the Apoſtle evidently doth, about which we cannot miſs, or diſpute: Read verſes 7, 8, 9. It was to *that,* therefore, the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt deſired to be made *manifeſt,* for they dared to ſtand the Judgment of *Conſcience,* in reference to the Doctrine they preached and preſſed upon men. The beloved Diſciple alſo makes it a *Judge* of man's preſent and future 1 John iii, 21, 22. State, under the term *Heart,* "For if our Heart condemn us, God is greater than our "Heart, and knoweth all things. Beloved, if our Heart condemn us not, then have "we Confidence towards God." Plain and ſtrong words: And what were they about, but whether we love God, in deed and in truth: And how muſt that appear? Why, in "keeping his Commandments," which is living *up* to what we *know.* And if any deſire to ſatisfy themſelves farther of the Divinity of the *Gentiles,* let them read Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and the Gentile Writers. They will alſo find many of their Sayings, collected in the Firſt Part of a Book, called, *The Chriſtian Quaker,* and compared with the Teſtimonies of Scripture, not for their Authority, but Agreeableneſs. In them they may diſcern many Excellent Truths, and taſte Great Love and Devotion to Virtue: A Fruit that grows upon no Tree, but that of *Life,* in no Age or Nation. Some of the moſt eminent Writers of the Firſt Ages, ſuch as Juſtin Martyr, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. bore them great reſpect, and thought it no leſſening to the reputation of Chriſtianity, that it was defended in many

many *Gentile* Authors, as well as that they uſed and urged them to engage their followers to the Faith, as Paul did the Athenians with their own *Poets*.

CHAP. VII.

§. 1. *An Objection anſwered about the* various Diſpenſations *of God: The* Principle *the ſame.* §. 2. *God's Work* of a Piece, *and* Truth *the ſame under* divers Shapes. §. 3. *The Reaſon of the Prevalency of* Idolatry. §. 4. *The* Quakers *Teſtimony the beſt Antidote againſt it,* viz. Walking by a Divine Principle in Man. §. 5. *It was* God's End, *in all his Manifeſtations, that Man might be* God's Image and Delight.

§. 1. BUT it may be ſaid, 'If it were *One Principle,* why ſo many *Modes* and *Shapes* 'of Religion, ſince the World began? For the *Patriarchal, Moſaical,* and '*Chriſtian,* have their great differences; to ſay nothing of what has befallen the *Chriſtian,* ſince the Publication of it to the World.'

Anſ. I know not how properly they may be called *divers* Religions, that aſſert the *True God* for the Object of Worſhip; the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt,* for the *Only Saviour;* and the *Light,* or *Spirit* of Chriſt, for the *Great Agent* and *Means* of Man's Converſion, and Eternal Felicity, any more than Infancy, Youth, and Manhood, make *Three Men,* inſtead of *Three Growths,* or *Periods of Time,* of *One* and the *Same Man.* But paſſing that, the many Modes or Ways of God's appearing to Men, ariſe, as hath been ſaid, from the divers *States* of Men; in all which, it ſeems to have been his main deſign to prevent Idolatry and Vice, by directing their Minds to the *True* Object of Worſhip, and preſſing Virtue and Holineſs. So that though immediately he ſpoke to the Patriarchs moſtly by *Angels,* in the Faſhion of Men, and by them to their Families, over and above the Illumination in themſelves; ſo to the Prophets, for the moſt part, by the Revelation of the *Holy Ghoſt* in them, and by them to the *Jews;* and ſince the Goſpel Diſpenſation, by his *Son,* both externally, by his Coming in the *Fleſh,* and internally, by his *ſpiritual* Appearance in the *Soul,* as he is the *Great Light* of the World; yet all its Flowings mediately through Others, have ſtill been from the *ſame Principle,* co-operating with the Manifeſtation of it *immediately* in Man's own Particular.

§. 2. This is of great weight, for our information and encouragement, that God's work, in reference to Man, is *All of a Piece,* and, in itſelf, lies in a narrow compaſs, and that his Eye has ever been upon the ſame Thing in all his Diſpenſations, viz. *To make Men truly Good,* by planting his holy Awe and Fear in their Hearts: Though he has condeſcended, for the Hardneſs and Darkneſs of Mens Hearts, to approach, and ſpell out his Holy Mind, to them, by low and carnal Ways, as they may appear to our more Enlightned Underſtandings: Suffering *Truth* to put on divers ſorts of Garments, the better to reach to the low State of Men, to engage them from *falſe Gods,* and *ill Lives;* ſeeing them ſunk ſo much below their Nobler Part, and what He made them, that, like Brute Beaſts, they knew not their own Strength and Excellency.

§. 3. And if we do but well conſider the Reaſon of the Prevalency of *Idolatry,* upon the earlier and darker times of the world, of which the Scripture is very particular, we ſhall find that it ariſeth from this, that it is more Senſual, and therefore calculated to pleaſe the *Senſes* of Men; being more *outward* or *viſible,* or more in their own power to perform, than one more *ſpiritual* in its Object. For as their gods were the Workmanſhip of Mens Hands, they could not *prefer* them, that being the argument which did moſt of all gall their worſhippers, and what of all things, for that reaſon, they were moſt willing to forget. But their incidency to *Idolatry,* and the advantages it had upon the true Religion with them, plainly came from this, 'That it was more *outward* and *ſenſual:*' They could *ſee* the Object of their Devotion, and had it in their Power to addreſs it when they would. It was more *faſhionable* too, as well as better accommodated to their dark, and too brutal, ſtate. And therefore it was, that God, by many afflictions, and greater deliverances, brought forth a people, to *endear* himſelf to them, that they might *remember* the *Hand* that *ſaved them,* and worſhip *Him,* and Him *only,* in order to root up *Idolatry,* and plant the *Knowledge* and *Fear* of *Him* in their *Minds,* for an example to other nations. Whoever reads Deuteronomy, which is a Summary of the other Four Books of Moſes, will find the frequent and earneſt care and concern of that good man for Iſrael, about this very point; and how often that people ſlipt and lapſed, notwithſtanding God's love, care and patience over them, into the idolatrous cuſtoms of the nations about them. Divers other ſcriptures inform us alſo, eſpecially thoſe of the Prophets, Iſaiah xliv. and xlv., Pſal. xxxvii. and cxv. and Jer. x. where the Holy Ghoſt confutes and rebukes the people, and mocks their *Idols* with a ſort of holy diſdain.

Gen. xxxi. xxxv. Exod. xx. Levit. xxi. Deut. xxix. xxx, xx[illegible], xxxii. Joſh. xxii, xxiii, xxiv,

§. 4. Now that which is *fartheſt* from Idolatry, and the beſt *Antidote* againſt it, is the *Principle* we have laid down; and the more people's minds are turned and brought to it, and that they reſolve their Faith, Worſhip and Obedience into the Holy Illuminations and Power of it, the *nearer* they grow to the *End* of their Creation, and conſequently to their *Creator*. They are more ſpiritually qualified, and become better fitted to worſhip God as he *is*: Who, as we are told by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is a *Spirit*, and will be worſhipped in Spirit and in Truth, and that they are ſuch Sort of Worſhippers which God ſeeketh to worſhip him, in this Goſpel Day. “The Hour cometh,” ſaith he, “and now is.” That is, ‘Some *now* do ſo, but more *ſhall*.’ A plain aſſertion in preſent, and a Promiſe and Prophecy of the Increaſe of *ſuch* worſhippers in future. Which ſhews a Change intended from a *ceremonial* Worſhip, and State of the Church of God, to a *ſpiritual* one. Thus the text; “But the Time cometh, and now is, when True Worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and in Truth.” Which is as much as to ſay, ‘When the Worſhip of God ſhall be more *Inward* than Outward,’ and ſo more *ſuitable* to the Nature of God, and the nobler part of Man, his *Inſide*, or his *inward* and *better* Man: For ſo thoſe bleſſed words import, “in Spirit and in Truth.” In *Spirit*, that is, ‘through the *Power* of the Spirit.’ *In Truth*, that is, ‘in *Realities*,’ not in Shadows, Ceremonies, or Formalities, but in Sincerity, with and in Life, being divinely prepared and animated; which brings man not only to offer up *right* Worſhip, but alſo into *Intimate Communion* and *Fellowſhip* with *God*, who is a *Spirit*.

§. 5. And if it be duly weighed, it will appear, that God, in all his manifeſtations of himſelf, hath ſtill come *nearer* and *nearer* to the *Inſides* of Men, that he might reach to their *Underſtandings*, and open their *Hearts*, and give them a plainer and nearer acquaintance with himſelf in Spirit: And then it is that man muſt ſeek and find the Knowledge of God for his eternal Happineſs. Indeed, all Things that are *made*, ſhew forth the Power and Wiſdom of God, and his Goodneſs too, to Mankind; and therefore many men urge the *Creation* to ſilence *Atheiſtical* objections: But though all thoſe things ſhew a God, yet *Man* does it, above all the reſt. *He* is the *precious Stone* of the *Ring*, and the moſt *glorious Jewel* of the *Globe*; to whoſe reaſonable uſe, ſervice, and ſatisfaction, the whole ſeems to be made and dedicated. “But God's delight (by whom Man was made, we are told by the Holy Ghoſt) “is in the *habitable* Parts of the Earth, with the *Sons of Men*,” Prov. viii. 31. And with thoſe that are “contrite in Spirit,” Iſaiah lxvi. 1. And why is Man his Delight, but becauſe Man *only*, of all his works, was of his *Likeneſs*. This is the *intimate Relation* of Man to God; ſomewhat *nearer* than ordinary: For of all other beings, Man *only* had the honour of being his *Image*; and, by his *Reſemblance* to God, as I may ſay, came his *Kindred* with God, and *Knowledge* of him. So that the neareſt and beſt way for Man to *know* God, and be acquainted with him, is to ſeek him in *himſelf*, in his *Image*; and, as he finds *that*, he comes to find and know *God*.

Now Man may be ſaid to be God's *Image* in a *double* reſpect. Firſt, As he is of an *immortal* Nature; and next, as that Nature is *endued* with thoſe excellencies in *ſmall*, and proportionable to a creature's *capacity*, that are by Nature *infinitely* and *incomparably* in his Creator. For Inſtance, *Wiſdom*, *Juſtice*, *Mercy*, *Holineſs*, *Patience*, and the like. As Man becomes Holy, Juſt, Merciful, Patient, &c. by the *Copy* he will know the *Original*, and by the *Workmanſhip* in himſelf, he will be acquainted with the holy *Workman*. This, Reader, is the *Regeneration* and *New Creature* we preſs, Gal. vi. 15, 16; and according to *This* Rule, we ſay, Men ought to be *religious*, and *walk* in *this World*. Man, as I ſaid juſt now, is a Compoſition of *both* Worlds; his *Body* is of *this*, his *Soul* of the *other* World. The *Body* is as the Temple of the *Soul*; the ſoul the *Temple* of the Word; and the *Word* the great Temple and *Manifeſtation* of God. By the *Body* the Soul looks into and beholds *this* World; and by the *Word* it beholds God, and the World that is without *End*. Much might be ſaid of this Order of Things, and their reſpective Excellencies, but I muſt be brief.

CHAP. VIII.

§. 1. *The Doctrine of* Satisfaction *and* Juſtification *Owned and Worded according to* Scripture. §. 2. *What Conſtructions we* cannot *believe of them, and which is an* Abuſe *of them.* §. 3. *Chriſt Owned a* Sacrifice *and a* Mediator. §. 4. Juſtification Twofold, *from the* Guilt *of Sin, and from the* Power *and* Pollution *of it.* §. 5. *Exhortation to the Reader upon the whole.*

Obj. 1. ‘Though there be many good things ſaid, how Chriſt *appears* and *works* in a ſoul, to awaken, convince and convert it; yet you ſeem not particular enough about the *Death* and *Sufferings* of Chriſt: And it is generally rumoured and charged upon you by your adverſaries, that you have little Reverence to the Doctrine of Chriſt's Satisfaction to God for our Sins, and that you do not believe, That the Active and Paſſive Obedience of Chriſt, when he was in the World, is the alone Ground of a Sinner's Juſtification before God.’

Anſw. The doctrines of *Satisfaction* and *Juſtification*, truly underſtood, are placed in ſo ſtrict an Union, that the one is a neceſſary conſequence of the other; and what we ſay of them, is what agrees with the ſuffrage of Scripture, and, for the moſt part, in the Terms of it; always believing, that in points where there ariſes any difficulty, be it from the Obſcurity of Expreſſion, Miſ-tranſlation, or the Duſt raiſed by the heats of *partial* Writers, or *nice Criticks*, it is ever beſt to keep cloſe to the Text, and maintain Charity in the reſt. I ſhall firſt ſpeak *negatively*, what we do *not* own; which perhaps, hath given occaſion to thoſe who have been more haſty than wiſe, to judge us defective in our belief of the Efficacy of the Death and Sufferings of Chriſt to Juſtification: As,

§. 2. Firſt, We cannot believe that Chriſt is the *Cauſe*, but the *Effect*, of God's *Love*, according to the teſtimony of the beloved diſciple, John, chap. iii. "God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son into the world, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting Life."

Secondly, We cannot ſay, God *could not* have taken *another* way to have ſaved ſinners, than by the Death and Sufferings of his Son, to ſatisfy his Juſtice; or that Chriſt's Death and ſufferings were a *ſtrict* and *rigid* Satisfaction for that Eternal Death and Miſery due to Man for Sin and Tranſgreſſion: For ſuch a notion were to make God's *Mercy* little concerned in Man's Salvation; and, indeed, we are at too great a *diſtance* from his Infinite Wiſdom and Power, to judge of the *Liberty* or *Neceſſity* of his Actings.

Thirdly, We cannot ſay Jeſus Chriſt was the *greateſt Sinner* in the World (becauſe he bore our ſins on his Croſs, or becauſe he was made Sin for us, who knew no Sin); an expreſſion of great *Levity* and *Unſoundneſs*, yet often ſaid by great Preachers and Profeſſors of Religion.

Fourthly, We cannot believe that Chriſt's death and ſufferings *ſo* ſatisfy God, or juſtify Men, as that they are *thereby* accepted of God: They are, indeed, thereby put into a *State capable* of being accepted of God, and, through the Obedience of Faith, and Sanctification of the Spirit, *are* in a State of Acceptance: For we can never think a Man *juſtified* before God, while *ſelf-condemned*; or that any Man can be *in Chriſt* who is not a *New* Creature; or that God looks upon men *otherwiſe* than they *are*. We think it a State of *Preſumption*, and not of *Salvation*, to call Jeſus *Lord*, and not by the Work of the *Holy Ghoſt*: *Maſter*, and he not yet Maſter of their *Affections*: *Saviour*, and they not ſaved by him from their *Sins*: *Redeemer*, and yet they not redeemed by him from their *Paſſion*, *Pride*, *Covetouſneſs*, *Wantonneſs*, *Vanity*, *Vain Honours*, *Friendſhips*, and *Glory* of this World: Which were to deceive themſelves; for "God will not be mocked, ſuch as men ſow, ſuch they muſt reap." And though Chriſt did *die* for us, yet we muſt, by the Aſſiſtance of His *Grace*, "work out our Salvation with Fear and Trembling:" As *he* died *for* Sin, ſo *we* muſt die *to* ſin, or we cannot be ſaid to be *ſaved* by the Death and Sufferings of Chriſt, or thoroughly *juſtified* and accepted with God. Thus far negatively. Now, poſitively, what we own as to Juſtification.

§. 3. We do believe that Jeſus Chriſt was our holy *Sacrifice*, *Atonement*, and *Propitiation*; that he bore our Iniquities, and that by his Stripes we were healed of the Wounds *Adam* gave us in his Fall; and that God is juſt in forgiving true Penitents upon the Credit of that Holy Offering Chriſt made of himſelf to God for us; and that what he did and ſuffered, ſatisfied and pleaſed God, and was for the ſake of Fallen Man, that had diſpleaſed God: And that through the Offering up of himſelf once for all, through the Eternal Spirit, he hath for ever perfected thoſe (in all *Times*) that were ſanctified, "who walked not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit," Rom. viii. 1. Mark that.

§. 4. In ſhort, Juſtification conſiſts of *two* Parts, or hath a *twofold* conſideration, viz. Juſtification from the *Guilt* of Sin, and Juſtification from the *Power* and *Pollution* of Sin, and in this ſenſe Juſtification gives a man a full and clear acceptance before God. For want of this *latter* part it is, that ſo many ſouls, religiouſly inclined, are often under doubts, ſcruples, and deſpondencies, notwithſtanding all that their teachers tell them of the extent and efficacy of the *firſt* part of Juſtification. And it is too general an Unhappineſs among the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, that they are apt to *cloak* their own Active and Paſſive *Diſobedience* with the active and paſſive *Obedience* of *Chriſt*. The firſt part of juſtification, we do reverently and humbly acknowledge, is only for the ſake of the *Death* and *Sufferings* of *Chriſt*: Nothing *we* can do, *though by the Operation of the Holy Spirit*, being able to cancel *Old Debts*, or wipe out *Old Scores*: It is the Power and Efficacy of that Propitiatory Offering, upon *Faith* and *Repentance*, that juſtifies us from the Sins that are *paſt*; and it is the Power of Chriſt's Spirit in our Hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. For 'till the Heart of Man is purged from *Sin*, God will never *accept* of it. He reproves, rebukes and condemns thoſe that entertain Sin there, and therefore ſuch cannot be ſaid to be in a *juſtified* ſtate; Condemnation and Juſtification being Contraries: So that they that hold themſelves in a juſtified ſtate by the Active and Paſſive Obedience of Chriſt, while they are not actively and paſſively Obedient to the *Spirit* of Chriſt Jeſus, are under a *ſtrong* and *dangerous* Deluſion; and for crying out againſt this Sin-pleaſing Imagination, not to ſay *Doctrine*, we are ſtaged and reproached as Denyers and Deſpiſers of the Death and Sufferings of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But be it known to

ſuch

1696. ſuch, they *add* to Chriſt's Sufferings, and crucify to themſelves *afreſh* the Son of God, and trample the Blood of the Covenant under their feet, that walk *unholily* under a Profeſſion of *Juſtification*; "for God will not acquit the Guilty, nor juſtify the Diſobedient and Unfaithful." Such deceive themſelves, and at the Great and Final Judgment their ſentence will not be, "Come ye *Bleſſed*," becauſe it cannot be ſaid to them, "*Well done*, Good and Faithful," for they cannot be ſo eſteemed that live and die in a *reproveable* and *condemnable* State; but, "Go ye Curſed," &c.

§. 5. Wherefore, O my Reader! Reſt not thyſelf wholly ſatisfied with what Chriſt has done for thee in his Bleſſed Perſon *without* thee, but preſs to know his Power and Kingdom *within* thee, that the *ſtrong Man*, that has too long kept thy Houſe, may be *bound*, and his Goods *ſpoiled*, his Works *deſtroyed*, and Sin *ended*, according to 1 John iii. 7. "For which End," ſays that beloved diſciple, "Chriſt was manifeſted," that all things may become *new*: "New Heavens and New Earth, in which Righteouſneſs dwells." Thus thou wilt come to glorify God in thy Body and in thy Spirit, which are *his*; and live to *him*, and not to *thyſelf*. Thy Love, Joy, Worſhip and Obedience; thy Life, Converſation, and Practice; thy Study, Meditation, and *Devotion*, will be *ſpiritual*: For the Father and the Son will make their *Abode* with thee, and Chriſt will *manifeſt* himſelf to thee; for the "*Secrets* of the Lord are with them that *fear him*:" And an Holy *Unction*, or *Anointing*, have all thoſe, which leads them into *all Truth*, and they need not the Teachings of Men. They are *better* taught, being inſtructed by the *Divine Oracle*: No bare *hear-ſay* or *traditional* Chriſtians, but freſh and *living* Witneſſes: Thoſe that have ſeen with their *own Eyes*, and heard with their *own Ears*, and have handled with their *own Hands*, the Word of Life, in the divers Operations of it, to their ſouls ſalvation. In this they meet, in this they preach, and in this they pray and praiſe: Behold the New Covenant fulfilled, the Church and Worſhip of *Chriſt*, the Great *Anointed* of God, and the Great *Anointing* of God, in his holy High Prieſthood, and Offices in his Church!

CHAP. IX.

§. 1. A *Confeſſion to* Chriſt *and his* Work, *both in* Doing *and* Suffering. §. 2. *That ought not to make void our Belief and Teſtimony of his* Inward *and* Spiritual Appearance *in the* Soul. §. 3. *What our Teſtimony is in the latter Reſpect: That it is impoſſible to be ſaved by Chriſt* without us, *while we reject his Work and Power* within us. §. 4. *The Diſpenſation of Grace, in its Nature and Extent.* §. 5. *A farther Acknowledgement to the Death and Sufferings of Chriſt.* §. 6. *The Concluſion, ſhewing our Adverſaries Unreaſonableneſs.*

§. 1. AND leſt any ſhould ſay we are *equivocal* in our Expreſſions, and *allegorize away* Chriſt's appearance in the Fleſh; meaning only thereby *our own* Fleſh; and that as often as we mention him, we mean only a *Myſtery*, or a *Myſtical Senſe* of him, be it as to his *Coming, Birth, Miracles, Sufferings, Death, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, Mediation* and *Judgment*; I would yet add, to preſerve the well-diſpoſed from being ſtaggered by ſuch ſuggeſtions, and to inform and reclaim ſuch as are under the power and prejudice of them, 'That we do, we bleſs God, religiouſly believe and confeſs, to the Glory of God the Father and the Honour of his dear and beloved Son, that *Jeſus Chriſt took our Nature upon him, and was like unto us in all Things*, Sin excepted: *That he was born of the Virgin* Mary, *ſuffered under* Pontius Pilate, *the* Roman *Governor, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried in the Sepulchre of* Joſeph *of* Arimathea; *Roſe again the Third Day, and Aſcended into Heaven, and ſits on the Right Hand of God, in the* Power and Majeſty of his Father; *who will one* Day *judge the World by him, even that* Bleſſed Man, Chriſt Jeſus, *according to their Works*.'

§. 2. But becauſe we *ſo* believe, muſt we not believe what Chriſt ſaid, "He that is with you ſhall be *in you*?" John xiv. "I *in them*, and they *in me*," &c. chap. xvii. "When it pleaſed God to reveal his Son *in me*," &c. Gal. "The Myſtery hid from Ages, is Chriſt *in* the *Gentiles* the Hope of Glory," Col. i. "Unleſs Chriſt be *in you*, ye are Reprobates?" 2 Cor. xiii. Or muſt we be induſtriouſly repreſented Deniers of Chriſt's Coming in the *Fleſh*, and the holy *Ends* of it, in all the parts and branches of his *Doing* and *Suffering*, only becauſe we believe and preſs the neceſſity of believing, receiving and obeying his *inward* and *ſpiritual* Appearance and Manifeſtation of himſelf, through his *Light*, *Grace* and *Spirit* in the Hearts and Conſciences of Men and Women, to reprove, convict, convert and change them? This we eſteem hard and unrighteous meaſure; nor would our warm and ſharp adverſaries be ſo dealt with by others: But to do as they would be done to, is too often no part of their Practice, whatever it be of their Profeſſion.

§. 3. Yet we are very ready to declare to the whole World, that we cannot think men and women can be *ſaved* by their *Belief* of the *one*, without the *Senſe* and *Experience* of the *other*; and *that* is what we oppoſe, and not his bleſſed Manifeſtation in the *Fleſh*. We ſay, That he then overcame our Common Enemy, foiled him in the open Field, and, in *our Nature*, triumphed over *him* that had overcome and triumphed over *it* in our Fore-father *Adam* and his Poſterity: And that as truly as Chriſt overcame him in our *Nature*, in his own *Perſon*, ſo, by his *Divine Grace*, being received and obeyed by us, he overcomes him in *us*. That is, he *detects* the Enemy by his *Light* in the Conſcience, and *enables* the Creature to *reſiſt* him, and all his fiery Darts; and, finally, ſo to fight the good Fight of Faith, as to *overcome* him, and lay hold on eternal Life.

§. 4. And this is the Diſpenſation of *Grace*, which we declare has appeared to *All*, more or leſs; teaching thoſe that will receive it, "to deny Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent World; looking for (which *none elſe* can juſtly do) the bleſſed Hope, and glorious Appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt," &c. Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13. And as from the Teachings, Experience and Motion, of this Grace we miniſter to Others, ſo the very Drift of our Miniſtry is to turn People's Minds *to* this Grace in *themſelves*, that all of them may up and be doing, "even the good and acceptable Will of God, and work out their Salvation with Fear and Trembling, and make their high and heavenly Calling and Election ſure;" which none elſe can do, whatever be their Profeſſion, Church and Character: For "ſuch as Men ſow they muſt reap;" and "his Servants we are whom we obey." Regeneration we muſt know, or we cannot be Children of God, and Heirs of Eternal Glory: And to be Born again, *another* Spirit and Principle muſt prevail, leaven, ſeaſon, and govern us, than either the Spirit of the World, or our own *depraved* Spirits; and this can be no *other* Spirit than *that* which dwelt in *Chriſt*; for unleſs that dwell in us, we can be none of *his*, Rom. viii. 9. And this Spirit begins in *Conviction*, and ends in *Converſion* and *Perſeverance*; and the one follows the other: *Converſion* being the Conſequence of Convictions *obeyed*, and *Perſeverance* a natural *Fruit* of Converſion, and being born of *God*; for ſuch "ſin not, becauſe the Seed of God abides in them:" John iii. 7, 8. But ſuch, through Faithfulneſs, continue to the End, and obtain the Promiſe, even everlaſting Life.

§. 5. But let my reader take this along with him, that we do acknowledge that *Chriſt*, through his holy *Doing* and *Suffering*, (for "being a *Son*, he learned *Obedience*,") has obtained *Mercy* of God his Father for Mankind; and that *his Obedience* has an Influence to *Our Salvation*, in all the parts and branches of it, ſince thereby he became a *Conqueror*, and "led Captivity captive, and obtained Gifts for Men, with divers great and precious Promiſes, that thereby we might be Partakers of the Divine Nature, having *(firſt)* eſcaped the *Corruption* that is in the World, through Luſt." I ſay, we do believe, and confeſs, that the *Active* and *Paſſive Obedience* of *Chriſt Jeſus* affects our Salvation *throughout*, as well from the Power and Pollution of Sin, as from the Guilt; he being a *Conqueror*, as well as a *Sacrifice*, and both through Suffering: Yet they that reject his divine *Gift*, ſo obtained, (and which he has given to them, by which to *ſee* their Sin, and the Sinfulneſs of it, and to *repent* and *turn away* from it, and do ſo no more; and to wait upon God for daily Strength to reſiſt the fiery darts of the Enemy, and to be comforted through the Obedience of Faith in and to this divine *Grace* of the Son of God) ſuch do not *pleaſe* God, believe truly *in* God, nor are they in a ſtate of *true* Chriſtianity and Salvation. "Woman," ſaid Chriſt, to the Samaritan, at the Well, "hadſt thou known the Gift of God, and who it is that ſpeaketh to thee," &c. People know not Chriſt, and God, "whom to know is Life eternal," John xvii. becauſe they are ignorant of the *Gift* of God, viz. "a Meaſure of the *Spirit* of God that is given to every one to profit with," 1 Cor. xii. 7. which reveals Chriſt and God to the ſoul, chap. ii. *Fleſh* and *Blood* cannot do it, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* cannot do it, *Tongues* and *Philoſophy* cannot do it: For they that by *Wiſdom* knew not God, had *theſe* things for their *Wiſdom*. They were ſtrong, deep and accurate in them; but, alas! they were clouded, puffed up, and ſet farther off from the inward and ſaving knowledge of God, becauſe they ſought for it in *them*, and thought to find God *there*. But the *Key* of *David* is another thing, "which ſhuts, and no man opens, and opens and no man ſhuts;" and this *Key* have all they that receive the *Gift* of God into their Hearts, and it opens to them the Knowledge of God and Themſelves, and gives them a *quite other* Sight, Taſte and Judgment of things, than their *educational* or *traditional* knowledge afforded them. This is the *Beginning* of the *New Creation* of God, and thus it is we come to be *New* Creatures.

And we are bold to declare, there is no other Way like this, by which people can come into Chriſt, or be true Chriſtians, or receive the advantage that comes by the Death and Sufferings of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Wherefore we ſay, and upon good authority, even that of our own *Experience*, as well as that of the Scriptures of Truth,

1696. ‘ Chriſt will prove no *Saving Sacrifice* for them, that refuſe to obey him for their ‘ *Example.*’ They that *reject* the *Gift*, deny the *Giver*, inſtead of *themſelves* for the Giver's *ſake*. O that people were wiſe, that they would conſider their latter end, and the things that make for the peace thereof! Why ſhould they periſh in a vain hope of *Life*, while *Death reigns?* Of living *with* God, who live not *to* him, nor walk *with* him? Awake, thou that ſleepeſt in thy Sin, or, at beſt, in thy Self-righteouſneſs! Awake, I ſay, and Chriſt ſhall give thee Life! For he is the “ Lord from Heaven, “ the Quickening Spirit,” that quickens us, by his Spirit, if we do not *reſiſt* it and *quench* it by our Diſobedience, but receive, love and obey it, in all the holy leadings and teachings of it. Rom. viii. 14, 15. To which Holy Spirit I commend my reader, that he may the better ſee where he is, and alſo come to the true belief and advantage of the *Doings* and *Sufferings* of our dear and bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaves from the *Power* and *Pollution*, as well as *Guilt* of Sin, all thoſe that “ hear his Knocks, and open the Door of their Hearts to him,” that he may come in, and work a real and thorough *Reformation* in and for them; and ſo the Benefit, Virtue, and Efficacy of his Doings and Sufferings *without us*, will come to be livingly and effectually applied and felt, and Fellowſhip with Chriſt in his Death and Sufferings known, according to the doctrine of the Apoſtle; which thoſe that live in *that* which *made* him ſuffer, *know* not, though they profeſs to be ſaved by his Death and Sufferings. Much more might be ſaid as to this matter, but I muſt be brief.

§. 6. To conclude this chapter: We wonder not that we ſhould be miſtaken, miſconſtrued and miſ-repreſented, in what we believe and do to ſalvation, ſince our Betters have been ſo treated in the primitive times. Nor, indeed, is it only about *Doctrines* of Religion; for our *Practice* in Worſhip and Diſcipline have had the ſame ſucceſs. But this is what I earneſtly deſire, that however bold people are pleaſed to make with us, they would not *deceive* themſelves in the great things of their own ſalvation: That while they would ſeem to own all to Chriſt, they are not found *diſowned* of Chriſt in the laſt day. Read the 7th of Matthew: It is he that *hears Chriſt*, the great *Word of God*, and *does* what he enjoins, what he commands, and by his bleſſed example recommends, that is a *Wiſe Builder*, that has founded his houſe well, and built with good materials, and whoſe houſe will ſtand the laſt ſhock and judgment. For which cauſe we are often plain, cloſe and earneſt with people to conſider, that Chriſt came not to ſave them *in*, but *from* their Sins; and that they that think to diſcharge and releaſe themſelves of his Yoke and Burden, his *Croſs* and *Example*, and ſecure themſelves, and compliment Chriſt with his having done all *for them* (while he has wrought little or nothing *in them*, nor they parted with any thing for the *Love* of him) will finally awake in a dreadful ſurpriſe, at the ſound of the laſt Trumpet, and at this ſad and irrevocable ſentence, “ Depart from me, ye Workers of Iniquity, I know you not:” Which terrible end may all timely avoid, by “ hearkening to Wiſdom's Voice, and turning at her Reproof, that ſhe may lead them in the Ways of Righteouſneſs, and in “ the midſt of the Paths of judgment, that their ſouls may come to inherit *Subſtance*;” even *durable* Riches and Righteouſneſs, in the kingdom of the Father, World without End.

CHAP. X.

§. 1. *Of the true* Worſhip *of God, in what it ſtands.* §. 2. *Of the true* Miniſtry, *that it is by* Inſpiration. §. 3. *The Scripture plain in that Caſe.* §. 4. *Chriſt's Miniſters*, True Witneſſes, *they ſpeak what they* know, *not by Report.* §. 5. *Chriſt's Miniſters preach* freely, *it is one of their* Marks.

§. 1. AS the Lord wrought effectually, by his Divine Grace, in the hearts of this People, ſo he thereby brought them to a divine *Worſhip* and *Miniſtry*: Chriſt's words they came to experience, viz. “ That God was a Spirit, and that he “ would therefore be worſhipped in the Spirit, and in the Truth, and that ſuch Worſhippers the Father would ſeek to worſhip him.” For, bowing to the Convictions of the Spirit in themſelves, in their daily Courſe of Living, by which they were taught to eſchew that which was made manifeſt to them to be Evil, and to do that which was Good, they, in their aſſembling together, ſat down and waited for the Preparation of this Holy Spirit, both to let them ſee their States and Conditions before the Lord, and to worſhip him acceptably; and as they were ſenſible of Wants, or Shortneſs, or Infirmities, ſo in the ſecret of their own hearts, Prayer would ſpring to God, through Jeſus Chriſt, to help, aſſiſt and ſupply: But they did not dare to “ awake their Beloved “ before his Time;” or “ approach the Throne of the King of Glory, till he held “ out his Scepter;” or “ take Thought what they ſhould ſay,” or after their *own*, or *other Mens*, ſtudied Words and Forms; for this were to offer *ſtrange Fire*; to pray, but not by the *Spirit*; to aſk, but not in the *Name*, that is, in the *Power*, of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who prayed, as well as ſpoke, like one having Authority, that is, *Power*, a *Divine Energy* and *Force* to reach and pierce the Heavens, which he gives to all that obey his *Light*, *Grace*, and *Spirit*, in their ſolemn Waitings upon him. So that it is this People's principle, that *Fire muſt come from Heaven*, Life and Power from God, to enable the ſoul to pour out itſelf acceptably before him. And when a *Coal from his Holy Altar touches our Lips*, then can we pray and praiſe him as we ought to do. And as this is our Principle, and that according to Scripture, ſo it is, bleſſed be God, our Experience and Practice: And therefore it is we are ſeparated from the Worſhips of Men under their ſeveral Forms, becauſe they do not found it in the operation, motion and aſſiſtance of the Spirit of Chriſt, but the appointment, invention and framing of Man, both as to Matter, Words and Time. We do not diſſent in our *own* Wills, and we dare not comply againſt *his* that has called us, and brought us to his own Spiritual Worſhip; in obedience to whom we are what we are, in our Separation from the divers Ways of Worſhip in the World.

§. 2. And as our *Worſhip* ſtands in the Operation of the *Spirit* and *Truth* in our inward parts, as before expreſſed, ſo does our *Miniſtry*. For as the holy Teſtimonies of the Servants of God of Old, were from the Operation of his bleſſed Spirit, ſo muſt thoſe of his Servants be in every Age; and that which has *not* the Spirit of Chriſt for its ſpring and ſource, is of *Man*, and not of *Chriſt*. Chriſtian Miniſters are to miniſter what they *receive*: This is Scripture: Now that which we *receive* is not our *own*, leſs another Man's, but the *Lord's*: So that we are not only not to *ſteal* from our Neighbours, but we are not to ſtudy nor ſpeak our *own* Words. If we are not to ſtudy what we are to ſay before Magiſtrates for *ourſelves*, leſs are we to ſtudy what we are to ſay *for* and *from* God to the *People*. We are to miniſter, "as the Oracles of *God*:" If ſo, then muſt we receive from *Chriſt*, God's Great Oracle, what we are to miniſter. And if we are to miniſter what we *receive*, then not what we ſtudy, collect, and beat out of our own Brains; for that is not the Mind of *Chriſt*, but our *Imaginations*, and this will not *profit* the people.

§. 3. This was recommended to the Corinthians by the Apoſtle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. that they ſhould ſpeak "as they were *moved*," or "as any thing was *revealed* to them, "by the Spirit," for the Edification of the Church; for, ſays he, "Ye may *all* Propheſy;" that is, 'Ye may all Preach to Edification, as any thing is *revealed* to you, 'for the good of others, and as the Spirit giveth Utterance.' And if the *Spirit* muſt give Chriſt's Miniſters their Utterance, then thoſe that are his are careful not to utter any thing in his Name to the People, *without* his Spirit; and, by good Conſequence, they that go *before* the true Guide, and utter words without the knowledge of the *Mind* of the Spirit, are none of Chriſt's Miniſters: Such, certainly, run, and God has not ſent them, and they cannot profit the People. And indeed, how ſhould they, when it is impoſſible that mere *Man*, with all his Parts, Arts and Acquirements, can "turn people "from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan to God," which is the very end and work of the Goſpel-miniſtry. It muſt be *inſpired* Men, Men gifted by *God*, taught and influenced by his heavenly *Spirit*, that can be qualified for ſo great, ſo inward, and ſo ſpiritual a work.

§. 4. *Miniſters* of Chriſt are his *Witneſſes*; and the Credit of a Witneſs is, that he has *heard*, *ſeen*, or *handled*: And thus the beloved Diſciple ſtates the *Truth* and *Authority* of their *Miſſion* and *Miniſtry*; 1 John i. 1, 3. "That which we have heard, which we "have ſeen with our Eyes, which we have looked upon, and our Hands have handled, "that declare we unto you, that your fellowſhip may be with us, and truly our fellow"ſhip is with the Father, and with his Son Jeſus Chriſt." I ſay, if Chriſt's Miniſters are his Witneſſes, they muſt *know* what they ſpeak; that is, they muſt have experienced, and paſſed through, thoſe *States* and *Conditions* they preach of, and practically know thoſe Truths they declare of to the People, or they come not in by the *Door*, but over the Wall, and are *Thieves* and *Robbers*. He that has the Key of David comes in at the Door, Chriſt Jeſus, and has his Admiſſion and Approbation from him, *anointed* by him, the alone *High Prieſt* of the Goſpel Diſpenſation. He it is that *breathes*, and lays his *Hands* upon his own Miniſters; he *anoints* them, and recruits their Cruiſe, and renews their Horn with *Oil*, that they may have it freſh and freſh, for every occaſion and ſervice he calls them to, and engages them in.

§. 5. Nor is this all, but as they "Receive freely, freely they give;" They do not Teach for *Hire*, Divine for *Money*, nor preach for *Gifts* or *Rewards*. It was Chriſt's holy command to his miniſters to give *freely*, and it is our Practice. And truly we cannot but admire that this ſhould be made a fault, and that Preaching for Hire ſhould not be ſeen to *be* one, yea, a *Mark* of Falſe Prophets, when it has been ſo frequently and ſeverely cried out upon, by the True Prophets of God in former times. I would not be uncharitable; but the guilty are deſired to call to mind, who it was that offered *Money* to be made a Miniſter, and what it was for, if not to *get* Money and make a Trade or Livelihood by it; and what Anſwer he met with from the Apoſtle Peter, Acts viii. 18, 19, 20. The Lord touch the hearts of thoſe that are giving Money to be made Miniſters, in order to *live* by their Preaching, that they may ſee what ground it is they build upon, and repent, and turn to the Lord, that they may find mercy, and become living Witneſſes of his Power and Goodneſs in their own ſouls; ſo may they be enabled to tell others *What God has done for them*, which is the *Root* and *Ground* of the *true* Miniſtry; and this Miniſtry it is that God does bleſs. I could ſay much on this ſubject, but let what has been ſaid ſuffice at this time; only I cannot but obſerve, that where any Religion has a ſtrong temptation of Gain to induce Men to be Miniſters, there is great danger of their running faſter to that Calling, than becomes a true Goſpel-Miniſter.

§. 1. Obj. 'But does not this ſort of Miniſtry, and Worſhip, tend to make People 'careleſs, and to raiſe ſpiritual Pride in others? May it not give an occaſion to great 'Miſchief and Irreligion?'

Anſ. By no means; for when people are of *Age*, they, of right, expect their Inheritances; and the End of all Words is to bring people to the great *Word*, and then the promiſe of God is accompliſhed, "They ſhall be all taught of *me*, from the leaſt to the greateſt, and in Righteouſneſs (pray mark that) they ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and great ſhall be their Peace." To this of the evangelical Prophet, the beloved Diſciple agrees, and gives a full anſwer to the objection: "Theſe things have I written unto you, concerning them that *ſeduce* you: But the *Anointing*, which ye have received of him, abideth *in you*, and ye *need not* that any Man teach you, but as the ſame *Anointing* teacheth you of all things, and is Truth, and is no Lie: And even as it hath taught you, ye ſhall *abide* in him." In which, three things are obſervable. 1ſt. That he writ his Epiſtle upon an extraordinary occaſion, viz. to prevent their *Deluſion*. 2dly. That he aſſerts a *nearer* and *ſuperior* Miniſter than himſelf, viz. The *Anointing* or *Grace* they had received; and that not only in *that* particular exigency, but in *All Caſes* that might attend them. 3dly. That if they did but take heed to the Teachings of it, they would have no need of *Man's* Directions, or Fear of his Seducings; at leaſt of no *Miniſtry* that comes not from the *Power* of the *Anointing*: Though I rather take the Apoſtle in the *higheſt* ſenſe of the words: Thus alſo the Apoſtle Paul to the Theſſalonians. "But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you: For ye yourſelves are taught of *God* to love one another." 1 Theſſ. iv. 9. But *Helps* are *uſeful*, and a great bleſſing, if from *God*, ſuch was John the Baptiſt's; but remember he pointed all to *Chriſt*, 1 John i. 26. "Lo the Lamb of God! I baptize you with *Water*, but he ſhall baptize you with the *Holy-Ghoſt* and with *Fire*," Matt. iii. 11. And ſo the *true* Miniſtry *does*. And while people are *ſenſual*, and under ſuch an Eclipſe, by the interpoſition of *Sin* and *Satan*, God is pleaſed to ſend forth his *enlightening* Servants to awaken and turn them from the *Darkneſs* to the *Light* in themſelves, that, through obedience to it, they may come to be "Children of the Light," John xii. 36. and have their Fellowſhip one with another *in it*, and an inheritance, at laſt, with the Saints in Light for ever.

And as it is the Way God has taken to call and gather People, ſo a *living* and *holy Miniſtry* is of great Advantage, to watch over and build up the Young, and comfort and eſtabliſh the Feeble and Simple ones. But ſtill, I ſay, the *more inward*, the *leſs outward*: The more people come to be taught immediately of *God*, by the Light of his Word and Spirit in their hearts, the leſs need of *outward* Means: Read Iſaiah xvi. 19, 20. which is held by all to be a Goſpel promiſe, and the *Sun* and *Moon* there are generally underſtood to mean the *external Means* in the Church. Compare them with John i. 13. Rom. i. 19. 1 Cor. ii. 11, 15. 1 Theſſ. iv. 9. 1 John ii. 20, 27. Rev. xxi. 22, 23, 24. All which places prove what we aſſert of the ſufficiency and glorious privilege of Inward and Spiritual Teachings. And, moſt certainly, as men grow in *Grace*, and know the *Anointing* of the *Word* in themſelves, the Diſpenſation will be *leſs* in Words (though *in* words) and more in *Life*; and *Preaching* will in great meaſure be turned into *Praiſing*, and the *Worſhip* of God, more into *Walking with*, than *Talking of*, God: For that is *Worſhip indeed*, that *bows* to his Will at *all Times*, and in *all Places*: The *Trueſt*, the *Higheſt* Worſhip Man is capable of in this World. And it is that *Conformity* that gives Communion; and there is no Fellowſhip with God, no Light of his Countenance to be enjoyed, no Peace and Aſſurance to be had, farther than their Obedience to his *Will*, and a Faithfulneſs to his *Word*, according to the Manifeſtation of the Light thereof in the heart.

I ſay, this is the *trueſt* and *higheſt* State of Worſhip; for *Set Days and Places*, with all the ſolemnity of them, were moſt in requeſt in the *weakeſt* Diſpenſation. *Altars*, *Ark*, and *Temples*, *Sabbaths* and *Feſtivals*, &c. are not be found in the Writings of the New-Teſtament. There, every Day is *alike*, and every *Place* is alike; but if there *were* a Dedication "let it be to the *Lord*." Thus the Apoſtle; but he plainly ſhews a State beyond it, "for to live (with *him*) was Chriſt, and to die was gain;" for the Life he lived, "was by Faith of the Son of God; and therefore it was not *he* that lived, but Chriſt that lived *in* him;" that is, that *ruled*, *conducted*, and *bore ſway* in him, which is the

Rom. xiv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 17.
1 Cor. viii. 6.
Col. ii. 16, 17.
Phil. i. 21.
Gal. ii. 20.

True Chriſtian Life, the *Superſenſual Life*; the *Life of Converſion* and *Regeneration*; to which all the Diſpenſations of God, and Miniſtry of his Servants, have ever tended, as the *Conſummation* of God's Work for Man's Happineſs. Here every Man is a *Temple*, and every Family a *Church*, and every Place, a *Meeting-Place*, and every Viſit a *Meeting*. And yet a little while and it ſhall be ſo yet more and more; and a People the Lord is now preparing to enter into this Sabbath or Degree of Reſt.

Not that we would be thought to undervalue Publick and Solemn Meetings; we have them all over the Nation where the Lord has called us. Yea, though but Two or Three of us be in a Corner of a Country, we meet, as the Apoſtle exhorted the Saints of his Time, and reproved ſuch as neglected to aſſemble themſelves. But yet ſhew we unto thee, O reader, "a more *excellent* Way of Worſhip:" For many may come to thoſe Meetings, and go away *carnal*, *dead*, and *dry*; but the Worſhippers in *Spirit* and in *Truth*, whoſe *Hearts* bow, whoſe *Minds* adore the Eternal God, "that is a Spirit," in and by his Spirit, ſuch as conform to his Will, and walk with him in a Spiritual Life, they are the *true*, *conſtant*, *living* and *acceptable* Worſhippers, whether it be in Meetings or out of Meetings: And as with ſuch, all outward aſſemblies are greatly comfortable, ſo alſo do we meet for a *publick* Teſtimony of Religion and Worſhip, and for the Edification and Encouragement of thoſe that are yet *young* in the Truth, and to *call* and *gather* others to the Knowledge of it, who are yet going aſtray: And, bleſſed be God, it is not in vain, ſince many are thereby added to the Church, that we hope, and believe, ſhall be ſaved.

CHAP. XI.

§. 1. *Againſt* Tithes. §. 2. *Againſt all* Swearing. §. 3. *Againſt* War *among* Chriſtians. §. 4. *Againſt the* Salutations *of the* Times. §. 5. *And for Plainneſs* of Speech. §. 6. *Againſt* Mixt-Marriages. §. 7. *And for Plainneſs in* Apparel, &c. *No* Sports *and* Paſtimes *after the Manner of this World.* §. 8. *Of obſerving* Days. §. 9. *Of Care of Poor, Peace, and Converſation.*

§. 1. AND as God has been pleaſed to call us from an *human* Miniſtry, ſo we cannot, for Conſcience ſake, ſupport and maintain it; and upon that ſcore, and not out of Humour or Covetouſneſs, we refuſe to pay *Tithes*, or ſuch-like pretended dues, concerning which, many books have been writ in our defence: We cannot ſupport what we cannot approve, but have a teſtimony againſt; for thereby we ſhould be found inconſiſtent with ourſelves.

§. 2. We dare not *ſwear*, becauſe Chriſt forbids it. Matt. v. 34, 37. and James, his true follower. It is needleſs, as well as evil; for the Reaſon of Swearing being *Untruth*, that Mens *Yea was not Yea*, *Swearing* was uſed to awe Men to Truth-ſpeaking, and to give others ſatisfaction that what was ſworn was *true*. But the true Chriſtian's *Yea being Yea*, the End of an *Oath* is anſwered, and therefore the uſe of it is *needleſs*, *ſuperfluous*, and cometh of *evil*. The Apoſtle James taught the ſame doctrine, and the Primitive Chriſtians practiſed it, as may be ſeen in the Book of Martyrs; as alſo the earlieſt and beſt of the Reformers.

§. 3. We alſo believe, that *War* ought to *ceaſe*, among the Followers of the *Lamb*, Chriſt Jeſus, who taught his diſciples to "forgive and love their Enemies," and not to war againſt them, and kill them; and that therefore the weapons of his true followers are not *carnal* but *ſpiritual*; yea mighty, through God, to cut down *Sin* and *Wickedneſs*, and dethrone *him* that is the *Author* thereof. And as this is the moſt *Chriſtian*, ſo the moſt *rational* Way; Love and Perſuaſion having more force than Weapons of War. Nor would the worſt of men eaſily be brought to *hurt* thoſe that they really think *love* them. It is that Love and Patience which muſt, in the end, have the Victory.

§. 4. We dare not give worldly Honour, or uſe the frequent and *Modiſh Salutations* of the Times, ſeeing plainly, that *Vanity*, *Pride*, and *Oſtentation*, belong to them. Chriſt alſo *forbad* them in his Day, and made the *Love* of them a Mark of Declenſion from the Simplicity of purer Times; and his Diſciples, and their Followers, were obſerved to have obeyed their Maſter's Precept. It is not to diſtinguiſh ourſelves a Party, or out of *Pride*, *Ill-Breeding*, or *Humour*, but in Obedience to the Sight and Senſe we have received from the Spirit of Chriſt, of the *Evil Riſe* and Tendency thereof.

§. 5. For the ſame reaſon we have returned to the firſt Plainneſs of Speech, viz. *Thou* and *Thee*, to a ſingle Perſon; which though Men give no other to *God*, they will hardly endure it from *us*. It has been a great Teſt upon *Pride*, and ſhewn the blind and weak *Inſides* of many. This alſo is out of pure Conſcience, whatever people may think or ſay of us for it. We may be deſpiſed, and have been ſo often, yea, very evilly intreated; but we are now better known, and people better informed. In ſhort, it is alſo

1696. both *Scripture* and *Grammar*, and we have Propriety of Speech for it, as well as Peace in it.

§. 6. We cannot allow of *Mixed Marriages*, that is, to join with ſuch as are not of our Society, but oppoſe and diſown them, if at any time any of our Profeſſion ſo groſly err from the Rule of their Communion; yet reſtore them upon ſincere Repentance, but not disjoin them. The Book I writ of the Riſe and Progreſs of the People called Quakers, is more full and expreſs therein.

§. 7. Plainneſs in *Apparel* and *Furniture*, is another teſtimony peculiar to us, in the degree we have borne it to the world: As alſo *few Words*, and being *at a Word*. Likewiſe Temperance in *Food*, and Abſtinence from the *Recreations* and *Paſtimes* of the World: All which we have been taught, by the Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to be according to godlineſs; and therefore we have long exhorted all, that their "Moderation may be known unto all Men, for that the Lord was at hand," to enter into judgment with us for every Intemperance or Exceſs; and herein we hope we have been no ill Examples, or Scandal unto any that have a due conſideration of things.

§. 8. We cannot, in Conſcience to God, obſerve *Holy Days*, (ſo called) the Publick *Faſts* and *Feaſts*, becauſe of their *human* inſtitution and ordination, and that they have not a *divine* Warrant, but are appointed in the Will of *Man*.

§. 9. Laſtly, we have been led by this good Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt of which I have treated in this diſcourſe, according to primitive practice, to have a due *Care* over one another, for the preſervation of the whole Society in a Converſation more ſuitable to their holy Profeſſion.

Firſt, In reſpect to a *ſtrict* walking, both towards thoſe that are without, and thoſe that are within; that their Converſation in the World, and Walking in and towards the Church, may be blameleſs. That as they may be *ſtrict* in the one, ſo they may be *faithful* in the other.

Secondly, That Collections be made to ſupply the Wants of the *Poor*, and that Care be taken of *Widows* and *Orphans*, and ſuch as are helpleſs, as well in Counſel, as about Subſtance.

Thirdly, That all ſuch as are intended to marry, if they have *Parents*, or are under the direction of *Guardians* or *Truſtees*, are obliged, firſt, to declare to them their intention, and have their conſent, before they propoſe it to one another, and the Meeting they relate to; who are alſo careful to examine their Clearneſs, and being ſatisfied with it, they are by them allowed to ſolemnize their Marriage in a publick ſelect Meeting, for that purpoſe appointed, and not otherwiſe: Whereby all *Clandeſtine* and *Indirect* Marriages are prevented among us.

Fourthly, And to the end that this Good Order may be obſerved, for the comfort and edification of the Society, in the Ways of Truth and Soberneſs; Select Meetings (of Care and Buſineſs) are fixed in all parts, where we inhabit, which are held Monthly, and which reſolve into Quarterly Meetings, and thoſe into One Yearly Meeting, for our better communication one with another, in thoſe things that maintain Piety and Charity; that God, who by his Grace has called us to be a People to his Praiſe, may have it from us, through his beloved Son, and our Ever-bleſſed and only Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt, for he is worthy, worthy, now, and ever. Amen.

Thus, Reader, thou haſt the Character of the People called Quakers, in their Doctrine, Worſhip, Miniſtry, Practice and Diſcipline. Compare it with Scripture, and Primitive Example, and we hope thou wilt find, that this ſhort Diſcourſe hath, in good meaſure, anſwered the title of it, viz.

Primitive Chriſtianity Revived, in the Principles and Practice of the People called Quakers.

7 AP 59

A
TESTIMONY
TO THE
TRUTH OF GOD
AS HELD BY THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BEING

A SHORT VINDICATION of them from the ABUSES and MISREPRESENTATIONS often put upon them by *Envious Apoſtates* and *Mercenary Adverſaries*.

TO THE READER.

READER,

1698. OCcaſion having been given us, which we never ſought, we continue to improve it to the farther Explanation and Defence of our ſo much abuſed Profeſſion; that, if poſſible, people may ſee, at leaſt the more ſober and candid, that we are not at that diſtance from Truth, nor ſo Heterodox in our Principles, as we have been, by too many, either raſhly or intereſtedly repreſented: But that we hold the Great Truths of Chriſtianity, according to the Holy Scriptures, and that the Realities of Religion are the mark we preſs after, and to diſabuſe and awaken people from their falſe Hopes and carnal Securities, under which they are too apt to indulge themſelves, to their irreparable Loſs; that by our ſetting Chriſtian Doctrine in a true Light, and reviving and preſſing the neceſſity of a better Practice, they may ſee the obligation they are under to redeem their precious Time they have loſt, by a more careful employment of that which remains, to a better purpoſe. In this ſhort vindication of our miſtaken Principles, the ingenuous reader may eaſily diſcern how ill we have been treated, and what hardſhips we have laboured under, through the Prejudice of ſome, and the unreaſonable Credulity of others, and that we are a People in Earneſt for Heaven, and in that Way our bleſſed Lord hath trod for us to Glory.

A
TESTIMONY
TO THE
TRUTH OF GOD.

1698. BY the obſervation we are led to make from Francis Bugg's late book, upon the Biſhop of Norwich's giving him his recommendatory Letter to the Clergy, &c. in his dioceſe, to relieve, by a Collection, the neceſſities of that beggarly Apoſtate; a Copy of which Letter the ſaid F. B. hath publiſhed in his ſaid Book:

And alſo by the obſervation we have made on the malicious attempts of the "Snake "in the Graſs," in his firſt, ſecond, and third editions, which is a diſingenuous and unjuſt Collection from F. Bugg, and ſome other Deſerters, of things, for the moſt part, long ſince anſwered; as alſo lately, by the book intituled, "An Antidote," &c. (though becauſe his ſecond and third edition have ſome additions to his firſt, and that being new vamped, for a better market, he may expect a *Melius Inquirendum* after a while; yet ſhould we follow the example of this *Rattle-Snake*, againſt the Church of which he pretends to be a member, but at preſent a *ſuſpended* one, we might, in retaliation, not only exceed the "Cobler of Glouceſter," but the "Scotch Eloquence," and that maſter-piece, "The Ground of the Contempt of the Clergy:")

And, laſtly, by the obſervation we have made on the Relation ſubſcribed by ſome of the Norfolk Clergy, dated October the 12th, 1698. we cannot forbear thinking, that as their Confederacy is deep, ſo it aims at nothing leſs than the Ruin of us, and our poſterity, by rendering us Blaſphemers, and Enemies to the Government, and to be treated as ſuch.

The Norfolk Relation from the Clergy aforeſaid, charges the ſaid People with *Blaſphemy:* Firſt, *Againſt God.* Secondly, *Againſt Jeſus Chriſt.* Thirdly, *Againſt the Holy Scriptures, with Contempt of Civil Magiſtracy, and the Ordinances which Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted, viz. Baptiſm by Water, and the Lord's Supper by Bread and Wine.* And, Laſtly, *That the Light within, as taught by us, leaves us without any certain Rule, and expoſes us to the Blaſphemies aforeſaid, with many others.*

Now, becauſe this charge refers to Doctrine, rather than Fact, or particular Perſons, we think ourſelves concerned to ſay ſomething in Vindication of our Profeſſion, and to wipe off the dirt thereby intended to be caſt upon us, in giving our reader a plain account of our Principles, free from the Perverſions of our Enemies.

But to manifeſt how uncharitably and unjuſtly the ſaid Clergymen have reflected upon the People called Quakers, with reſpect to the ſaid charge, we are contented the reader goes no farther than their own Printed Relation, dated Nov. 12, 1698, not doubting but by that very Relation, and the Letters therewith printed, he will meet with intire ſatisfaction, with reſpect to the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the Quakers proceedings in that affair, and how ready they were to come to the teſt, and to bring the pretended charge upon the ſtage, and to purge themſelves from the guilt of the ſame, provided they might be accommodated with what the Common Law allows Malefactors, viz. a Copy of their Indictment; but this could not be obtained. And though the ſaid Clergy have thought fit to print the Charge in General, without any Proof, we think ourſelves obliged to vindicate our Profeſſion, by freely declaring, (as now we do, without any *Mental Reſervation*) our ſincere Belief of the very things they moſt unjuſtly charge us with denying.

I. *Concerning God.*] Becauſe we declare, that God is a “ God nigh at hand,” and that he is, according to his promiſe, become the “ Teacher of his People by his Spirit “ in theſe latter days;” and that “ True Believers are the Temples for him to walk “ and dwell in,” as the Apoſtle teacheth; and experiencing ſomething of the accompliſhment of this great and glorious truth among us, and having therefore preſſed people earneſtly to the knowledge and enjoyment thereof, as the bleſſing and glory of the latter days; we have been ignorantly, or maliciouſly, repreſented and treated as Hereticks and Blaſphemers, as if we owned no God in Heaven above the Stars, and confined the Holy One of Iſrael to our Beings: Whereas we believe him to be the Eternal, Incomprehenſible, Almighty, All-wiſe and Omnipreſent God, Creator and Upholder of all things, and that he fills Heaven and Earth, and that the “ Heaven of “ Heavens cannot contain him;” yet he ſaith, by the Prophet Iſaiah, “ To that Man “ will I have regard, that is poor, and of a contrite ſpirit, and which trembles at my “ Word.” So that for profeſſing that which is the very *Marrow* of the *Chriſtian Religion*, viz. ‘ Emanuel, God with *us*,’ we are repreſented Blaſphemers againſt that God, with whom we leave our innocent and ſuffering cauſe. Iſa. vii. xiv. xl. xxviii. xlviii. xvii. lxvi. 1, 2. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Rev. xxi. 3.

II. *Concerning Jeſus Chriſt.*] Becauſe we believe, that the *Word* which was made Fleſh, and dwelt amongſt Men, and was and is the Only-begotten of the Father, full of Grace and Truth; his beloved Son, in whom he is well pleaſed, and whom we ought to hear in all things; who taſted Death for every Man, and died for Sin, that we might die to Sin; is the great *Light* of the *World*, and full of Grace and Truth, and that he lighteth every Man that cometh into the World, and giveth them Grace for Grace, and Light for Light, and that no Man can know God and Chriſt (whom to know is Life Eternal) and themſelves, in order to true Conviction and Converſion, without receiving and obeying this Holy Light, and being taught by the Divine Grace; and that without it, no Remiſſion, no Juſtification, no Salvation (as the Scripture plentifully teſtifies) can be obtained: And becauſe we therefore preſs the neceſſity of people's receiving the Inward and Spiritual Appearance of this Divine Word, in order to a *right* and *beneficial* Application of whatſoever he did for Man, with reſpect to his Life, Miracles, Death, Sufferings, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion and Mediation; our adverſaries would have us deny *any Chriſt without us*. Firſt, As to his Divinity, becauſe they make us to confine him too within us. Secondly, As to his Humanity, or Manhood, becauſe as he was the Son of Abraham, David, and Mary, according to the Fleſh, he cannot be in us, and therefore we are Hereticks and Blaſphemers: Whereas we believe him, according to Scripture, to be the ſon of Abraham David and Mary, after the Fleſh, and alſo God over all, bleſſed for ever. So that he that is within us, is alſo without us, even the ſame that laid down his precious Life for us, roſe again from the Dead, and ever liveth to make Interceſſion for us, being the bleſſed and *alone* Mediator betwixt God and Man, and him by whom God will finally judge the world, both quick and dead: All which we as ſincerely and ſtedfaſtly believe, as any other Society of People, whatever may be ignorantly, or maliciouſly, inſinuated to the contrary, either by our declared enemies, or miſtaken neighbours. Deut. xv. 18. Mic. v. 2. John i. 1, 2, 3. Rev. xxii. 16.

III. *Concerning the Holy Scriptures.*] Becauſe we aſſert the Holy Spirit to be the *firſt* great and general Rule and Guide of true Chriſtians, as that by which *God* is worſhipped, *Sin* detected, *Conſcience* convicted, *Duty* manifeſted, *Scripture* unfolded and explained, and conſequently the Rule for *underſtanding* the Scriptures themſelves (ſince by it they were at firſt given forth) from hence our adverſaries are pleaſed to make us *Blaſphemers* of the Holy Scriptures, undervaluing their Authority, preferring our own Books before them, with more to that purpoſe: Whereas, we, in truth and ſincerity, believe them to be of Divine Authority, given by the Inſpiration of God, through holy Men; they ſpeaking or writing them as they were *moved* by the Holy Ghoſt: That they are a Declaration of thoſe things moſt ſurely believed by the Primitive Chriſtians, and that as they contain the Mind and Will of God, and are his Commands to us, ſo they, in that reſpect, are his *declaratory* Word; and therefore are obligatory on us, and are “ profitable for Doctrine, Reproof, Correction and Inſtruction in Righteouſneſs, that “ the Man of God may be perfect, and thoroughly furniſhed to every good Work.”

Nay, after all, ſo *unjuſt* is the Charge, and ſo remote from our Belief concerning the Holy Scriptures, that we both love, honour and prefer them, before all books in the world; ever chuſing to expreſs our Belief of the Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine in the Terms thereof, and rejecting all Principles or Doctrines whatſoever, that are repugnant thereunto.

Nevertheleſs we are well perſuaded, that notwithſtanding there is ſuch an Excellency in the Holy Scriptures, as we have above declared, yet the *unſtable* and *unlearned* in *Chriſt*'s School too often *wreſt* them to their own deſtruction. And upon our reflection on their *carnal* Conſtructions of them, we are made Undervaluers of *Scripture itſelf*. But certain it is, that as the Lord hath been pleaſed to give us the experience of the fulfilling of them in meaſure, ſo it is altogether contrary to our Faith and

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IV. *Concerning Magiſtracy.*] Becauſe we have not *actively* complied with divers Statutes, which have been made to force an *Uniformity* to what we had no Faith in, but the Teſtimony of our Conſcience againſt; and becauſe, for Conſcience ſake, we could not give thoſe *Marks* of Honour and Reſpect, which were and are the uſual practice of thoſe that "ſeek Honour one of another, and not that Honour which "comes from God only," (but meaſure and weigh Honour and Reſpect in a *falſe* Ballance, and *deceitful* Meaſure, on which, neither Magiſtrate, Ruler or People can depend) we ſay, becauſe we could not, for conſcience ſake, give flattering Titles, &c. we have been rendered as Deſpiſers and Contemners of *Magiſtracy:* Whereas our Principles, often repeated upon the many Revolutions that have happened, do evidently manifeſt the contrary; as well as our peaceable Behaviour from the Beginning, under all the various Forms of Government, hath been an undeniable plea in our favour, when thoſe that alſo have profeſſed the ſame principles of *Non-reſiſtance,* and *Paſſive-obedience,* have quitted their principles, and yet quarrel with us, upon a ſuppoſition that we will, in Time, write after their Copy: Which, as nothing is more contrary to our Principles, Faith and Doctrine, ſo nothing can be more contrary to our conſtant Practice.

For we not only really believe Magiſtracy to be an Ordinance of God, but eſteem it an extraordinary Bleſſing, where it is "a Praiſe to them that do well, and a Ter-"ror to Evil-Doers:" Which that it may be ſo in this our native land, is the fervent deſire of our ſouls, that the bleſſing and peace of God may be continued thereupon. Job. xxxii. 21. John v. 44. Acts v. 29. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

V. *Concerning Baptiſm.*] Becauſe we do not find in any place in the four Evangeliſts, that Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted *Baptiſm* by *Water* to come in the room of *Circumciſion,* or to be the Baptiſm proper to his Kingdom, which ſtands "in Righteouſneſs, "Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt;" we are therefore rendered as Contemners of *Chriſt's Baptiſm:* Whereas the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt, of which he was Lord and Adminiſtrator, according to the Nature of his Office and Kingdom, is, even by *John* the *Baptiſt,* declared to be that of *Fire* (not *Water*) and of the *Holy Ghoſt,* of which *Water-Baptiſm* was but the Forerunner, and is, by them that now practiſe it, called but the *Outward* and *Viſible Sign* of the *Inward* and *Spiritual Grace;* and therefore not the *Grace itſelf;* which Grace, as the Apoſtle ſaith, is *ſufficient* for us, and which we believe, profeſs and experience to be come by Jeſus Chriſt, who is the *Subſtance* of all Signs and Shadows to true believers; he being no more a Jew or Chriſtian that is one *outwardly,* by the cutting or waſhing of the Fleſh; but he is a Jew or Chriſtian who is one *inwardly,* and Circumciſion and Baptiſm is of the *Heart,* in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whoſe praiſe is therefore not of Men, but of God: And this Baptiſm Chriſt preferred and recommended at his Farewel to his Diſciples: In reverence and duty to whom, to ſay nothing of the *Abuſe* of Water-Baptiſm, we decline the Uſe thereof, Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. John i. 17. Acts i. 5. Rom. xiv. 17. Rom. ii. 28, 29. 1 Cor. i. 17. 2 Cor. xii. 9.

VI. *Concerning breaking Bread,* &c.] Becauſe we alſo diſuſe the *Outward Ceremony* of Breaking Bread and Drinking Wine, which is commonly called the *Lord's Supper,* we are therefore rendered Deniers and Contemners of the Lord's Supper: Whereas the inward and ſpiritual *Grace,* thereby *ſignified,* viz. that *Bread* which came down from *Heaven,* which Chriſt prefers to the Bread the Fathers eat in the Wilderneſs (which did not keep them from *Death*) and that *Cup* which he promiſed to drink *a-new* with his Diſciples in his Father's Kingdom, we not only believe, but reverently partake of, to our unſpeakable comfort, which is rightly and truly the Communion of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaid, "Except you eat the Fleſh of the Son "of Man, and drink his Blood, you have no Life in you," John vi. 53, 63. For it is "the *Spirit* that quickens, the *Fleſh* profits nothing:" It was alſo his promiſe to all thoſe that would open at his knocks, viz. "That he would *come in,* and *ſup* with "them;" which Inward and Spiritual Coming, we have both known, and teſtified to; feeling the bleſſed effects thereof in our ſouls, and knowing the *outward Breaking of Bread* and *Drinking of Wine,* in the way commonly practiſed, is no more than it is declared to be, viz. *An Outward* and *Viſible Sign:* Why, then, ſhould any contend about it, and render us unchriſtian, for diſuſing what themſelves allow to be but an *Outward* and *Viſible Sign?* and which none can reaſonably believe to be an *eſſential* Part of Religion, as is the Bread from *Heaven;* of which the *Outward* is, at beſt, but a *Signification:* But the Wine that Chriſt promiſed to drink with his diſciples *a-new,* is ſuch an *eſſential,* that without it none have, nor can have *Eternal Life.* Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25. John vi. 41, 50, 51, 58, 63. Rev. iii. 20. 1698.

VII. *Concerning the Light of Chriſt.*] Becauſe we aſſert the Sufficiency of the *Light Within,* it being the Light of *Chriſt,* viz. That if men live up to the teaching thereof, in all manner of faithfulneſs and obedience, "they ſhall not abide in Darkneſs, "but have the Light of Life and Salvation, and the Blood of Chriſt ſhall cleanſe them "from all ſin;" our adverſaries from thence conceive, that we undervalue the Rule of Holy Scriptures, and *all* Outward Means, as having no Need thereof, ſince we have ſuch a Means and Rule *within* us, and that this leaves us without any certain Rule, and expoſeth us to many Blaſphemies, &c. Whereas the Light within (or Chriſt, by his Light, inwardly teaching) was never taught by us in *Oppoſition* to, or *Contempt* of, any Outward Means, that God, in his Wiſdom and Providence, affords us for our edification and comfort, no more than did that bleſſed Apoſtle, who ſaid, "You need not that any Man teach you, but as the ſame Anointing teacheth you "all things, and is Truth, and is no Lye." John xii. 46. 1 John i. 6, 7. 1 John i. 2, 27.

VIII. *Concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit.*] Becauſe we have been very cautious in expreſſing our Faith concerning that great Myſtery, eſpecially in ſuch School Terms and Philoſophical Diſtinctions as are *unſcriptural,* if not *unſound,* (the Tendency whereof hath been to raiſe frivolous Controverſies and Animoſities amongſt men) we have, by thoſe that deſire to leſſen our Chriſtian Reputation, been repreſented as Deniers of the Trinity at large: Whereas we ever believed, and as conſtantly maintained, the Truth of that Bleſſed *(Holy Scripture)* "Three, that bear record in Hea"ven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and that theſe Three are One;" the which we both ſincerely and reverently believe, according to 1 John v. 7. And this is *ſufficient* for us to believe and know, and hath a tendency to Edification and Holineſs; when the contrary centers only in Imaginations and Strife, and Perſecution, where it runs high, and to Parties, as may be read in bloody characters in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories.

IX. *Concerning Works.*] Becauſe we make Evangelical Obedience a Condition to Salvation, and Works wrought in us by the Spirit to be an evidence of Faith, and Holineſs of Life to be both neceſſary and rewardable; it hath been inſinuated againſt us, as if we hoped to be ſaved by our own *Works,* and ſo make *them* the Meritorious Cauſe of our Salvation, and conſequently Popiſh.

Whereas we know, that it is not by Works of Righteouſneſs that *we* can do, but by his own *Free Grace* he is pleaſed to accept of us, through Faith in, and Obedience to, his bleſſed Son the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Heb. v. 9. and xii. 14.

X. *Of Chriſt's being our Example.*] Becauſe, in ſome caſes, we have ſaid, the Lord Jeſus was our Great Example, and that his Obedience to his Father doth not excuſe *ours;* but as by keeping his Commandments, he abode in his Father's Love, ſo muſt we follow his Example of Obedience, to abide in *his* Love; ſome have been ſo ignorant (or that which is worſe) as to venture to ſay for us, or in our name, that we believe our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was, in all things, *but* an Example.

Whereas we confeſs him to be ſo much *more* than an Example, that we believe him to be our moſt acceptable Sacrifice to God his Father; who, for his ſake, will look upon Fallen Man, that hath juſtly merited the Wrath of God, upon his return by Repentance, Faith and Obedience, as if he had *never* ſinned at all. 1 John ii. 12. Rom. iii. 26. and x. 9, 10. Heb. v. 9.

XI. *Concerning Freedom from Sin.*] Becauſe we have urged the neceſſity of a perfect Freedom from Sin, and a thorough Sanctification in Body, Soul and Spirit, whilſt on this ſide the grave, by the Operation of the Holy and Perfect Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, according to the teſtimony of Holy Scripture, we are made ſo preſumptuous, as to aſſert the *Fulneſs* of all Perfection and Happineſs to be attainable in this Life: Whereas we are not only ſenſible of thoſe Human Infirmities that attend us, whilſt clothed with fleſh and blood; but know that here we can only "know in Part, "and ſee in Part:" The perfection of wiſdom, glory and happineſs, being reſerved for another and better world. John viii. 24, 25. Heb. xiii. 20, 21. Heb. vi.

XII. *Concerning Worſhip to God.*] Becauſe we ſay, with the Apoſtle, that Men ought to pray, preach, ſing, &c. with the Spirit, and that without the preparation and aſſiſtance of it, no man can rightly worſhip God, (all Worſhip without it being formal and carnal) from hence ignorance, or envy, ſuggeſts againſt us, that if God

1698. will not compel us by his Spirit, he muſt go without his Worſhip: Whereas nothing can be more abſurd, ſince *without* it "no Man can truly call *Jeſus Lord:*" Beſides, it is our duty to *wait* upon him, who hath promiſed, not to compel, but fill them with renewings of ſtrength, that *ſo wait* upon him, by which they are made capable to worſhip him acceptably, be it in praying, preaching, or praiſing of God: And how warrantable our practice herein is from Holy Scripture, ſee Pſal. xxv. 5. xxxvii. 7. xxvii. 14. cxxx. 5, 6. Hoſea xii. 6.

XIII. *Of God and Chriſt's being in Man.*] Becauſe we ſay, as do the Holy Scriptures, that God is Light, and that Chriſt is Light, and that God is in Chriſt, and that Chriſt, by his Light, lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and dwelleth in them, and with them, that obey him in his Inward and Spiritual Manifeſtations; people have been told by our adverſaries, that we believe every man has Whole God, and Whole Chriſt, in him, and conſequently ſo many Gods, and Chriſts, as Men: Whereas we aſſert nothing herein, but in the language of the Holy Ghoſt in the Scriptures of truth; and mean no more by it, than that as God is in Chriſt, ſo Chriſt, by his *Spirit* and *Light*, dwelleth in the Hearts of his *People*, to comfort and conſolate them; as he doth in *Wicked Men* to *reprove* and *condemn* them, as well as to *call, enlighten*, and *inſtruct* them, that out of that ſtate of condemnation they may come, and, by believing in him, may experience their hearts cured of the maladies Sin hath brought upon them, in order to complete ſalvation from Sin here, and from Wrath to come hereafter. 2 Cor. v. 9. 1 John i. 5.

XIV. *Of Chriſt's Coming both in Fleſh and Spirit.*] Becauſe the tendency (generally ſpeaking) of our Miniſtry, is to preſs people to the Inward and Spiritual Appearance of Chriſt, by his Spirit and Grace in their Hearts, to give them a true Sight and Senſe of, and Sorrow for, Sin, to Amendment of Life, and Practice of Holineſs; and becauſe we have often oppoſed that doctrine of being actually *juſtified* by the Merits of Chriſt, whilſt actual Sinners againſt God, by living in the pollutions of this wicked world; we are by our adverſaries rendered ſuch, as either deny, or undervalue, the Coming of Chriſt without us, and the Force and Efficacy of his Death and Sufferings, as a Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World.

Whereas we do, and hope we ever ſhall (as we always did) confeſs, to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, *That He,* to wit, *Jeſus Chriſt, took our Nature upon him, was like us in all Things, Sin excepted: That he was Born of the Virgin* Mary, *went about amongſt Men doing Good, and working many Miracles: That he was betrayed by* Judas *into the Hands of the Chief Prieſts,* &c. *That he ſuffered death under* Pontius Pilate, *the* Roman *Governor, being Crucified between Two Thieves, and was Buried in the Sepulchre of* Joſeph *of* Arimathea: *Roſe again the Third Day from the Dead, and Aſcended into Heaven, and Sits at God's Right Hand, in the Power and Majeſty of his Father; and that by him, God the Father, will one Day judge the whole World, both of Quick and Dead, according to their Works.*

XV. *Concerning the Reſurrection.*] Becauſe from the authority of Holy Scripture, as well as right Reaſon, we deny the Reſurrection of the *ſame groſs* and *corruptible* Body, and are neither over-inquiſitive nor critical about *what* Bodies we ſhall have at the Reſurrrection, leaving it to the Lord, to give us ſuch Bodies as he pleaſes, (and with that we are well pleaſed and ſatisfied, and wiſh all others were ſo too); from hence we are made not only Deniers of the Reſurrection of *any* Body *at all*, however Spiritual, or Glorified, but Eternal Rewards too.

Whereas, if it were true, as it is notoriouſly falſe, we were, indeed, of all men, moſt miſerable: But, bleſſed be God, it is ſo far from being true, that we moſt ſtedfaſtly believe, that as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was raiſed from the Dead, by the Power of the Father, and was the *Firſt-fruits* of the Reſurrection, ſo every *Man*, in his *own Order*, ſhall ariſe; they that have done *well*, to the Reſurrection of Eternal Life; but they that have done *evil*, to Everlaſting Condemnation.

And becauſe we are a People whoſe Education hath not afforded us an *Accuracy* of Language, ſome paſſages may perhaps have been *miſ-expreſſed*, or improperly *worded* (as for inſtance, One of us hath denied, in his book, the Soul to be *finite*; by which he plainly meant *mortal*, or *final*, to *die*, or have an *end*, which *Finis* ſignifies, from whence *Finite* comes); our uncharitable oppoſers have concluded, we hold the Soul to be *infinite*, and conſequently *God:* Whereas the words before and after, as well as the Nature of the Things, ſhews plainly, he *only* meant that it is *eternal*, and ſo not *finite*; that is, not *terminable*, or that which ſhall come to an *End*.

And alſo, becauſe we have not declared ourſelves, about Matters of Faith, in the many and *critical* Words "that *Man's* Wiſdom teacheth," but in the Words which the "*Holy Ghoſt* teacheth," we have been eſteemed either *ignorant*, or *equivocal* and *unſound:* Whereas it is really matter of Conſcience to us, to deliver our Belief in *ſuch*

Words as the Holy Spirit, in *Scripture*, teacheth; and if we add *more* for Illuſtration, it is from an Experience of the Work of the ſame Spirit in *ourſelves*; which ſeems to us the *trueſt* way of expounding Scripture, in what concerns ſaving knowledge.

XVI. *Concerning Separation.*] Becauſe we are ſeparated from the Publick Communion and Worſhip, it is too generally concluded, that we deny the Doctrines received by the Church, and conſequently introduce a New Religion; Whereas we differ *leaſt*, where we are thought to differ *moſt*; For, ſetting aſide ſome *School Terms*, we hold the *Subſtance* of thoſe Doctrines believed by the *Church of England*, as to God, Chriſt, Spirit, Scripture, Repentance, Sanctification, Remiſſion of Sin, Holy Living, and the Reſurrection of the Juſt and Unjuſt to Eternal Rewards and Puniſhments. But that wherein we differ *moſt*, is about *Worſhip* and *Converſation*, and the *Inward Qualification* of the *Soul* by the Work of God's Spirit thereon, in purſuance of theſe good and generally received Doctrines. For it is the Spirit of God *only* convinces and converts the ſoul, and makes thoſe that were *dead* in *Treſpaſſes* and *Sins*, and in the Luſts, Pleaſures, and Faſhions of this World, *alive* to *God*; that is, *ſenſible* of his Mind and Will, and of their Duty to do them; and brings to know God, and his Attributes, by the *Power* of them upon their *own Souls*; and leads to worſhip God rightly, which is in his *Spirit*, and in *Truth*, with hearts ſanctified by the Truth; which is a living and acceptable worſhip, and ſtands in *Power*, not Formality, nor in the *Traditions* and *Preſcriptions* of *Men*, in *Synods* and *Convocations*, but in the *Holy Spirit*. Firſt, in ſhewing us our real *Wants*, and then in helping our *Infirmities* with *Sighs* and *Groans*, and ſometimes *Words*, to pray for a ſuitable ſupply, for which we in our Meetings *wait* upon God, to *quicken* and *prepare* us, that we may worſhip him *acceptably* and *profitably*, for they go together. Now, becauſe we are ſatisfied that all Worſhip to God, and Exhortations to Men, as Praying, Praiſing, and Preaching, and every other religious duty, ought to be ſpiritually performed; and finding ſo little of it among Profeſſors of Chriſtianity; the Spirit of God having not that Rule and Guidance of them, in their Lives and Worſhip, as it ought to have; and ſeeing them too generally ſatisfied with a Miniſtry and Worſhip of *Man*'s making, being not qualified, nor led by God's Spirit thereunto; we cannot find that Comfort and Edification our Souls crave and want under ſo *cold* a Miniſtry and Worſhip. And for this cauſe, and no preſumptuous Contempt, or ſelfiſh Separation, or worldly Intereſts, are we, and ſtand we at this day, a ſeparate People from the Publick Communion; and in this we can comfortably appeal and recommend ourſelves to God, the Great and Laſt Judge of the Acts and Deeds of the Sons of Men.

Laſtly, Becauſe at the time of our Friends firſt appearing in this age, there were a Sect of People newly ſprung up, and truly called *Ranters*, that were the *Reverſe* to the *Quakers*, (for they feared and quaked at *nothing*, but made a Mock at Fearing of God, and at Sin, and at Hell) who pretended that *Love* made *Fear* needleſs, and that nothing was *Sin*, but to them that *thought* it ſo; and that *none* ſhould be damned at laſt, whoſe extravagant practices exactly correſpond with their evil principles; from hence, ſome ignorantly, and too many maliciouſly, involved us and ours with *them*; and many of their exorbitances were thereby placed to our account, though without the leaſt reaſon, truth, or juſtice.

And becauſe ſome that were convinced of God's Truth, afterwards diſhonoured their Profeſſion, through their unfaithfulneſs to it; and that ſome, out of *Weakneſs*, perhaps, may have improperly *worded* what they intended to ſay, the Whole Body of our Friends have been made *criminal*, and the Religion or Principles we profeſs, have been condemned, and repreſented to the world as Hereſy and Blaſphemy; an uſage ſo unjuſt, that doubtleſs, according to *Lex Talionis*, our adverſaries would think it intolerable to be ſo treated by us.

But as we deſire not to render Evil for Evil, our *Great Biſhop* having taught us another Leſſon, and better Practices, ſo we deſire God Almighty to forgive our cauſeleſs Enemies, for his Son's ſake, as we moſt freely and heartily forgive them: Believing ſome may be zealouſly affected for their Educational Form of Religion, and as zealous againſt *us* for our Separation; and we are the more inclined to judge ſo, becauſe many of us were once in the *ſame Way*, and had ſuch Thoughts of thoſe that were gone before us. But it hath pleaſed the Father of Mercies to do by many of us as he did by *Saul*, that *zealous*, though *miſtaken*, Perſecutor of the ſincere Followers of Jeſus Chriſt, Acts ix. 3, 4, 5, 6. For as we heard an unuſual *inward*, but *powerful* Voice, ſo we alſo had a more inward, clear, and diſtinguiſhing *Sight*, by the Illumination of that *Light* which was more than *natural*, and ſhined into our dark and ſinful Hearts, 2 Cor. iv. 6. 7. letting us ſee them, as they *really* were in God's Sight; which naturally affected us with *deep Sorrow*, and *true Humiliation*, making us willing to be any thing he would have us be, provided we might have *ſome* Senſe of his Love and Favour towards us. And bleſſed be his holy and excellent Name, we can, without Vanity, ſay, (generally ſpeaking) we were not diſobedient to that Heavenly Viſion, (Acts xxvi. 19.)

1698. we had of Him, our Selves, the World, and that Profeſſion of Religion, where we had our Education. And ſince by that ſight God gave us, we ſaw he was pure and holy, and that without *Holineſs* none ever could, or can ſee him, to their joy, and that we were unfit to approach his Holy Altar; yea, that the whole World lay in Wickedneſs; and that Profeſſion of Religion, where we had our Education, was ſo far from having the *Power* of Godlineſs, that, for the moſt part, it wanted the right *Form*; from ſuch, therefore, we had a Divine Authority to "*turn away*," 2 Tim. iii. 5. Which we did, not in a *vaunting* Mind, but with great *Sorrow*; wanting to know where the *Great Shepherd* of the Sheep fed his Flock, Cant. i. 7. For we deſired to be *not* of thoſe that "turned aſide from the Foot-ſteps of the Flocks of the Companions." Nor was it Affectation to Popularity, Singularity, or Novelty, that induced us to a Separation; but a fervent deſire to know the Lord, and the work of his tranſlating Power upon our Souls, being in earneſt for Heaven, though for it we loſt all our Earthly Enjoyments, Heb. xi. 14, 15, 16.

In this *ſolitary* and *ſeeking* State, it pleaſed the Lord to meet with us, and gather us into *Families*, or *Religious Societies*, according to Pſalm lviii. 6. And though it hath been a *dear* Separation to us, conſidering it coſt us the Loſs, at leaſt, of *all* things, and the great Sufferings and Afflictions that have attended us in this deſpiſed Way, which Men have called *Hereſy*, yet the Lord hath bleſſed us in it, with the Enjoyment of his Bleſſed Preſence, to our unſpeakable Joy and Comfort.

To conclude; As it hath pleaſed the Lord to bleſs us, in the Way we have hitherto been helped to walk in, with that great bleſſing which uſhered in the Birth of our bleſſed Lord into the World, viz. "Glory to God, Peace on Earth, and Good-will to Men;" ſo we earneſtly deſire the ſame upon all our Neighbours: For though we may not be all of *one Mind* in ſome *doctrinal* parts of Religion, we muſt, of neceſſity, be all of *one Sentiment* in the great and general Duty of *Holineſs*, or elſe we can never ſee God. And if that is our Principal Aim and Endeavour, we ſhall leſs fall out by the Way, about *Words*, *Forms*, and the *Outſide* of Things: But *Univerſal Charity*, (which is the *moſt* excellent Way, and without which the beſt of *Creeds* is but as a ſounding Braſs, &c.) will ſilence Controverſy, and blot out all Ignominious Characters; remembering that the Great Judge, at the Laſt Day, will determine us, not according to our *Names*, but *Natures*; not our *Profeſſion*, but our *Lives*; not our *bare Belief*, (though of unqueſtionable *Truths*) but *Works*; for "God will bring every Work to Judgment, with every ſecret thing, whether it be Good or Evil," Eccleſ. xii. 14.

A DEFENCE

A DEFENCE Of a PAPER intitled, GOSPEL TRUTHS, AGAINST THE Exceptions of the Biſhop of CORK's Teſtimony.

By W. PENN.

THE PREFACE.

READER,

IT was the wiſe counſel of an ancient and grave Prelate of the Kingdom of Ireland, at a late viſit I made him there, to diſcourage Controverſy, and endeavour to abate Strife among Chriſtians: 'For,' ſaid he, 'Heaven is a quiet Place; there are no quarrels there, and Religion is an Holy and Peaceable Thing, and excites to Piety and Charity, and not to Genealogies, Strife and Debates.' But the Biſhop of Cork ſeems to be of another mind, that could not paſs by ſo inoffenſive a Paper, as that ſtiled "Goſpel-Truths," (given him by me, in a private way, at a friendly viſit upon his own deſire) without his Publick Animadverſions; and thoſe expreſſed not with ſo much Juſtice and Charity, as might have been expected from him to his Diſſenting Neighbours. 1698.

I am, I confeſs, very ſorry my Chriſtian Viſits to the Biſhop have met with no better returns than Controverſy: But becauſe that is his, and not my Fault, it ſhall be my ſatisfaction.

I did, indeed, perceiving him converſant in our Writings, and his Character to be Moderation, caſually preſent him with one of thoſe Papers; but as the Nature of it is far from Provocation, ſo my Deſign in it was purely to improve his Temper, and not to excite his Contradiction. Nor was it writ for an 'Exact and Complete Account of our Belief,' but Occaſionally, to prevent the Prejudices that the attempts of a coarſe and ſcurrilous pen at Dublin, juſt before, might provoke in ſome againſt us, as to the points touched upon in the "Goſpel-Truths." And though we have been ſo unhappy as to be therein miſtaken by the Biſhop, yet it is ſome comfort to us, that our 'Chriſtian Declaration' hath had quite another reception with the generality of thoſe to whoſe hands it has come: And I heartily wiſh *that* hath not been the moſt prevailing motive to his undertaking. However, ſince he has been pleaſed to fault it both with Shortneſs and Error, the firſt of which we thought healing, at leaſt inoffenſive, I eſteem myſelf anſwerable for it, and ſhall, with God's aſſiſtance, defend it againſt the force of his Exceptions, and, I hope, with Clearneſs and Temper: For though I may be plain, as he muſt expect, I deſire to be neither rude nor bitter.

I aſk, Reader, but the common juſtice due to all authors, eſpecially in controverted points of religion, to wit, Attention and Impartiality; and then judge whether our Pacifick Paper deſerved ſo ſharp a Cenſure, and the Manner of its being given him, ſo publick a return: Though I hope the conſequence will be good. To Almighty God I leave the ſucceſs, and am, in all Chriſtian obligation,

Briſtol, the 23d of the
7th Month, 1698.

Thy Real Friend,

W. PENN.

[*The* PAPER was as follows.]

Sober Reader,

1698. IF thou hadſt rather we ſhould be in the Right than in the Wrong; and if thou thinkeſt it but a reaſonable thing that we ſhould be Heard before we are Condemned, and that our Belief ought to be taken from our *own* Mouths, and not at theirs that have prejudged our Cauſe; then we intreat thee to read and weigh the following brief account, of thoſe things that are chiefly received and profeſſed among us the People called Quakers, according to the Teſtimony of the Scriptures of Truth, and the Illumination of the Holy Ghoſt, which are the double and agreeing Record of true Religion: Publiſhed to inform the moderate enquirer, and reclaim the prejudiced to a better temper; which God grant, to his glory, and their peace.

I. It is our belief, That GOD is, and that he is a Rewarder of all them that fear him, with Eternal Rewards of Happineſs; and that thoſe that fear him not, ſhall be turned into Hell, Heb. xi. 16. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Pſal. ix. 17.

II. That there are Three that bear Record in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and theſe Three are really One, 1 John v. 7.

III. That the Word was made Fleſh, and dwelt among Men, and was, and is, the Only-Begotten of the Father, full of Grace and Truth, his Beloved Son, in whom he is well-pleaſed, and whom we are to hear in all things; who taſted Death for every Man, and died for Sin, that we might die to Sin, and by his Power and Spirit be raiſed up to Newneſs of Life here, and to Glory hereafter, John i. 14. Mat. iii. 17. Heb. ii, 9.

IV. That as we are only juſtified from the Guilt of Sin, by Chriſt, the Propitiation, and not by Works of Righteouſneſs that we have done; ſo there is an abſolute neceſſity that we receive and obey, to unfeigned Repentance, and Amendment of Life, the Holy Light and Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, in order to obtain that Remiſſion and Juſtification from Sin: Since no man can be juſtified by Chriſt, who walks not after the Spirit, but after the Fleſh; for whom he ſanctifies, them he alſo juſtifies: And if we walk in the Light, as he is Light, his precious Blood cleanſeth us from all Sin; as well from the Pollution as Guilt of Sin, Rom. iii. 22, to 26. Chap. viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 John v. 7.

V. That Chriſt is the Great Light of the World, that lighteth every Man that cometh into the World, and is full of Grace and Truth, and giveth to all Light for Light, and Grace for Grace; and by his Light and Grace he inwardly appears to Man, and teaches ſuch as will be taught by him, That denying Ungodlineſs and Worldly Luſts, they ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent World, John viii. 12. Chap. i. 9, 14. Tit. ii. 11, 12.

VI. That this Principle of Light and Grace, which is God's Gift, through Chriſt, to Man, is that which ſhews us our Sins, reproves us for them, and would lead all out of them that obey it, to ſerve GOD, in fear and love, all their days. And they that turn not at the reproofs thereof, and will not repent, and live, and walk according to it, ſhall die in their Sins; and where Chriſt is gone, they ſhall never come; who is undefiled, and ſeparated from Sinners, Eph. v. 13. John xvi. 7. Prov. i. 20, to 24. John viii. 24.

VII. This is that Principle by which GOD prepares the Heart to worſhip him aright; and all the duties of Religion, as Praying, Praiſing, and Preaching, ought to be performed through the Sanctifying Power and Aſſiſtance of it; other Worſhip being but Formal and Will-Worſhip, with which we cannot, in Conſcience, join, nor can we maintain or uphold it, Rom. viii. 26. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.

VIII. Worſhip, in this Goſpel-Day, is inward and ſpiritual: For, God is a Spirit, as Chriſt teacheth, and he will now be worſhipped in Spirit and in Truth, being moſt ſuitable to his Divine Nature. Wherefore we wait in our aſſemblies to feel God's Spirit to open and move upon our hearts, before we dare offer ſacrifice to the Lord, or preach to others the Way of his Kingdom: That we may preach in Power as well as Words, and as God promiſed, and Chriſt ordained, without money, and without price, John iv. 23, 24. 1 Theſ. i. 5. Iſa. lv. 1. Rev. xxii. 17. Mat. x. 8.

IX. This alſo leads us to deny all the Vain Cuſtoms and Faſhions of the World, to avoid Exceſs in all things, that our Moderation may be ſeen of all Men, becauſe the Lord is at hand to ſee and judge us, according to our deeds, Tit. ii. 12. Rom. xii. 2. Phil. iv. 5. Eccl. xii. 14. Mat. xvi. 27. Rom. ii. 6. Rev. xx. 12.

X. We believe the neceſſity of the One Baptiſm of Chriſt, as well as of his One Supper, which he promiſeth to eat with thoſe that open the door of their hearts to him, being the Baptiſm and Supper ſignified by the Outward Signs; which, though we diſuſe, we judge not thoſe that conſcientiouſly practiſe them, Mat. iii. 11. Eph. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. John vi. Rev. iii. 20.

XI. We honour Government; for we believe it is an Ordinance of God; and that we ought in all things to ſubmit, by doing or ſuffering; but eſteem it a great bleſſing, where the adminiſtration is a Terror to Evil-doers, and a Praiſe to them that do well. Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

This hath all along been the general ſtream and tendency both of our Miniſtry and Writings, as our Books will make appear, notwithſtanding what ill-minded and prejudiced perſons may have ſtrained to miſ-repreſent us, and our Chriſtian Profeſſion.

Dublin, the 4th of the 3d month, 1698.

WILLIAM PENN, ANTHONY SHARP,
THOMAS STORY, GEORGE ROOK.

The TESTIMONY of the Biſhop of *Cork*, as to a Paper intituled, "Goſpel Truths, held, &c. by the People called QUAKERS," and delivered to him by an eminent Member of them.

FRIENDS,

I AM ſuch a reader as in your Paper you deſire. I have read, and ſoberly weighed, the account you give of thoſe things, which, you ſay, are chiefly received and profeſſed amongſt you. And I will exerciſe ſo much moderation and charity, as to lay a great weight on that word [*Chiefly*] hoping theſe are not the *Only* things, or *All* that you Believe. I ſhould have been heartily glad to have found that you had been in the Truth, as I am well aſſured I myſelf am: But, as I profeſſed, when the Paper was given me, 'That if I took it, you muſt expect I ſhould bear my Teſtimony touching it, or againſt it;' ſo I muſt now tell you, I think myſelf bound in conſcience to perform what I then profeſſed; and that upon more reaſons than I will now trouble the world with. You muſt not be offended if I ſay, You have ſuch a way of writing and ſpeaking, that it is very hard, in many matters of religion, to know what you mean. But, as far as I underſtand you, I will candidly acknowledge what Truths you have ſufficiently or tolerably expreſſed; I will ſhew you with meekneſs, How far your Faith, if this be your faith, comes ſhort of being Sufficient, or Chriſtian; and I will ſincerely tell you what I apprehend to be the Cauſe of your Deluſion, and how dangerous a Condition I really fear, nay, believe, you to be in.

And Firſt, The only Articles in which you have expreſſed a Sufficient Chriſtian belief, are your Sixth, which is, touching Juſtification, and your laſt touching Government, and your Submiſſion thereto. I wiſh you may always ſtick to this belief and practice; and I heartily rejoice to find you acknowledging the Neceſſity of Chriſt, as a Propitiation, in order to Remiſſion of Sins, and juſtifying you, as Sinners, from Guilt. It is the firſt time I have heard of it amongſt you.

As to all the reſt of your Articles, I mean thoſe which I underſtand, I muſt tell you, the Declaration of your Faith comes ſo ſhort of what is required from people to denominate them Chriſtians, that except, under each Article, you believe more than you have declared, you cannot be accounted Chriſtians. For firſt, in thoſe Articles of Faith which you have thought fit to mention, you have ſet down only ſome little Ends, I had almoſt called them Snaps of the Article. And, ſecondly, Many more whole Articles of the True Chriſtian Faith, and which are of no leſs import, you have entirely omitted, waved, or ſuppreſſed.

You acknowledge in your Firſt Article, There is a God, and you own his Providence as to the other Life. But that He made Heaven and Earth, that He is the Almighty, and at preſent, by his ſovereign Power, moſt wiſely and holily governs, orders, and ſuſtains all (by his Mercies, as well as Judgments, even in this World, not leaving himſelf without witneſs) you ſay not a word. Creation in the Beginning, and Providence as to this World at preſent, are not here acknowledged by you. We hope you believe both.

Your Second Article is wholly true; for it is expreſs ſcripture, 1 John v. 7. But it is only what the Apoſtle there had occaſion to ſay, and what was to his purpoſe, touching the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; far from being the Sum of what the Holy Scripture teaches of them; and therefore is not a Sufficient Confeſſion of Faith on that head.

1698.

In your Third Article, you acknowledge, indeed, the Son of God to have been made Fleſh, but neither Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, nor born of the Virgin Mary; ſo that it does not appear, by this your confeſſion, but that he was at firſt an ordinary, corrupt, ſinful perſon: Nay, you own him not ſo much as Jeſus, or the Chriſt (the Great Saviour, who delivereth from the wrath which is to come; or the great Prophet, Prieſt, Lord and King, of his Church): You acknowledge him, indeed, to have died for Sin, but (not to mention the articles inferrable from, and relating to, the circumſtances of his death) you have not one word of his Reſurrection from the Dead, or of his Aſcenſion into Heaven; which, it may be proved, ſome of you have expreſly denied, ſaying, ‘He is not aſcended into Heaven; he is in us:’ Nor, again, of his ſitting now at the Right-hand of the Majeſty on High. And ſo you ſeem not to own any thing of his Mediation, Interceſſion, or Appearing now in Heaven for us. Nor farther have you ſaid a word of his coming again to Judgment, at the End of the World. Thus, indeed, you have here neither owned the Creation, or Diſſolution, of the World; ſo that it does not appear, by this account of your Faith, whether you do not judge it eternal, and ſo otherwiſe infinite. Yet again, not a word of One Church, which it may be feared you ſtrike out of your belief, becauſe you are reſolved never more to return into the Unity of the Church, but to make and maintain a Schiſm, or Party, for ever. Nor farther, have you a word of the Reſurrection of the Dead, which divers of you have been known to deny, and others of you only ſay, ‘It may be ſo.’ And laſtly, though you acknowledge Everlaſting Rewards for them that fear God, yet nothing of the Everlaſting Puniſhment of Wicked Men. You mention Hell indeed (in a very unnatural place, viz. in your Firſt Article of the Being of God); but whether you mean thereby the Grave, as moſt commonly in Scripture is meant; or, A Place of Temporal Puniſhment after this Life, as ſome have done; or, A State of Total Deſtruction and Annihilation, as many now a-days do, no one knows.

Upon the whole: As to the Sum of the Chriſtian Faith, which you have been pleaſed to ſet down, there is not One Article of our Common Twelve, that you have owned entirely; and Eight at leaſt, if not more of them, that you have here totally ſuppreſſed, or waved. And how influential to an Holy Life thoſe which you have waved are, and therefore how neceſſary to Salvation, I muſt require and conjure you, on your own eternal account, to conſider. I will only mind you of two paſſages out of the Scriptures of Truth, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 17. “If the dead riſe not, (that is, if there be no Reſurrection “of the Fleſh) then is not Chriſt raiſed. And if Chriſt is not raiſed, your Faith is “Vain, you are yet in your Sins.” Hence it appears all other points of Faith are in Vain, if this be not true. The other is, Rom x. 9. “If thou ſhalt confeſs with thy “Mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thy Heart that God hath raiſed him from “the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved.” This article alone is of ſuch force and influence on mens hearts, that if believed as it ſhould be, ſuch belief will ſave men. But both Chriſt's Reſurrection, and our own, are by you, in this Paper, left out of your Faith. I judge you not, but judge yourſelves, leſt you be condemned of the Lord.

Your fifth, ſixth, and eighth articles, treat of what you call, ‘The Light of Chriſt ‘within man:’ This you have never been able yet, that I could find, to make out what you mean by. For you will not allow it to be either the Natural, Rational Faculty, or Common Innate Notions, or Natural Conſcience, or Conſcience Illuminated, by the Preaching of the Goſpel, and the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt thereby: Until you can make us underſtand your meaning, or indeed till you underſtand it yourſelves, (that is, till you are leſs confuſed in this, the very Fundamental Principle or Rule of what you profeſs) you muſt not think of declaring (or publiſhing) an Account of your Faith: See you underſtand it firſt. There are ſome men who have a faculty to ſpeak things ſeemingly profound, but, in the end, neither themſelves, nor others, can make any diſtinct ſenſe of what they have ſaid: This we uſually call Banter. And I muſt acknowledge, as far as I can ſee, your diſcourſe of this Light Within is perfectly ſuch. Take notice, We, in our preaching, require people to *look within*, as much as you do: We ſtrictly charge all to walk according to the Convictions and Light they have received. We daily appeal unto Conſcience: But then we teach, that Conſcience (opened by the Holy Spirit, under the Miniſtry of the Word, Acts xvi. 14.) does, and muſt, take in its Light from Holy Scripture; “The Commandment of the Lord “is pure, enlightning the Eyes,” Pſalm xix. 8. (viz. *of the Mind*, Epheſ. i. 18.) “Thy Word is as a Lamp to my Feet, and a Light to my Path,” Pſal. cxix. cv. “To “the Law and to the Teſtimony; if they (even Men in their Conſciences)” ſpeak “not according to this Word, it is becauſe there is NO LIGHT in them,” Iſa. viii. 20. Now theſe things are intelligible. This Rule is fixed and certain, nothing of which can be ſaid of your Light within.

In your Eighth Article you tell us, ‘Worſhip under the Goſpel is Inward and Spiritual.’ If you mean hereby, that all Outward and Bodily Worſhip ought to be accompanied with an Inward and Spiritual Worſhip, it is what we daily preach and practiſe, and even in private preſs. But if, as it would ſeem, you mean all the Worſhip God now requires

quires is from the Inward Man, or from the Spirit, this is abominably falſe: For our Bodies are God's Handy-work, and Chriſt's Purchaſe, as well as our Souls: On which reaſon, God, by his Apoſtle, commands, "Glorify God in your Body and in your Spi- "rit, [ἅτινα] which (in the *plural* Number, that is, *both which)* are God's." Not to tell you, that you yourſelves, now-a-days, perform ſomewhat of Bodily Worſhip. And indeed, if there be not a Worſhip of the Body, as well as of the Spirit, there can be no Publick Worſhip. This Article, therefore, muſt alſo be mended, to make a Chriſtian. 1698.

In your Ninth Article, you tell us of your 'Denying all the vain Cuſtoms and Fa- 'ſhions of the World, as alſo Exceſs in all things.' I know no ſort of Chriſtians who teach otherwiſe; I wiſh I could ſay, I knew none (even of yourſelves) that practiſe otherwiſe. It is one part of the Catechiſm we teach our Children, to *renounce all theſe*. But there are many *innocent* and *laudable* Cuſtoms which you call *Vain*. Would it not almoſt make a man's ſtomach turn to hear one forbear, in point of conſcience, ſaying *You* to a ſingle perſon, becauſe it is improper; and at the ſame time, while he is ſpeaking to his ſuperior, becauſe *Thou doſt* ſounds a little rudely, to ſoften the *Thou*, and ſay *Thee doeſt*, which is commonly your people's practice, and much more improper. Will you ever be able to prove the Primitive Chriſtians uſed a Dialect or Dreſs different from others of their Nation and Qualities, and placed Religion in it? Does not Chriſt require Saluting even thoſe who ſalute not us? And no doubt his and his apoſtles ſalutations were in the common form. In a word, there is more Vanity in Singularity and Affectation, than in a moderate following a common innocent Phraſe, Garb, or Cuſtom.

In your Tenth Article you believe (you ſay) 'a Spiritual Baptiſm, and a Spiritual 'Supper and Communion;' but acknowledge you 'diſuſe the Outward Signs,' by us commonly called Sacraments: Now did not Chriſt command *Water*-Baptiſm? "Go "ye and baptize all Nations," Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. The baptiſm here commanded, was *Water*-Baptiſm: For baptizing with the Spirit was GOD's Work, not the Apoſtles: And though the Baptiſm of the Spirit commonly accompanied Baptiſm with Water, yet not always, as in the Caſe of Simon Magus, and many others. Yet did not Chriſt promiſe "to be with them (preaching to all nations, and baptizing) to the End of the "World?" Farther, Did not the Apoſtles, in obedience to Chriſt's command, both conſtantly practiſe, and alſo require, Water-Baptiſm to all initiated Chriſtians? "Can "any man forbid Water, that theſe ſhould not be baptized, which have received the "Holy Ghoſt as well as we?" And he [Peter] commanded they ſhould be baptized: Acts x. 47, 48. Then as to the outward uſe of Bread and Wine for the Lord's Supper, can any command be more expreſs than, "This do in remembrance of me?" Four times repeated in the New (which you call the Better) Teſtament. To which St. Paul adds, "It is a ſhewing forth the Lord's Death until he come," 1 Cor. xi. 26. Now if Chriſt and his Apoſtles have commanded this, who hath authorized you to diſuſe it? Remember what St. Paul tells the Corinthians, "he received from the Lord that which "*on this Subject* he delivered to them," 1 Cor. xi. 23. And it is a ſevere paſſage in another Epiſtle of his, Gal. i. 8. "If we, or an Angel from heaven, preach any other "Goſpel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed." That which lays aſide ſo much of the Goſpel, and ſets up a New and Variable Rule of Faith, (we know not what Light within) is Another and New Goſpel.

To draw towards a concluſion: I have written this ſhort Paper in much and true compaſſion to you: It had been far eaſier to me to have ſaid more, than thus to have confined myſelf: I look upon many of you as an harmleſs, well-meaning people, but under ſtrong deluſions.

This your deluded ſtate proceeds from your making what you call the Light within you (which is, in many caſes, nothing but your own preſumptive Perſuaſion or Fancy) a Rule of Faith and Practice, co-ordinate, if not ſuperior and antecedent, to the Holy Scriptures: Theſe Words in your Paper ['Which are the Double and Agreeing Re- 'cord of True Religion'] intimate at leaſt thus much, that you will not believe what Scripture ſaith, except the Light within you dictate the ſame, and ſo make a Double Record. Now, my friends, do not flatter yourſelves, "GOD is not mocked;" you muſt anſwer at the dreadful day of judgment, amongſt other points, to ſuch as theſe; and therefore examine your conſciences before-hand.

1. Is it not your main End and Study, by pretended mortifications, and renouncing the world, (while there are no ſort of men alive that more eagerly purſue it, nor have more effectual, wily, and ſecret ways of getting wealth than yourſelves) Is it not, I ſay, your main aim and end to make yourſelves a Party conſiderable; and ſuch to which, for reaſons of State, peculiar Privileges muſt be indulged?

2. Are not, to this purpoſe, many of your Diſtinctive Characters, ſuch as your Different Garb, (for it is plain, not a few of your people's cloaths, as to Materials, are more coſtly than many of ours) your Way of Speaking, yea, even your Looks and Geſtures, aſſumed rather to make yourſelves remarkable, and at firſt Sight known from other People, than out of any Perſuaſion, Senſe of Duty, or Conſcience of Obligation?

3. What reaſonable or tolerable Warrant can you plead for waving, ſuppreſſing, at leaſt not confeſſing, much the greater Part of the Chriſtian Faith, and rejecting all Outward Poſitive Parts of Worſhip (eſpecially Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper) which have ſuch plain and repeated evidences in Holy Scripture. Your Light within, (or Senſe and Perſuaſion which you ſay you have, and are ſure is from Chriſt) foraſmuch as, in the preſent caſes, it dictateth againſt Holy Scripture, can never be proved even to yourſelves, much leſs to others, to be from Chriſt: But muſt rather, in all reaſon, be reſolved to be one of the Heights or Depths of Satan transforming himſelf into an Angel of Light. And for any perſons to yield to ſuch conduct, (beſides or againſt holy ſcripture) is plainly to abandon themſelves to the deluſions of the devil.

In a word, therefore, I again require you, as you will anſwer all your ſecret arts and high pretenſions at Chriſt's Tribunal, that you either embrace and profeſs intire Chriſtian Faith, in the points wherein I have ſhewn you to be defective; and that you receive the Chriſtian Seals or Badges, Baptiſm and the Lord's-Supper; or elſe that you deſiſt to lay claim to the name of Chriſtians.

It is not for me to judge you; but again I ſay unto you, (truly from God, as his Miniſter) Judge yourſelves. This is the caſe. If men who take away, even from the "Faith once delivered to the Saints," at leaſt Two Thirds, beſides many main points of the other Third; who equal their own preſumptuous Conceits to the Divine Oracles and Revelations; who uſe and diſuſe at pleaſure, what parts of God's Inſtituted Worſhip they think fit, even the very Badges of Chriſtianity (I will not here interpoſe your making Gain your Godlineſs;) but if the aforeſaid men are in a Way of Perdition, what can you conclude of yourſelves? In the Name of God repent and return: And from my ſoul I pray, that God will pleaſe to give you Repentance.

Cork, July the
2d. 1698.

EDWARD CORK *and* ROSS.

A

DEFENCE

Of a PAPER intituled

GOSPEL TRUTHS.

I HAVE given the Biſhop's Exceptions together at large, as he did our Paper, and ſhall now conſider their validity. 1698.

He is pleaſed to ſay at the beginning of his firſt Paragraph, ‘ He is ſuch a Reader as ‘ in our Paper we deſire:’ Words that gave me great hopes, of not only fair, but friendly dealing; and I heartily wiſh it had been ſo: But ſince it ſeems to me the Reverſe of his promiſe, he muſt not take it ill from me, if I ſtop a while, and ſhew him a little to himſelf, and how much he is miſtaken in his own Temper, as well as in our Principles. For though he begins with the names of *Moderation, Charity* and *Meekneſs*, that is all: He quickly loſes ſight of them, and forgets them, with himſelf, almoſt all the way. And unleſs my taſte be extremely depraved, there is little reliſh of thoſe virtues in his management, or a tolerable temper ſhewn towards us, reſpecting either our belief or practice. We deſired *ſuch a Reader*, indeed, as had rather we were in the *right* than in the wrong; one that did not *prejudge* our caſe, and would give *us* (and not our *Enemies*) the *wording* of our own belief: While the biſhop but too plainly ſhews, he would not have us in the right, even where he dares not ſay (however freely he ſuggeſts it) that we are in the wrong. Which appears,

Firſt, By his *unneceſſary* exceptions to ſuch truths as we have declared in our Paper (and he cannot deny) as *imperfectly* expreſſed, becauſe we have not ſaid all that *might* be ſaid, to branch them out, or illuſtrate them; though enough to be underſtood by ſuch as are not captious.

Secondly, By *Suppoſitions incongruous*, and that can have no other ſervice than to *expoſe* us, and that in a very ill manner.

Thirdly, By rendering us to *deny*, what we do not *expreſs* in our Paper: Though indeed we *believe* it.

Fourthly, In not taking due notice of what is *implied*, as well as expreſſed: Which had been but juſt.

Fifthly, In making the *worſt* of what is not concurrent with his belief; and not the beſt, where we believe the ſame thing.

Sixthly, By groſly miſrendering our pretences to *Strict Living*.

Laſtly, By condemning us upon *Rumour*. All which is more than leaning to *that Side* that had rather we were in the *wrong*, than in the right; and conſequently not *ſuch* a Reader as we deſired. That this is ſo, let it but be obſerved, how he *unchriſtians* us in his third paragraph; though immediately in a Contradiction to what he juſt before acknowledges in his ſecond. Nor will he allow us to be ſo much as *Deiſts* in his fourth, or at moſt but very imperfect ones, becauſe we have not ſaid all of God that may be aſcribed to him. In his ſixth, he ſuppoſes us capable of believing that Chriſt came of *corrupt* and *ſinful Fleſh*, becauſe we ſay no more, in that place, of the *Manner* of his *Incarnation*, than the *Evangeliſt* doth, John i. 14. Alſo, that we are *defective*, at beſt *ambiguous*, about Eternal Rewards and Puniſhments. He makes us, in his ſeventh paragraph, to *deny* the Reſurrection of the Dead at large, and without *diſtinction*, though we there acknowledge a *Future State*, which implies it; and have not ſaid one word againſt it; but upon all occaſions, in print, or otherwiſe, have expreſſed our belief of that branch of Chriſtian Doctrine, according to *Scripture.* In his tenth, he derides our plain (though proper) Language, of *Thou* to a *ſingle Perſon*, though it is what he himſelf gives to *God* in his Prayers. In his fourteenth and fifteenth, he is pleaſed to ſlight, and render our Stricter Living a *Trick* to promote a *Party*, and that our Garb, Looks, and Geſtures, are more to make ourſelves *remarkable*, than out of any Perſuaſion of *Duty*, or *Conſcience:* As bad a conſtruction as he could make. In his ſixteenth, he tells us, ‘ The Light within us, that we ſay we ‘ have from Chriſt, *is rather* one of the Heights or Depths of Satan transformed, ‘ and that we are abandoned to his Deluſions.’ So that We, and moſt of our Principles too, are ſtark naught with the Biſhop. In his eighteenth and laſt paragraph, he ſuggeſts, ‘ We take away Two Thirds of the Chriſtian Faith, beſides many points ‘ of the other Third; and equal our Preſumptuous Conceits, to the Divine Oracles, ‘ and Revelations, and uſe, and diſuſe, at pleaſure, what Part of God's Inſtituted ‘ Worſhip we think fit; even the very *Badges* of Chriſtianity. I will not,’ ſays the Biſhop, ‘ interpoſe (yet *ſuggeſts* it) your making *Gain* your Godlineſs: But if the afore- ‘ ſaid Men are in a Way to Perdition, what can you conclude of yourſelves? In the ‘ Name of God repent and return.’ Thus the Biſhop, upon a whole People, without any other provocation than has been expreſſed.

I hope, after this, he will not expect (I am ſure he ought not) that any body ſhould think him *ſuch a Reader* as we deſired for our Goſpel-Truths, and which he promiſed us to be; or that he has treated us with the *Moderation*, *Charity*, and *Meekneſs*, he made us hope for; ſince none of our adverſaries have uſed us much worſe, in ſo little a compaſs. I heartily wiſh him a better ſight of himſelf, as well as of us, that he may be leſs miſtaken in both another time; for I have a reſpect for him, and deſire not to be upon theſe terms with him, any longer than he thinks fit to make it neceſſary.

The reſt of his firſt paragraph is only a ſtrain of fair and paſtoral promiſes, forgotten by him, and not to be remembered any more, at this time, by me; and therefore I ſhall proceed to his ſecond. Only obſerve this one thing to my reader, and the Biſhop too, that he is pleaſed to place *Moderation* and *Charity* to our Account, becauſe he does not take us by our word *Chiefly* to mean ONLY, or ALL, in reference to the things by us believed: Which, under favour, he could not do in juſtice; and therefore he needs not bring us in Debtor for that which is our Due, ſince nobody ever took *Chiefly* for *Only*, any more than an *Eldeſt* for an *Only* Son, or an *Arch* for an *Only* Biſhop. Nor does *Chiefly* imply *All*, any more than *Only*; for whether it regards things human or divine, it imports the *beſt Part* of any thing, but not *All*; the *moſt valuable*, that which deſerves and commands our regard and eſteem in the *firſt* place. And I leave it with my reader, Whether believing in *God*, and *Chriſt*, and the *Holy Spirit*; and believing the *Scriptures*, and the *Neceſſity* of *Holineſs*, and *Divine Worſhip*, and finally of *Eternal Rewards* and *Puniſhments*, are not Points of Faith *chiefly* to be received and profeſſed by Chriſtians? And if they are ſuch, the Biſhop muſt have been ſuperfinely critical upon our word *chiefly*, as well as that he might have been a better huſband of his *Moderation* and *Charity*, and have kept them for an occaſion where they might have been more needed, and conſequently better beſtowed.

His ſecond paragraph allows us to have ſufficiently expreſſed our Chriſtian Belief in Two Articles, but with this Cenſure, ‘ That of Eleven, we are only clear in theſe ‘ Two, viz. Juſtification by Chriſt, and Submiſſion to the Civil Government; wiſhing ‘ we may always ſtick to this Belief, and Practice;’ and adds, ‘ I heartily rejoice to ‘ find you acknowledge the Neceſſity of Chriſt, as a Propitiation, in order to the ‘ Remiſſion of Sins, and juſtifying you, as Sinners, from Guilt. It is the firſt time ‘ I have heard of it among you.’

If ſo, it is the Biſhop's fault, and ſeems to me next to impoſſible; ſince before that Paper was given him, he was pleaſed to acknowledge he had read ſeveral of our books; particularly, my “ Riſe and Progreſs of the People called Quakers,” taking it out of his pocket at that time; alſo “ Robert Barclay's Apology,” which ſtates, and vindicates our principles at large, in which the two doctrines afore-mentioned are very clearly declared, and maintained, notwithſtanding he ſeems to make this look like a *New Diſcovery*. But however, I am pleaſed that the Biſhop is ſo, at *Two* of the Goſpel-Truths: I am of opinion, if he had well conſidered the force and comprehenſiveneſs of our belief concerning Chriſt, that pleaſes him ſo well, he might have ſaved himſelf the trouble of what he has publiſhed to the world upon the *reſt* of them: For whoever believes in Chriſt, as a *Propitiation*, in order to *Remiſſion* of *Sins*, and *Juſtification* of Sinners from the *Guilt* of Sin, can hardly diſbelieve any *fundamental* Article of the Chriſtian Religion; ſince every ſuch perſon muſt neceſſarily believe in *God*, becauſe it is with Him alone Man is to be Juſtified. To be ſure he muſt believe in *Chriſt*, for that is the very Propoſition. He muſt alſo believe in the *Holy Ghoſt*, becauſe he is the Author of his Conviction, Repentance, and Belief. He muſt believe *Heaven*, and *Hell*, *Rewards*, and *Puniſhment*, and conſequently the *Reſurrection* of the *Juſt* and *Unjuſt:* For why ſhould he be concerned about being freed from the Guilt of his Sin, if he were unaccountable in another World? So that acknowledging the neceſſity of Chriſt, as a *Propitiation,* in order to the Remiſſion of Sin, comprehends the main Doctrine of Chriſtian Religion; and as ſo many Lines drawn from the Circumference to the Center, they all meet and center in *Chriſt:* And indeed it is as the *Navel* of Chriſtianity, and Characteriſtick of that Religion. I would intreat him again, to reflect well upon his own Acknowledgment and Commendation of our Belief, concerning the *End* and *Benefit* of Chriſt to Mankind; and he cannot think us ſo deficient, much leſs under ſuch ſtrong and dangerous Deluſions, as he has been pleaſed to repreſent us.

His third paragraph will not ſuffer us to be Chriſtians, notwithſtanding what we have ſaid of our Belief in Chriſt, in our Paper called "Goſpel-Truths." In one ſenſe I ſhall eaſily agree with him, for I think nothing makes any man a *true* Chriſtian, but *Regeneration,* the Power of the Son of God revealed in the Soul, converting it to God: For the *Devils* believe, and tremble too, and yet are Devils *ſtill;* they believe what is *true,* but they do not *truly believe* in *Him* that is *true;* They know and aſſent to the Propoſitions of Truth, or Articles of Faith; and knew *Him* to be *Chriſt* too, when he came of old, and called him by his *Name;* but this did not make True Chriſtians *then* of them: Nor yet does an *Aſſent Now,* to all the Truths of the Goſpel, *truly qualify* Men Chriſtians, unleſs they feel the *Power* of them upon their *Hearts.* And I would have my reader reflect well upon this great and eſſential truth, though he were as big as a Biſhop: For a *New Creature* is the buſineſs; an *Orthodox Life,* the *Croſs* of Chriſt, which is the *Narrow Way* of *Self-denial.* Yet I muſt ſay, That whoever declares he believes in Chriſt as his *Sacrifice* and *Sanctifier,* which is to ſave both from the Guilt and Pollution of Sin, is a *Profeſſor* of *Chriſtianity,* and may reaſonably be allowed to be a *Chriſtian at large.* And that what we have declared, in our third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth Goſpel-Truth, comprehends the belief before-mentioned, my juſt and ſober reader may ſatisfy himſelf in the peruſal thereof.

His fourth paragraph faults our firſt article, as he is pleaſed to call it, with great 'Shortneſs and Imperfection concerning our Belief of God;' for though (he ſays) we 'own his Providence as to the other Life, yet we ſay nothing as to the Creation of this preſent World, and Providence over it:' But, with the Biſhop's leave, He that believes in *God,* believes in all that is neceſſary to a Supreme Being. It is what he, and all Chriſtians, take for granted, and allow, as often as they hear any one ſay, *He believes in God.* For not to believe him Omnipotent, Omniſcient, and Omnipreſent, is not to believe him to be *God,* theſe being inſeparable from the Divine Nature. I muſt appeal to the Biſhop, whether a ſmall Grain of Charity would not have excuſed us from his reflection upon this head. We have ſaid *more* than *Moſes* ſaid to *Pharaoh:* For beſides that, *I am,* is no more than *He is;* we have added that *He is* the *Rewarder of all Men, according to their Works.* We gave the Text as it is, and the very Text ſeems expreſſed for a Declaration of Faith in God, viz. "He, that will come to God, muſt believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that ſeek him." The Text does not enumerate and require the Belief of *all* the Divine Attributes and Properties that are in God, but the bare Belief of his *Being,* and what he is to Mankind that fear him. And whatever the Biſhop ſays, this is enough for a Man to come to God, though not enough, it ſeems, to come to the Biſhop in the Quality of a Believer: He muſt help the Holy Ghoſt to ſpeak properly, or we, that ſpeak after him, muſt be *deficient* in our Expreſſions, if not in our Belief. But when any one affirms, that Man was created by God, is he ſhort, fallacious, or equivocal, becauſe he does not ſay *how* God made Man, or *what* he made him? Is not his *Body, Soul,* and *Spirit,* his *Will, Underſtanding, Memory* and *Affections* comprized, and meant, under that word *Man?* Beſides, could the Biſhop think, that while we own God's greater Providence, his leſſer could be diſbelieved by us? He that has the alone Power of *rewarding* Men in the other World, according to their Works in this, muſt certainly be the *Sovereign* of *Both;* and his Providence, in juſtice, is to be ſo underſtood. And as it is moſt certain that we believe of God all that the Holy Scriptures declare of him, and whatſoever is proper to that Great and Glorious Being; ſo, had we not thought it unneceſſary to be more particular, from the Common Notion all Men have of the Deity, the Biſhop could have had no room left for the exerciſe of his Charity.

In his fifth paragraph, he blames us for being defective in our Confeſſion of the *Holy Trinity;* though we give it in the very Terms of the Holy Ghoſt, 1 John v. 7. If this is not a ſufficient Text to prove the Trinity, that *Antiquity* urges, and alſo *Modern* Writers of the *Church* of *England,* to prove it, I know not where to find one, in the Scripture.

It is generally believed the Apoſtle John gave this Declaration to the Firſt Chriſtians, to *prevent* their being deluded by *Cerinthus.* How came the Biſhop then to render it but a *By-Paſſage,* and otherwiſe intended by the Apoſtle, than for an *Article* of *Faith*

1698. *Faith* about the *Trinity?* Is there a plainer, or a fuller, any-where in the Writings of the New Teſtament? *Three,* and yet *One,* is the Doctrine of the Trinity: And no other Apoſtle has gone ſo far, or been ſo expreſs: Inſomuch that the Text has been doubted, and rendered *apocryphal,* by ſuch as do not believe the Common Doctrine of the Trinity; and foiſted in to ſerve the turn of *Trinitarians:* So plain it has been thought to their purpoſe, even by the *Anti-Trinitarians.* How then is the text defective with the Biſhop? But he ſays, 'The Apoſtle writ it *upon Occaſion:* Doubtleſs he did ſo. But what other Occaſion, I pray, than that of the *Holy Trinity?* He adds, 'And it was to the Apoſtle's Purpoſe, touching the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt:' But what purpoſe could the Apoſtle have, but that of declaring the *Trinity,* and yet *Unity?* What other Uſe does he make of it? The Biſhop muſt be very hard put to it, certainly, to ſhift off, and leſſen our Confeſſion in this Point, and, rather than fail, render the text itſelf ſhort; which, with Submiſſion, I think is a bold attempt in one of his ſtation, if he believes the Thirty-nine Articles.

The next and ſixth paragraph, relating to our Third Goſpel-Truth, is large, and conſiſts of divers Branches, and therefore I ſhall conſider them diſtinctly and apart. 'In the Third Article, you acknowledge indeed the Son of God to have been made 'Fleſh, but neither conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, nor born of the Virgin Mary: 'So that it does not appear, by this your Confeſſion, but that he was at firſt, an ordinary, corrupt, and ſinful Perſon.' I think it is hardly to be ſuppoſed that we could intend ſo groſs a thing, or that it is inferrable from the manner of our expreſſing of ourſelves, in reference to Chriſt's Manifeſtation in the Fleſh. Where Enough is ſaid, to comprehend the Reſt, All is *meant,* though All be not *expreſſed:* We call him the "Beloved Son of God, the Only Begotten of the Father:" Pray what is that ſhort of being *Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt?* To be ſure, it is very far from a *corrupt* and *ſinful* Perſon, a ſuppoſition as remote from what we ſaid, as from what the Biſhop promiſed, viz. *Charity.* He that confeſſes, "The Word was made *Fleſh,*" confeſſes him made Fleſh by *God,* and therefore made *Holy* Fleſh: For God never made any *corrupt* or *ſinful* Fleſh. If the place is read, as ſome do, viz. "The Word "*took* Fleſh," the Fleſh muſt be *holy,* for he would not take, or dwell in, *ſinful* Fleſh.

And had the Biſhop well remembered what he acknowledged, upon our believing Chriſt to be a Propitiation for Sin, not many lines before, he could never have ſuggeſted ſo unreaſonable, as well as uncharitable a conceit; ſince *ſinful* Fleſh, or a *corrupt* Perſon, could never be any Part of a *Sacrifice* for Sin: So that in commending that part of our belief, he has ſufficiently ſecured us againſt this part of his inſinuation.

But the Biſhop proceeds to aggravate our ſhortneſs in expreſſion, to a ſevere imputation, viz. 'That we own him not ſo much as *Jeſus,* or the *Chriſt.*'

This muſt be a great overſight of the Biſhop, not to ſay worſe, when the very Fourth Head, about "Juſtification by Chriſt," of which he declares himſelf ſo well ſatisfied, *thrice* confeſſes him to be *Chriſt,* viz. in the Firſt, Third and Fourth Lines. Again, we call him *Chriſt,* in the Firſt Line of the Fifth Goſpel-Truth; likewiſe in the Firſt and Fourth Lines of the Sixth, we call him *Chriſt:* We do the ſame, in the Firſt and Fifth Lines of the Eighth, and in the Firſt Line of our Tenth Goſpel-Truth. How the Biſhop came to miſs in ſo palpable a point of fact, in the compaſs of one half ſide of a ſheet of paper, I cannot imagine, and am unwilling to cenſure. Nor would I willingly think the Biſhop ſo trifling, as well as diſingenuous, as to excuſe himſelf herein, becauſe we do not call the Word, that took Fleſh, by the name of *Chriſt,* in *that* place; ſince the Biſhop repeats it from us, out of our aforeſaid Fourth Head, about "Juſtification by Chriſt," where we call him by the name of *Chriſt,* as may be ſeen in the ſecond and foregoing paragraph of his reflections. Beſides, we have not confeſſed his name leſs than *nine times* in that Paper. But if the Biſhop could yet inſiſt upon the word *Chriſt* not being in our Third Head, I ſay the *Thing* is there, though the *Word* be not. For what is Chriſt, but the "Word made Fleſh?" and who is the Word made Fleſh, but *Jeſus Chriſt?* Again, who is the "Beloved Son "of God," but *Chriſt;* and who elſe, but *Chriſt,* is the "Beloved Son of God, and "Only Begotten of the Father, full of Grace, and full of Truth?" For theſe high and diſtinguiſhing characters are to be found in that very Head of Doctrine, where the Biſhop will not have us to acknowledge him to be Chriſt. So that unleſs a corrupt and ſinful Perſon can be full of *Grace* and *Truth,* I wonder how the Biſhop came to ſuppoſe a thing, in our name, ſo very groſs.

But he proceeds in the ſame paragraph, 'You acknowledge indeed he died for Sin, 'but you have not one word of his Reſurrection from the Dead, or of his Aſcenſion 'into Heaven, which it may be proved ſome of you have expreſly denied, ſaying, 'He is not aſcended into Heaven, He is in us; with more to this effect.' I ſhould be ſorry to tax the Biſhop here of Abſurdity and Uncharitableneſs; but who can help it? For if Chriſt be not Riſen, he is ſtill in his *Grave;* he is no more.

2 How,

How, then, do we aſſert him to be a *Propitiation*, and the *Light* and *Life* of his People? See Goſpel-Truth, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Can that which is *dead* ſanctify and juſtify Believers? Can the *dead* give us Grace and the Holy Spirit? Or have we not ſaid ſo of *Chriſt*, that *he* is the Giver thereof? And if we have ſaid ſo, muſt not the Biſhop be extremely beſide the buſineſs? His Uncharitableneſs is as obvious, I will not ſay his Untruth; but I muſt pray him to reflect a little better upon what he has writ; for unleſs he would make us to mean the *Grave*, when we ſay, ‘ That Wicked ‘ Men ſhall never come where *Chriſt* is gone,’ Goſpel-Truth, 6. he muſt allow that we acknowledge Chriſt to be in *Heaven*, and conſequently *aſcended*. What ſhall I ſay to his ſtory of ſome of our *Friends*, whom he makes to affirm, ‘ That Chriſt is ‘ not aſcended into Heaven; he is in us?’ Can it touch *us*, or ſhould he have ſaid it, and not have *proved* it? Is that fair and candid? Is it Charitable, ſuppoſing it were True, which does not appear? Or is it Juſt to inſinuate it upon the People as *dubious*? But let it be never ſo true, it cannot conclude the *People*, if not the *Act* of the People. The *Church of England* has Doctors of very different Sentiments; would the Biſhop think it fair the Common Belief of the Church ſhould *thereby* be concluded? It is true, and a great and comfortable truth, “ That Chriſt is *in us*,” according to 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. ii. 16. Col. i. 26, 27. but not *confined* to Man: He is not ſo *there*, as that he is no-where elſe, and leaſt of all that he is not in *Heaven*. For the Apoſtle tells us, Eph. iv. 14. that “ He aſcended far above all Heavens, that he “ might fill *all* Things;” then he is in *Man*, certainly. So that our aſſerting that doctrine of the ‘ Indwelling of Chriſt in Man,’ does not make void his being elſewhere, becauſe he is every-where: Though in Heaven moſt glorioſly, without doubt, being there “ glorified with the Glory that he had with the Father before the World “ began.” And they that *thus* believe in Chriſt, cannot deny his being at *God's Right Hand*, which ſignifies, according to Scripture, Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11. the *higheſt Exaltation*: Nor yet to be their *Mediator*, for that is inſeparable from his being their *Propitiation*. So that though we did not dwell upon points, but were conciſe in our expreſſions, yet whatever is *implied*, or is *implicable* from any Aſſertion, Juſtice, as well as Charity, always grants; and ſo would the Biſhop have done, had they been uppermoſt in his mind, when his pen ran ſo faſt againſt us. I muſt own it was not writ for Criticks, but for ſuch Readers as the Biſhop ſays *he* was, or *ſhould* have been, to wit, who exerciſe *Moderation* and *Charity*; more of which, I hope he thinks as well as I, will do him no harm.

But it diſturbs the Biſhop that we have ſaid nothing of ‘ Chriſt's Coming to Judg- ‘ ment, nor of the End of the World, whether it be diſſolvable, or Eternal.’ For the firſt, It is implied in our making all Men accountable to God, for their Deeds done in the Body. For the other, it was not under our conſideration, being not objected to us. But they that ſay as much of Chriſtian Doctrine as we have done in thoſe Eleven Heads of our Paper, did never yet, that I have heard, believe the Eternity of this World, Heb. i. 10, 11, 12.

Yet again ſays the Biſhop, ‘ Not a word of One Church, which it may be feared ‘ you ſtrike out of your Belief, becauſe you are reſolved never more to return into ‘ the Unity of the Church, but to make and maintain a Schiſm, or Party, for ever.’

Theſe are very harſh Conſtructions, beſides that they beg the Queſtion, and in my opinion would have paſſed better from a perſon, whoſe Office was leſs concerned in *Charity*, than that of a Biſhop: But why, pray, muſt *Intereſt* and *Obſtinacy* rule our Diſſent? What is to be *got* by it? Profit and Preferment go the *Biſhop*'s Way, I will not ſay he goes *theirs*. But why not *Conſcience*, though it were miſtaken, ſince we have been all along of the *Loſing* Side? Which is not uſually eſpouſed by the Men of *Intereſt*, nor are Men ordinarily obſtinate *againſt* their Intereſt. Let us, at leaſt, be *honeſt* Men, and allowed to *mean* well, though we were miſtaken. But *what* Church, of the many Churches in Europe, is the Biſhop's *One* Church, to which he would have us return? He has not told us. Methinks he that cenſures our Shortneſs ſo much, ſhould not have been deficient himſelf in ſo material a point. So that if we are out of the Way, we muſt be ſo ſtill for all the *Biſhop*; ſince we are yet to ſeek what Church we *err* from, or ſhould *repair to*. But I will ſuppoſe he means his *Own*, by which he excludes the Lutheran and Calviniſt; the Preſbyterian, Independent and Baptiſt, as well as the people called Quakers, from being of his *One* Church; to ſay nothing of the Roman Catholick or Greek Churches. But unleſs the *One* Church, as he phraſes it, (by which I underſtand him to intend the *True* One) may be of Two *Minds*, it will be difficult for him to recommend his own above the reſt, becauſe that is not only broken in *Sentiments*, but *Practice* too, and which the Biſhop knows is no longer a Secret. I might mention the differences, warmly managed between the Doctors of it, about *Grace* and *Free-Will*; one taking the *Calviniſt*, the other the *Arminian* Way; as they alſo do about the Doctrine of *Satisfaction* and *Juſtification*. Likewiſe the late Controverſy between Two Famous Men of the Church, about the *Trinity*, who are followed in their differing Sentiments by great Numbers of the

1698. Learned of the Biſhop's *One* Church: And for that reaſon (if no other) I cannot be ſo well ſatisfied of his exact Correſpondence with *all* the Articles of that Church *himſelf*. And I hope I am not beſide the buſineſs, when I ſay, It would very well have become the Biſhop to have told us what it is he would *have* us believe, when he found ſo much fault with what that Paper ſays we *do* believe. It would be too long, and perhaps he might think it beſide the buſineſs, at leaſt the brevity the caſe requires, to give him the Reaſons of our *Separation* and *Diſſent*, or *Diſagreement* with the *Church*. I put theſe words together, becauſe ſome were never Members of it, and ſo they could not properly be ſaid to *ſeparate* from it; but true it is, we may all be ſaid to *diſſent*, or *diſagree*; and I would think the Biſhop ſhould not be much to ſeek for the Reaſons of it. And yet where we are vulgarly apprehended to differ *moſt*, we diſſent *leaſt*, I mean in *Doctrine*; which is the reaſon ſo many have upon occaſion ſaid, as indeed did the Biſhop, at the viſit I made him; viz. 'Why we believe the *ſame*, 'it is what we preach as well as *you*.' For except it be the *wording* of ſome of the Articles of Faith in *School-Terms*, there are very few of them profeſſed by the Church of England, to which we do not heartily aſſent. And this I have expreſſed for myſelf, and in behalf of my Friends, in my "*Key*," and "*Primitive Chriſtianity Re*"*vived*." But of this, and the more material reaſons of our diſtance from the Church, I may have occaſion to expreſs myſelf at the cloſure of this Vindication.

But the Biſhop proceeds, in his ſixth paragraph: 'Nor have you a word of the 'Reſurrection of the Body, which divers of you have been known to deny, and others 'of you only ſay, It may be ſo.' I ſhall conſider this, immediately upon the *next* paragraph, where he treats upon the ſame ſubject, and apply myſelf to his Concluſion of *this*: 'Laſtly, Though you acknowledge Everlaſting Rewards for them that fear 'God, yet nothing of the Everlaſting Puniſhment of Wicked Men.' I think we *do*, and that the Biſhop aggravates his diſingenuity to us upon this head: For the words of the Paper are theſe, "It is our Belief that God is, and that he is a Rewarder of all "them that fear him with Eternal Rewards of Happineſs; and that thoſe that fear "him not, ſhall be turned into Hell." The Scriptures are, Heb. xi. 6. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Pſalm ix. 17. Now though *Eternal* is not joined to *Hell*, yet Juſtice, as well as Candor, would have underſtood it ſo, and to mean the Hell of the Damned, the Puniſhment of Evil-Doers after this Life, according to the Ancient Common Belief. But the Biſhop, that ſeldom fails to make the *worſt* of every thing for us, thus comments upon our words: 'You mention Hell indeed, but whether 'you mean thereby the Grave, as commonly in Scripture is meant, or a Place of 'Temporal Puniſhment after this Life, as ſome have done, or a State of Total De'ſtruction and Annihilation, as many now a-days do, no one knows.' But, with the Biſhop's leave, what if we mean *none* of theſe, may we not be in the *right*, for all that? For what if none of theſe are the Ancient, Common, and Scripture Belief, what will the Biſhop do then? Since one would think that One of them is the *Biſhop's* Hell, becauſe he gives us, and his Reader, no more Room for our meaning, or any *other* belief of a Hell. And either one of theſe is an article of his belief, or elſe he keeps the *true* Hell to himſelf, and was not ſo juſt as to include that in the queſtion with the reſt, leſt he ſhould be thereby guilty of ſuppoſing us capable of meaning the *true* one in our Goſpel-Truths, viz. "The Worm that never dies, the Fire that "never goes out, where is Weeping and Gnaſhing of Teeth for ever." See 2 Theſſ. i. 9. Jude vi. 7. And which, I think, is none of the Three the Biſhop mentions. However, he abundantly ſhews his inclination to repreſent us rather wrong than right, in our Belief: For if the Scriptures by us cited are conſulted, they plainly ſhew we never meant the *Grave*, and that they equally refer to the Future State of the Souls of Men; viz. 'That all ſhall receive the Recompence of their Works, and the 'Rewards of their Deeds, according to the Nature and Quality of them.' And if the rewards of the righteous are Eternal, then ſo muſt thoſe of the Wicked be, or both muſt be Temporary: For the Holy Ghoſt makes no difference as to the Duration of the one more than of the other. One Grain of a Truly Chriſtian Temper, had ſaved the Biſhop, and he me, the trouble of this, as well as other reflections.

I am come now to his ſeventh paragraph, the firſt part of which is a heavy complaint of our Shortneſs and Deficiency in expreſſing ourſelves. We, it ſeems, are too *general* in ſome points, and wave in others, he is pleaſed to ſay, 'Eight of Twelve,' but inſtances only in that of the *Reſurrection*; though he conjures us at the ſame time, upon our eternal account, to conſider what he ſays. Now if being General, and keeping to the Terms of Scripture, be a Fault, we are like to be *more* vile with the Biſhop: For, thanks be to God, *That Only* is our *Creed*; and with good Reaſon too; ſince it is fit THAT ſhould only *conclude* and be the *Creed* of *Chriſtians*, which the Holy Ghoſt could only *propoſe* and *require* us to believe. For if the *Comment* is made the Creed inſtead of the *Text*, from that Time we believe not in GOD, but in *Man*. I heartily wiſh none had been wiſe above what is *written*, and that Generals had concluded Chriſtians: Then Charity had been better maintained, and Piety promoted:

Whereas *Strains*, or *Refinements* upon the Text, have thrown us into thoſe labyrinths of Controverſy, that the Zeal which ſhould have been imployed to ſuppreſs *Sin* in all its branches, has too generally been uſed to fire one party upon another, till Practice, which is *Religion indeed*, was blown up by the generality. So much for our ' Shortneſs, or Wavering,' as the Biſhop calls it. 1698.

I ſhall now attend his only Neceſſary point of Eight, that he thought fit to mention, which, he ſays, we either ſuppreſs, or wave, viz. ' The Reſurrection of the ' Dead:' I confeſs I did not think that any body would have been ſo uncharitable to us, after our acknowledging the *Future State* of the Juſt and Unjuſt, ſince that implies it, and every Medium to it. However I will attend what the biſhop urges for Proof of what we do not *deny*, but always muſt the Slander of doing ſo. ' I will (ſays he) ' only mind you of two paſſages out of the Scriptures of Truth, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 17. " If the Dead riſe not, your Faith is vain, you are yet in your Sins." Hence it appears ' (ſays the Biſhop) all other points of Faith are in vain, if this be not true.' And ſo ſay I, as well as the Biſhop, and ſhall always ſay as he ſays, while he ſays no more than the *Text* ſays: For who can think, that allows himſelf to think, that we ſhould not believe an Immortality, who have expoſed ourſelves, and ſuffered ſo much, that we may obtain an *happy* one. But the queſtion is not whether the Dead *riſe*, but ' With what *Bodies*?' For if the Dead Riſe not, then may we ſay with the Apoſtle, verſe 19. in the ſame chapter, " We are of all Men moſt miſerable." So that the Reſurrection of the Dead is out of all diſpute with us: But with *what Body*, will, I believe, be one, *till* the Dead riſe.

Here it is we are Cautious, and tread Softly; remembering what the Apoſtle ſays to the Curious and Inquiſitive upon this Head, ver. 35, 36, 37, 38. " But ſome Man " will ſay, How are the Dead raiſed up, and with what Bodies do they come? Thou " Fool, thou ſoweſt not that Body which ſhall be, but bare Grain.---But God giveth " it a Body as it hath pleaſed him, and to every Seed his own Body." Here is the Ground of our Caution, which the Biſhop is pleaſed to call *ſuppreſſing*, and others *denying* of the Reſurrection. We have, indeed, been *negative* to the Groſs Conceit of People concerning the Riſing of *this carnal* Body we carry about us, which better agrees with the Alcoran of Mahomet, than the Goſpel of Chriſt. But, that there is a Reſurrection of the Juſt and Unjuſt to Rewards and Puniſhments, we have ever believed. And, indeed, we cannot but wonder that any ſhould be diſpleaſed with us, for being pleaſed with *that* which God is pleaſed to *give* us. *Bodies* we ſhall have, but not the *ſame*, ſays the Apoſtle, and ſo believes the Quaker; " but God giveth every one a " Body as pleaſeth *him*," and that pleaſeth *us*, whoever it diſpleaſeth: For we had rather be called Fools *Ten* Times by the *Biſhop*, than *Once* by the *Apoſtle*, which we think we ſhould deſerve, if we ſhould dare to ſtretch the Text, or preſume to define the Secret.

The other Scripture urged by the Biſhop, in defence of what we never oppoſed, is Rom. x. 9. " If thou ſhalt confeſs with thy Mouth the Lord Jeſus, and believe in " thine Heart, that God hath raiſed him from the Dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved." He adds, ' Thoſe who believe this as they ſhould do, ſhall be ſaved.' But, ' that we have ' left out both Chriſt's Reſurrection, and our own, in our Faith.' In the firſt part of his note, I agree with him, that all who *rightly* believe the text, will be ſaved: For that muſt be by the Illumination and Working of the Saving Power of Chriſt in the Heart, that he *can* ſo believe. But that we have left out Chriſt's Reſurrection and our own, is a miſtake already obſerved, becauſe they are both plainly implied; one in our belief of Chriſt's being a Propitiation for Sin, and the Light, Life and Strength of his People, and in giving us his Grace and Holy Spirit, which that which is Dead *cannot* do: And our own Reſurrection is ſufficiently ſecured, in our declared belief of Rewards and Puniſhments, though the Mode of it be not expreſſed: Nor was there any reaſon for ſaying more upon that head, with reſpect to the occaſion of our Paper's being publiſhed.

I am now come to the Biſhop's Eighth Paragraph, which comprehends his Exceptions to Three of our *Goſpel-Truths*, viz. the 5th, 6th, and 7th, which wholly relate to the Doctrine of the *Light* of *Chriſt Within Man*. And I am truly ſorry to find the biſhop at ſo great a loſs, as that paragraph ſhews him, about ſo Excellent and Evident a Principle; and which ſo very much concerns him, and indeed all men, to know. And that my reader may inform himſelf thoroughly in this matter, I muſt deſire him to look back, and read thoſe Three Goſpel-Truths, and compare them with the Biſhop's Eighth Paragraph, and he will make himſelf much a better judge of the validity of the Biſhop's Anſwer, and my Reply, and which of us two keeps cloſeſt to the Doctrine and Language of the Holy Scriptures, that he in the ſame paragraph ſeems ſo much to reſpect.

His firſt exception in this paragraph, is at our Incapacity: For he ſays, ' We have ' never been able yet, that he could find, to make out what we mean by the Light ' of Chriſt Within.' Perhaps the Biſhop has never ſought, or has ſought amiſs;

1698. which as great and learned men as himſelf have done before now, and ſo miſſed what they have ſought for: And then it cannot be a wonder, that he has not found out what we mean by the Light of Chriſt in Man. But that a Biſhop ſhould repreſent this an unintelligible doctrine, after reading ſo diſtinct and plain an account of it in “ Robert Barclay's Apology,” not to mention divers other books, and, which is of greater authority, the *Scriptures of Truth*, is no ordinary ſurprize to me. Has the Biſhop forgot the Firſt of John, and the 4th, 9th, and 16th verſes, where ſpeaking of the Word-God, he ſays, “ In him was Life, and the Life was the *Light* of Men.”

This is that Light of Chriſt the Quakers aſſert, and deſire to turn the Minds of all People to: For All muſt *have* it, if it be the *Light* of All, as the text plainly tells us it is. The ninth verſe is yet more expreſs, viz. “ That was the True Light which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World;” than which, nothing can be more expreſſed to our purpoſe. And that the Biſhop ſhould feel no Share in this glorious Light of Men, renders him very unfit, methinks, for an Overſeer of them.

I know ſome read this text otherwiſe, as indeed he did to me in Cork, viz. “ That was the True Light, *that coming* into the World lighteth all Men;” referring the Word *Coming* to Chriſt, and not to Man. But all the Verſions I ever met with, and I have ſeen more than Twenty, render the Verſe as it is in our *Engliſh* Tranſlations: And all Criticks and Commentators, except the Followers of *Socinus*, read and render it as *we* do. And while we have ſo much Company, and ſo great Authority, I think we need not be ſolicitous about the ſucceſs of this point. But beſides that the foregoing Verſe tells us, that the *Divine Life* of the WORD-GOD, is the *Light* of *Men*, which ſhews all Mankind have it *in* them (for it is the Light of their *Minds*, and not of their Bodies) it is impoſſible that interpretation ſhould be true in a ſtrict ſenſe: For the Coming of Chriſt in that Bleſſed Manifeſtation, was to the *Jews* only: He ſays it himſelf, “ He was not ſent but to the Loſt Sheep of the Houſe of *Iſrael*,” Mat. xiii. 24. Again, “ He came unto his own, and his own received him not,” John i. 11. And within that narrow Compaſs he could not be ſaid to be the Light of all Mankind that *had*, *did*, and *ſhould* come into the world; for ſo both the 4th and 9th verſe plainly import, viz. ‘ The Light of Mankind, without Reſtriction to This or That Manifeſtation of God to Men.’

But the Biſhop is ſtill at a Loſs what to make of this Light, and what we would be at; ‘ For,’ ſays he, ‘ You will not allow it to be either the Natural Rational Faculty, or Common Innate Notions, or Natural Conſcience, or Conſcience Illuminated by the Preaching of the Goſpel, and the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt thereby.’ We ſay, we would have it to be what the Scriptures ſay it to be, viz. the Light of *Chriſt*, the Son of God, who called himſelf, John viii. 12. “ the Light of the *World*;” and if ſo, then *every* Man's Light; the Light of *every* Mind and Underſtanding, and conſequently the Light of Chriſt Within; too hard it ſeems, for the Biſhop to comprehend, and yet ſo very eaſy to the meaneſt Capacity, that obſerves the Diſcoveries and Convictions of it in their own Hearts.

But ſince it is, as he rightly terms it, a Fundamental with us, we will follow the Biſhop, in his enquiries, a little farther. We ſay firſt then, It is not the Natural Rational Faculty of Man; for then it would be *Man*, or a Part of his *Compoſition*, merely as Man: But that it is not, but a *Manifeſtation*, in the Soul of Man, of *Chriſt*, “ the Word God, the Light of the World, the Second Adam, the Lord from Heaven, the Quickening Spirit, who was full of Grace and Truth, and of whom Man hath received Grace for Grace:” To wit, a Talent, a Proportion ſuitable to his Want and Capacity, to convince and convert him, to renew and reſtore him from his great Lapſe unto God, his Bleſſed Maker, again. In ſhort, our Natural Rational Faculty is our *Sight*, but not our *Light*: That, by which we diſcern and judge what the Divine Light ſhews us, viz. *Good* from *Evil*, and *Error* from *Truth*. But as the *Eye* of the Body is the Senſible Faculty of ſeeing external Objects, through the diſcovery that an external Light (as the *Sun* in the Firmament) makes to the Eye, but is not *That Light itſelf*; ſo does the Rational Faculty of the Soul ſee ſpiritual or immaterial Objects, through the Illumination of the Light of *Chriſt Within*, but is by no means *That Light it ſelf*, any more than the *Eye* is the *Sun*, or *John* the *Baptiſt* was our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, that was but Servant and Fore-runner of his Bleſſed Manifeſtation in the Fleſh.

As for the Biſhop's *Innate Notions* and *Natural Conſcience*, if by them he means Impreſſions, or Principles, which are born and come with us into the World, viz. “ the Law of God in the Heart of Man,” I muſt tell him, firſt, that this is not the Language of the Law and Teſtimony he refers us to in the ſame paragraph: And next, that as the *Work* is not the *Workman*, ſo they are not properly the *Light* of *Chriſt*, but the bleſſed Fruit and Effect of the Light of Chriſt, the Word-God, in Man, which ſhines in the Heart, and gives him the Knowledge of God, and of his Duty to Him. So that the Innate Notions, or Inward Knowledge we have of God, is *from* this True Light that lighteth every Man coming into the World, but is not *that Light itſelf.* Juſt ſo the Biſhop's Natural Conſcience, muſt only mean a *Capacity* that Man has by Nature, that is, in his Creation, of making a Judgment of himſelf, his Duty, and Actions, according to the Judgment of God manifeſted to him by the *Light* of *Chriſt Within*. Not that ſuch a Capacity is that *Light*, but that it ſees, or underſtands, by the Inſhining of the Divine Light, the Things that belong to Man's Duty and Peace.

Nor is it, 'Conſcience *illuminated* by the Preaching of the Goſpel, and the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt thereon,' which is the laſt of the Biſhop's Conſtructions; but *That very* PRINCIPLE of *Life* and *Light*, which *illuminates* the Conſcience, and was the very Spring and Force of the Apoſtolical Miniſtry, and of the Conviction and Converſion of their Hearers; and which opened their Hearts to receive the Goſpel when preached unto them. In ſhort, this Excellent Principle is *in* Man, but not *of* Man, but of *God*. The Nature of it is to diſcover Sin, reprove for it, and lead out of it, all ſuch as love and obey the Convictions thereof. It is a Principle of Divine Life, that quickens the obedient Heart to Newneſs of Life: It raiſes the Mind above the World, to God; and ſearches out and reveals the deep things of God to the humble and waiting Soul. And be it known to the Biſhop, and all that with him profeſs Ignorance about what we mean by the Light of Chriſt Within Man, This is *it* I have been treating of; and I have writ, I bleſs Almighty God, my own Experience, the Taſte and Reliſh I have had of its Excellency and Sufficiency, in the Courſe of the far greater and beſt Part of my Life.

But the Biſhop muſt excuſe me, if I ſay, I cannot but take it very ill at his hands, to forbid us, in his following words, 'to pretend to give an account of what we believe, unleſs we can make him underſtand our Meaning:' And becauſe he does not penetrate our ſenſe, to call our Way of wording that bleſſed Principle of the Light of Chriſt in Man, a *Perfect Banter*. This, to me, is one of the ſevereſt Perſecutions; becauſe *ſpiritual* Things are only to be *ſpiritually* diſcerned and underſtood. I would fain know how a Regenerate Man can poſſibly make a Carnal Man underſtand the *New-Birth?* It is, certainly, the Gift of God to underſtand Divine Truths, as well as Rightly to Believe. So that ſuppoſing our Aſſertion of the Nature, Power, and Excellency of the Light of Chriſt in Man to be *true*, not to have Leave to *ſay* ſo, unleſs we could make every Man rightly take our Senſe and Meaning, whether he be *ſpiritually diſcerning* or *not*, looks antichriſtian, as well as unreaſonable. "We ſpeak Wiſdom," ſays the Apoſtle, "among them that are Perfect," 1 Cor. vii. 6. It ſeems, Others underſtood him *not*; muſt he therefore not have *wrote* of the Things of God? The very Preaching of the Goſpel was Fooliſhneſs to the Wiſelings of the *Jews* and *Greeks*; they could make neither Head nor Tail of it, by *their* Way of judging of Truth: Muſt not the Goſpel therefore be *preached?* When the Apoſtle Paul preached to the Athenians, ſome of the Men of the Gown, the Philoſophers of that Time, oppoſed and deſpiſed him, ſaying, "What will this Babbler ſay?" But had they known what he *meant*, we cannot think they would have *ſaid ſo* to him. Was the *Apoſtle* then, or the *Athenians* in fault, that they did not underſtand him? Or, was it *Bantering*, as well as *Babbling*, becauſe he did not make them underſtand his Meaning; which is only the work of the Holy Ghoſt to do? Who was it, I pray, that ſaid, "The World by Wiſdom knew not God?" And can we ſuppoſe any thing elſe blinded the Scribes and Phariſees, and the High-Prieſt of the Jews, from diſcerning the *Meſſiah* when he came? For they wanted not *Academical Learning*, if that could have enlightened them; nor yet the *Scriptures*; but they reſiſted the *Holy Ghoſt*, their ONLY TRUE INTERPRETER, and ſo ſtumbled and fell. Let the Biſhop alſo have a care.

In the ſecond chapter of the Firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, he will find that the Apoſtle ſpake the Wiſdom of God in a *Myſtery*, "which the Princes of the World knew not," with all their Wiſdom: "For the Things of God," ſays the Apoſtle, "knoweth no Man, but the Spirit of God;" by which thoſe Chriſtians knew thoſe Things that were freely given to them of *God*. "Which Things alſo we ſpeak," ſays he, "not in the Words which Man's Wiſdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghoſt teacheth, comparing Spiritual Things with Spiritual. But the Natural Man receiveth not the Things of the Spirit of God, for they are Fooliſhneſs unto him: Neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned." Now, according to the Biſhop's treatment of us, the Apoſtle ought not to have *writ* of Faith and Salvation, unleſs he could have made all that read his Writings *underſtand* his Meaning. And it muſt be a *perfect Banter*, to talk of ſpeaking Wiſdom in a *Myſtery*, and not in the Terms that *Man's* Wiſdom teacheth.

But the Lord Jeſus Chriſt was of another Mind, when he ſaid, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, becauſe thou haſt *hid* theſe things (the Truths of the Kingdom) from the Wiſe and Prudent, and revealed them unto Babes: Even ſo, Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy Sight." It is hence, beyond all diſpute,

1698. that God *hideth* the Myſteries of his Kingdom from the *Wiſdom* of *Man*, while *Simplicity* and *Sincerity* fail not to *reach* and *underſtand* them. Here it was that poor Nicodemus was abſolutely at a Loſs for Chriſt's Meaning, when Chriſt ſaid, "Unleſs " a Man be born again, he can in no-wiſe enter the Kingdom of God," John iii. Inſomuch as he aſked Chriſt, upon his diſcourſe of the New Birth, "How can theſe " things be?" At which Chriſt ſeems to admire, in a ſort of reproof upon Nicodemus, "Art thou a Maſter of Iſrael, and knoweſt not theſe things?" As much as to ſay, 'Art *thou*, a Man of *thy* Station in the Church of God, *ignorant* in the Way to ' Heaven?' Whoever reads that notable interview between Chriſt and Nicodemus, will find that Chriſt reſolves the Matter into *Two Births*, that which is born of the *Fleſh*, and that which is born of the *Spirit*, and theſe are contrary: And therefore no wonder if they differ in their underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures, being a Declaration of the *Faith* and *Experience*, as well as *Doctrine* and *Practice*, of the Servants of God, that were enlightened and born of the Holy Ghoſt. Nor is this all; for " they that are born of the Fleſh, perſecute them that are born after the Spirit:" So that when they can no longer commit violence upon their Perſons and Eſtates, they will perſecute them with their *Tongues* and *Pens:* They are Hereticks, Blaſphemers, Illiterate and Ignorant, yet Preſumptuous; Enemies to Cæſar, and Diſobedient to Government, if they will not Give God's Due unto Man, viz. *Conſcience.* And if they chuſe to deliver themſelves in *Scripture* Stile, and ſpeak earneſtly of the Neceſſity of the Work of the *Spirit* of God, in order to an *experimental* and *ſaving* Knowledge of the Truth, declared in Holy Scripture; and that *Chriſt's Miniſters* are made by the *Holy Ghoſt*, and not by Human Learning; and that the Worſhip which is acceptable to God, muſt be in the *Spirit* and in the *Truth*; that is, with *Clean Hearts* and *Right Spirits*, kindled and inflamed with the *Holy Spirit* of *God*; they muſt be called Enthuſiaſts, Unintelligible, Men of Cant and Banter. And here I leave the Biſhop, upon this paragraph, deſiring him to conſider, whether his Knowledge of God the Father, and Jeſus Chriſt, " whom rightly to know, is Life Eternal," John xvii. be by the *Revelation* of the Son of God in his own Soul; ſince Chriſt himſelf teacheth and affirmeth, that " no Man knows the Father but the Son, and he to whom the " Son *reveals* him:" I ſhould be glad to ſee the Biſhop's Evidence for this Knowledge. For in the Concluſion of this Paragraph, he turns us to the *Scriptures*, who, in the Beginning of it, makes us *Unintelligible*, and *Banterers* in Religion, for expreſſing Ours in the *Terms* of it; which may well merit the Biſhop's ſerious reflection.

His ninth paragraph refers to our Eighth Article, as he calls it, of which he cites theſe eight words only, " Worſhip, under the Goſpel, is Inward and Spiritual;" upon which, he ſays, ' If you mean, that Outward Worſhip ought to be performed with ' Inward and Spiritual Worſhip, it is what we preach, preſs, and practiſe; but if (as ' it would ſeem) you mean that all the Worſhip God now requires, is from the ' Inward Man, or from the Spirit, this is abominably falſe; for our Bodies are God's ' Handy-work, and God, by the Apoſtle, commands, " Glorify God in your Body, " and in your Spirit, which are God's." Not to tell you, that you yourſelves, now- ' a-days, perform ſomewhat of Bodily Worſhip.' Indeed we do, and ever did, and ever ſhall, I hope, while we have bodies to worſhip God in. We are ſo far from denying the Body what ſhare is due to it, that with the Apoſtle, 1 Cor. vi. 19. we ſay, " What, know ye not that your Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt, " which is in you, which ye have of God, and you are not your own?" Of which I would have the Biſhop well conſider: For, if our very Bodies are under the *Influence* of the Holy Ghoſt, how much more reaſonable is it to believe, that it dwells in our *Souls*; and that our Hearts muſt be prepared, and animated by the Holy Spirit, in all our Devotion towards God. But two things I muſt remark to the Biſhop, Firſt, That we did not give him the leaſt occaſion to ſuſpect we denied Bodily Worſhip, as appears by the Goſpel-Truth now in queſtion: For it is plain there, by theſe words, " Worſhip in this Day is Inward and Spiritual," That we only diſtinguiſh between *Goſpel* Worſhip, and the *ceremonial* and *pompous* Worſhip of the *Law*; and that by *Spiritual* Worſhip, we underſtand Praying, Praiſing, and Preaching by the Preparation and Sanctification of the *Spirit* of *God*; which the Biſhop does not, and, I hope, dares not, deny: Yet unkindly, and I think unjuſtly, brings in his *as it would ſeem*, to make us, by an uncharitable Innuendo, look to his reader as if we denied Bodily Worſhip. And yet, to avoid ſo hard a chapter, as maintaining this aſperſion would prove to the Biſhop, he is forced to confeſs " that *now-a-days* we perform *ſomewhat* " of Bodily Worſhip:" as if we did not perform any formerly, and but a little now: Which ſhews not that candour that his Character owes us, and but too plainly tells every impartial reader, how much more mind he has that we ſhould be in the *wrong* than in the right. I muſt confeſs, we have *leſs* Pomp and Gaudineſs in our Worſhip, as well as in our Cloaths, than is the Cuſtom of ſome other Churches, and think it our happineſs, that we are freed from ſuch an *unprofitable*, as well as unſuitable, incumbrance. Whatever it be, it is ſuch as we believe God by his holy Spirit hath led us into; And though it be not ſo entertaining to thoſe who are governed more by their *outward Senſes* than their Souls, yet I hope it will be allowed us to be *grave*, *ſolemn*, and *fervent*.

The other remark I make upon the Biſhop's exceptions is this, That the Spiritual Worſhip he there allows of, ſeems to be but the Worſhip of *Man*'s Spirit, and not of the Spirit of *God* working upon the Spirit of Man. I would not imitate him, leſt I ſhould be uncharitable too: For if my reader can make more of it, he has my conſent; but that ſeems to me to be the Biſhop's interpretation upon Chriſt's Words, cited by us, on this occaſion, viz. "God will be Worſhipped in Spirit and in Truth:" Though there is a Truth in *that* alſo, yet this not being ſo *peculiar* to the Goſpel-Diſpenſation, could not be the *Extent* of Chriſt's Words, whoſe drift certainly was, to draw Mens Minds to a more *inward* and *ſpiritual* Worſhip; not only to have *Leſs Ceremony* than was practiſed among the Jews, but to feel more of the *Power* and *Spirit* of *God* in our Adoration and Praiſes, than belonged to the Former Diſpenſation; and with which I heartily wiſh the Biſhop a better Acquaintance. Upon the whole matter, I am apt to thing my reader believes with me, he might as well have ſpared his pains upon us about the firſt part of this Goſpel-Truth, as he is ſilent of the latter, viz. 'That we may preach in *Power* as well as *Words*; and, as God promiſed, and Chriſt ordained, without *Money* and without *Price*.'

The Biſhop, in his tenth paragraph, is pleaſed to endeavour to leſſen the authority and credit of our Ninth Goſpel-Truth, relating to the *Vain Faſhions* and *Cuſtoms* of the *World*. His words are theſe: 'You tell us of denying all the vain Cuſtoms and Faſhions of the World, as alſo Exceſs in all Things; I know of no ſort of Chriſtians who teach otherwiſe: I wiſh I knew none (even of your Selves) that practiſed otherwiſe; it is one Part of our Catechiſm we teach our Children.' He firſt concurs with our Doctrine, for he ſays, 'he knows none that preaches otherwiſe;' and that they do the like in their Catechiſm. So far, then, he allows us to be ſound. But he wiſhes he 'knew none (even of Us) that practiſe otherwiſe.' This is a ſort of Charge, and being not proved, looks like a Calumny. Some, perhaps, do not walk quite ſo ſtrictly as becomes them, to their profeſſion; but are they *owned* by us therein? Or Indulged itſelf? If not, what are we to conclude, but that the Biſhop's inſinuation is to ballance accounts with *us* for the failures of his *own* people? But, pray are our Exceſſes *equal*, or the *Numbers*, that in proportion do tranſgreſs? I would not have him comfort himſelf with his uncharitableneſs to his honeſt and friendly neighbours: As it will not excuſe his leſs exact friends, that any of ours live larger than they profeſs, ſo it cannot juſtly affect our Body, where ſo few are faulty, when it is ſo well known that ſuch are ſure to meet with due reproof.

But he adds, that 'There are many Innocent and Laudable Cuſtoms, We call Vain:' This is all in a heap, and a reflection by wholeſale. I can truly tell him, I know of none; and if he had been more particular, ſo would I too: Perhaps he thought Generals beſt to make his Reflection *ſafe:* But if it were my place to be Plaintiff, I could treat the biſhop with a large catalogue of very Offenſive Cuſtoms, that would concern him to think upon. However, he is pleaſed to be particular upon us in One of them, which almoſt turns his ſtomach, he ſays, to think of, viz. 'Would it not make a Man's Stomach turn, to hear one forbear, in point of *Conſcience*, ſaying, *You* to a ſingle Perſon, becauſe it is improper; and at the ſame time, while he is talking to his Superior, becauſe *Thou doſt* ſounds a little rudely, to ſoften the Thou, and ſay, *Thee doeſt*, which is commonly your People's Practice.' It is pity the Biſhop could find nothing elſe to obſerve from us, that might have better edified us and his readers: Yet if this be that, among the Laudable Cuſtoms which we call Vain, which is moſt offenſive to his Stomach, it ſhews him to have a very *weak* one. However, a weak Stomach is better than a weak *Head*; and ſuch an one I ſhould take mine to be, if my inſtances were no more to the purpoſe and my reader's inſtruction.

But I have ſomewhat to ſay to the Biſhop, before I leave him, upon the old topick of *Sincerity* and *Charity*, in this Reflection, as I have had in moſt of the other, viz. That he makes the *Ground* of our Conſcientiouſneſs, about the ſaying of *You* to a ſingle Perſon, to be only *Propriety* of Speech; which he (I was going to ſay) in his Conſcience muſt know is not ſo: But that the true reaſon of it is, firſt, That it is the Language of the *Scriptures* of *Truth*; and next, That the Original of *You*, to a ſingle Perſon, was *Pride* and *Flattery*, being a *Plural* Honour to a *Single Perſon*, given firſt to *Potentates*, and then gradually to all ſubordinate ranks of people. In ancient and unmixt tongues, *Thou* to a Single Perſon is kept ſtill, as alſo among the Common People of the preſent Languages, and particularly in that Kingdom where he is a Biſhop. I refer him to a book, intituled, "No Croſs, No Crown," where he will find *other* Reaſons for our tenderneſs in that matter than he alledges, or we have room for here; though the biſhop confines us to *Propriety*, as the *only* Reaſon of our Practice, that he might the better laſh us with the Impropriety of *Thee* for *Thou*;

1698. which yet he might have ſpared, ſince nothing is more common with all people, than to take the like freedom in ſpeech, in *Caſes* as well as *Tenſes*, not excepting the Learned themſelves. But be it ſo, we keep *Numbers*, and intend not clipping of Caſes; and that is our Point, though not the Biſhop's, it ſeems; which it ſhould have been, would he have been juſt to us upon the queſtion. As for the *Levity* and *Scorn*, with which he is pleaſed to treat us upon this head, I ſhall only ſay, it unbecame him, and confirms us, more than it expoſes us, whatever it does him.

But I confeſs I am ſurpriſed, to find a Man of his Character and Pretenſions, propoſe ſo looſe a Queſtion as that with which he cloſes his paragraph, viz. ‘ Will you ‘ ever be able to prove, the Primitive Chriſtians uſed a Dialect, or Dreſs, different ‘ from others of their Nation or Quality, and placed Religion in it? Does not Chriſt ‘ require Saluting thoſe that Salute not us? And, no doubt, His and his Apoſtles Sa‘ lutations were in the Common Form.’ Doubtleſs, we *are* able, moſt eaſily and fully: And it is admirable to conceive how he could be ignorant of theſe proofs, who ought to be ſo well read in *Scripture* and *Antiquity*. “ I beſeech you therefore, “ Brethren,” ſays the Apoſtle, “ by the Mercies of God, that you preſent your Bo“ dies a living ſacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God; which is your reaſonable Ser“ vice: And *be not Conformed* to *this World*, but be ye *Transformed* by the Renewing “ of your Minds,” Rom. xii. 1, 2. Again, the Apoſtle Peter, Chap. i. 13, 14. exhorts the Believers “ to gird up the Loins of their Minds, and be ſober, as obedient “ Children, not *faſhioning* themſelves according to the *former* Luſts in their Igno“ rance;” which was the *Cuſtom* of their Country. And chap. iii. 3, 4. “ Whoſe “ Adorning let it not be that of *Plaiting the Hair*, and of *Wearing of Gold*, or of “ *Putting on of Apparel*: But let it be the *Hidden Man* of the *Heart*, in that which “ is *not Corruptible*, even the Ornament of a *Meek* and *Quiet Spirit*, which is, in the “ Sight of God, of great Price.” Thus the Apoſtolical Counſel to the Churches. But for all this, the Biſhop of Cork cannot tell how to think we are able to prove, ‘ that the Primitive Chriſtians differed in their Dreſs, from other People in their Coun‘ try and Quality.’ Nor was this only the Strictneſs of *that* Time; for the ſame Apoſtle adds, verſe 4, as an argument to enforce his advice, “ For, after *this Manner*,” ſays he, “ in the Old Time, the holy Women alſo, who truſted in God, *adorned* “ *themſelves*.” But can a Man of his Letters really be at a loſs for a proof of the Singularity of Primitive Chriſtians, in Dreſs, Speech and Behaviour? Or is it to try whether we have any to reſolve his queſtion? Or, taking our Illiterature for granted, that he *puts upon* us? I beſeech him to converſe with Ouzelius upon Minutius Fælix, and he will tell him that the Firſt Chriſtians were taxed and deſpiſed for *Ill-bred* in *Manners*, *Unpoliſhed* in *Speech*, *Unfaſhionable* in *Behaviour*; in fine, *Ruſticks* and *Clowns*: As the Chriſtians, ironically, returned their Scorners the Stile of *Well-bred* and *Eloquent*. This, and much more, he cites out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Theodoret, &c. And Jerome, writing to Celantia and Demetias, Noble Women of that Time, ſets them a *ſingular* Form of Life from that of the People of their Quality: And Paulinus, Biſhop of Nola, was ſo far from pleading for Chriſtians *temporizing* with the People of their own Nation, or Quality, according to the Biſhop of Cork, that he ſharply *reproves* Sulpitius Severus *for it*, in a Letter to him; as the learned Caſaubon, in his “ Diſcourſe of Uſe and Cuſtoms,” obſerves. If the Biſhop would look into the “ *Conſtitutions*,” that go under the name of *Clemens Romanus*, with Tertullian, Gregory Naz. Clemens Alexandrinus, Auſtin, Gregory the Great, and other Ancients, he would perceive the care and zeal of thoſe eminent men to ſuppreſs the Educations and Cuſtoms of the Gentiles, and to encourage and recommend the Simplicity and Moderation of the Manners and Behaviour of the Firſt Chriſtians, which Machiavel, in his 2d Book of “ *Diſputations*,” takes notice of, and is none of the leaſt proofs to our point.

And to finiſh my authorities, paſſing by Petrus Belonius, Gratian, Cardan, Luther, &c. I muſt recommend to the Biſhop the Hiſtory of the Waldenſes, (an *early* People, if not *ſucceſſive* from the Primitive Times) written by one Perrin, more eſpecially concerning their *Faith*, *Worſhip*, and *Diſcipline*; and there he may, if he pleaſe, obſerve the *Simplicity*, *Plainneſs*, and *Diſtinction* of that People from the Cuſtoms of the Countries they lived in, and thoſe that have the name of Reformed Ones now.

But he tells us, ‘ Chriſt and his Apoſtles had Salutations;’ and I tell him, ſo have We. But he will have it, ‘ that Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſaluted after the *Faſhion* of ‘ the *Country* they were in;’ which is ſooner ſaid than proved. For Chriſt aſked the Jews, “ How can you believe, that receive Honour one of another, and ſeek not “ the Honour that cometh from God *only*?” Now this, certainly, muſt be unlawful to give or receive, which hinders true Faith. And what was this Honour, but *Salutations* after the Faſhions of the Times? As the text ſhews, Matt. xxiii. And for Calling, and being Called of Men, *Rabbi*, Chriſt was ſo far from commanding, or imitating them in ſuch things, that he expreſly *forbids it*. But the meaning of Chriſt's

Saying Matt. v. “And if you ſalute your Brethren only, what do ye more than others? “Do not even the Publicans ſo?” is this; That in all Acts of *Love*, *Mercy*, and *Goodneſs*, they were to *exceed* the practice of that Time: They were to take more notice of, and to look more kindly and friendly upon, All Men. But, in another ſenſe, He that bid them ſalute *Enemies* as well as *Friends*, alſo forbids his diſciples to ſalute *any* Man, or call *any* Man *Rabbi* or *Maſter*; for that *One* was their *Lord* and *Maſter*, and they were all *Brethren*, Matt. xxiii. 6, 7, 8. and Luke x. 4. And between *ſuch* Relations, Worldly Honours were of no Uſe, as well as of no Value. And did a Primitive Spirit prevail in thoſe that ſo much pretend to be the *Succeſſors* of the Apoſtles, we ſhould ſee them more exemplary in *Self-denial* and *Holineſs*; encouraging, and not undervaluing and brow-beating, the Serious and Conſcientious. But “Trees “are known by their Fruit; for Grapes are not gathered of Thorns, nor Figs of “Thiſtles.”

In the mean time, if my reader pleaſe to peruſe the ninth and tenth chapters of that book, intituled, “*No Croſs, No Crown*,” he will, I hope, be ſatisfied, that we are for Honour, Reſpect, and Civility, according to *Scripture*; though Non-conformiſts to the *empty* and *troubleſome* Ceremonies of the *Times*; left by us, not of Rudeneſs, but Conviction; and forborn of Duty, and no otherwiſe of Choice: For, humanly ſpeaking, that Contradiction to Cuſtom cannot be *pleaſant* to us. I have detained my reader longer upon this head than I expected, or perhaps he deſired: I ſhall therefore proceed to the Biſhop's next paragraph, which contains his exceptions to our Tenth Goſpel-Truth about *Baptiſm* and the *Supper*, and the laſt he has to take notice of; the Eleventh, about *Government*, being by him already granted in the beginning of his Paper.

He begins thus: ‘In your Tenth Article you believe a Spiritual Baptiſm, and a Spiritual Supper and Communion, but acknowledge, you diſuſe the outward Signs, by ‘us commonly called Sacraments: Now did not Chriſt command Water-Baptiſm? “Go ye and Baptize all Nations,” Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

He goes on, ‘The Baptiſm here commanded was Water-Baptiſm:’ His reaſons are, firſt, ‘That Baptizing with the Spirit, was God's Work, not the Apoſtles. 2dly, Primitive Practice, Acts x. 47, 48. in Cornelius's Caſe; “Who can forbid Water?” But this is alſo *gratis dictum*: For the firſt Reaſon is *no* Reaſon, ſince it is not *true*: And the ſecond ſeems to me *defective* and *ſhort*. I am very ſenſible of the *Diſadvantage* I am under, and that I touch a *tender* place; and what I ſay upon *this* Head, as alſo anon upon the *Supper*, will be againſt Wind and Tide with the Generality. But as I hope I ſhall expreſs myſelf *reverently*, as well as *plainly*, upon this occaſion, ſo I beſeech my reader, for his own ſake, as well as ours, not to *prejudge* us; as I am ſure he will not, if he be a *Searcher* after *Truth*, and that I charitable ſuppoſe of him.

I ſay then, the Biſhop's firſt Reaſon is not true; for God, by the *Apoſtles*, did baptize believers with the *Holy Ghoſt*. It fell upon them, through the powerful Preaching of the Word: Thus, Acts x. 44. “While *Peter* yet ſpake *theſe Words* the Holy Ghoſt “fell on all them which heard the Word.” By which it is evident, that *Peter*, in that *Sermon*, was the Miniſter of the Spiritual Baptiſm to Cornelius and his Company.

And Peter gives this account to thoſe of the Circumciſion at Jeruſalem, Acts xi. 15. “And as I began to ſpeak, the Holy Spirit fell on *them*, as on *us* at the Beginning: “Then remembered I the Word of the Lord, how that he ſaid, John indeed baptized “with Water, but ye ſhall be baptized with the Holy Spirit.” So that Peter evidently declares the Gift of the *Spirit*, by the Miniſtry of the *Goſpel*, to be the Baptiſm of *Chriſt*, or the Baptiſm of the *Holy Spirit* and *Fire*, which Chriſt promiſed at his Aſcenſion into Heaven.

But the Apoſtle Paul puts this matter beyond all doubt, in his excellent account he gives of his Converſion and Commiſſion to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. where my reader will find theſe words dropping from the Mouth of the Lord Jeſus to Saul; “Delivering thee from the People, and from the Gentiles, to whom now I ſend thee, to *open* “*their Eyes*, and to turn them from *Darkneſs* to *Light*, and from the *Power of Satan* “unto *God*, that they may receive Forgiveneſs of Sins, and an Inheritance among “them which are ſanctified through Faith that is in me,” verſe 17. 18. Now if this could be done *without* the Holy Ghoſt, let my reader judge. It was *with* the Holy Ghoſt that Peter's Hearers were *pricked to the Heart*, and fitted to receive more of it: And it was by the *ſame* Holy Ghoſt that Paul's Hearers had the *Eyes of their Minds opened*, to ſee the Myſteries of God's Kingdom, and by which they were *Converted* from *Darkneſs* to *Light*, that they might receive the Forgiveneſs of their Sins, and an Inheritance among them which are ſanctified. So that the very End and Benefit of the Apoſtolical Miniſtry was *Converting*, that is, *Baptizing them into Chriſtianity*, in the Nature, Power, and Life of it, by the *Holy Ghoſt*.

Now, for the Biſhop's ſecond reaſon, viz. *Practice*: I ſay it is granted, that Water-Baptiſm having got place among them by John's Miniſtry, the Fore-runner, it held after Chriſt's Coming; but that was *Ex Gratiâ*, and of *Condeſcenſion*, not of *Commiſſion*;

1698. for that properly *ceaſes*, when *his* Miniſtration *begins*, of which John's was but the *Forerunner*. For *Moſes* and the *Prophets* were till *John*, and *John* till *Chriſt*. And this, John, the Water-Baptiſt, tells us, Matt. iii. 11. "I indeed baptize you with *Water* unto Repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, he ſhall baptize you "with the *Holy Ghoſt* and with *Fire*," ſee Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. Here is a *different* Baptiſm *and* Baptizer, the *Servant* and the *Maſter*, the *Water* and the *Holy Ghoſt*. One *Tranſient*, the other *Permanent*: One the *End* of the *Jewiſh*, and the other the *Beginning* of the *Goſpel* Diſpenſation. Wherefore, ſays our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "The leaſt "in the Kingdom of Heaven is Greater than *John*," Matt. xi. 11. Why, is not John in Heaven? No doubt of it at all, and a glorious ſaint too: But the Leaſt in *Chriſt*'s Diſpenſation, viz. 'The Kingdom of God in the *Soul*, the Work of *Chriſt*, the Baptizer with the *Holy Ghoſt* and *Fire*,' is Greater than *John*, as to the *Nature of his Adminiſtration*. See John iii. 30, 31. "He muſt Increaſe, but I muſt Decreaſe." What! *John* decreaſe, or his *Miniſtry*? His *Miniſtration*, certainly, which he calls *earthly*, in compariſon of Chriſt's. So that the Baptiſt, in his *Watery* Diſpenſation, did but *forerun* Chriſt, in reference to the Kingdom that he was to ſet up in Men. He pointed to Chriſt, and ſhewed what Chriſt was to do, viz. to *Waſh*, *Fan*, and throughly *purge* his *Floor*; that is, his *People*, and ſanctify them *throughout*, by his *Spiritual* Baptiſm, according to the Apoſtle, in *Body*, *Soul* and *Spirit*, 1 Theſſ. v. 23. So that, in ſhort, *Practice*, properly, can be no *Inſtitution*, where the Thing practiſed has no *Commiſſion*; which, I ſuppoſe, the Biſhop will not think fit to deny: 'But,' ſays he, 'it has a Commiſſion,' Matt. xxviii. 19. Which is, under favour, but his *Say*-ſo; and that I think it is no more, I do, with all humility and ſubmiſſion, ſay, firſt, I cannot tell how to reconcile it to Good Senſe, or Common Uſage, in Sacred or Civil Matters, that any thing ſhould be in *Force* by a Commiſſion, that is not ſo much as *once named* in the Commiſſion. I ſay, to me, it does not appear *congruous*, any more than *cogent*, or obliging. And this is the cauſe in hand: For there is not a Word of *Water* in the Text alledged for Water; nor yet in the Context. And unleſs there were *no other* Baptiſm than that of *Water*, as there are ſeveral, it muſt, at leaſt, be allowed to be a Queſtion, *what* Baptiſm Chriſt meant in that Commiſſion, when he ſaid, "Go ye, therefore, and Teach "all Nations, Baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt."

But it may be returned upon me, 'Nor does the Text ſay it is the Baptiſm of the '*Holy Ghoſt*,' and ſo the Biſhop is upon equal Terms with me. Grant it, that the Word *Holy Ghoſt* is not literally joined to *Baptizing*, any more than the Word *Water* in that Part: But if am able to ſhew that the *Thing* is there, and that the Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt was the *Subject* of Chriſt's Diſcourſe, when he gave that Commiſſion at his Farewel, I preſume it will be granted me, that Chriſt intended a *Spiritual*, and not a *Water* Baptiſm; and that is what I ſhall do, I hope, with much clearneſs. Firſt, the Fact, and then my Arguments. *Matthew*, the Evangeliſt, large in his Hiſtory upon other points, ſeems ſhort and abrupt in the Context of this Commiſſion, as the reader may obſerve. And as it is uſual for one Evangeliſt to explain another (which was the great Wiſdom, as well as Goodneſs of God, that thoſe Chriſtian Memorials might come with leſs ſuſpicion to the world of any human contrivance); ſo *Luke* ſupplies the ſhortneſs of the other Evangeliſt in his Context to this Commiſſion. Luke xxiv. 45, to 50, particularly the 47, 48, 49, verſes. "And that Repentance, and Re-"miſſion of Sins, ſhould be Preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at "*Jeruſalem*. And ye are *Witneſſes* of theſe things. And behold I ſend the *Promiſe* of "my Father upon you: But tarry ye in the City of *Jeruſalem* until ye be endued with "Power from on High." Where, as it is plain that this Evangeliſt, in his Account of Chriſt's Commiſſion, (to wit, The Work Chriſt gave his Diſciples to do) names no *Baptizing* at all, though that which it *implies*, in my Senſe of the Word, is there, viz. *The Promiſe of the Father*, which is the Power from on High they were to *tarry* at Jeruſalem *for*. So is there not *One Word* of *Water* here mentioned, to induce us to think that Chriſt intended to give it *Any Place* in his Commiſſion. In ſhort it appears that the Diſciples were to be *qualified*, before they were to go forth as his *Witneſſes*, and that this *Qualification* is the *Promiſe of the Father*, that he would quickly ſend them. Now I muſt deſire my reader to turn to the *Acts* of this Evangeliſt, chap. i. 4, 5. where he farther opens the Manner and Matter of Chriſt's Diſcourſe, and Farewel to his Diſciples: "And (Chriſt) being aſſembled with them, commanded them that they ſhould "not depart from Jeruſalem, but wait for the *Promiſe* of the Father, which, ſaith he, "ye learnt of me: For, John truly baptized with Water, but ye ſhall be baptized with "the Holy Ghoſt not many days hence." It can be, methinks, no longer a doubt *what* Baptiſm it is that Chriſt's words, Matt. xxviii. 19. refer to; ſince we ſee not only that Chriſt diſtinguiſhes between *John*'s Baptiſm and *his own*, and between *Water* and *Holy Ghoſt*; but alſo he aſſigns Water-Baptiſm to *John*, as *his* Baptiſm, and not *Chriſt*'s, and thereby declares the *Holy Ghoſt* to be *his own* Baptiſm, and none of *John*'s, and which yet is no more than what John had ſaid before.

So that comparing both Texts together, Matt. xxviii. 19. and Acts i. 4, 5, we may ſee, if we pleaſe, that the *Commiſſion* in the one, is to be explained by the *Qualifications* in the other, which was ommitted by the firſt Evangeliſt. There they are bid to *Go*, here they are bid to *Stay*: That is to ſay, ‘ Stay, before you Go, and receive your *Qualifications*, before you go to *qualify*,’ viz. the *Promiſe* of the *Father*; that is, the *Baptiſm* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which is followed by the *Power from on High*, verſe 8. And indeed, had we not this expreſs force on our ſide from the text itſelf, the Word *Therefore*, in the Commiſſion, (referring plainly to the foregoing Verſe, as the Reaſon of what follows) juſtifies our ſenſe. For whereas the Biſhop has objected againſt our Aſſertion, ‘ That it muſt not be a *ſpiritual* Baptiſm, becauſe that was the Work of God, and not of the Apoſtles;’ it is plain that our Lord takes off the force of his exception, ſince the reaſon why he bid them *Go*, &c. is, “ Becauſe,” ſays he, “ all Power in Heaven and Earth is given unto me,” verſe xviii. As much as if he had ſaid, ‘ Go, do all that I have ſaid unto you, and be not *doubting* or *fearful*, about the Performance of it; for *All Power* in Heaven and Earth is given unto *me*, that *bid* you Go, and Lo I am with you always, even unto the End of the World.’ Which need not have been ſaid, as an encouragement to them, in reference to *Water*-Baptiſm, ſince that was practiſed by them, as well as by John's diſciples, long before.

Nor is this all; for the very Text, duly conſidered, will not have it to be *Water*, ſince that could baptize none *into* the Name of the *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghoſt*, and ſo the Biſhop knows the Greek text runs εἰς τὸ ὄνομα. For they that are baptized *into* the Name of the *Father*, and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghoſt*, muſt be baptized with the Baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*: Since it is to become their *Likeneſs*, and bear their *Image*, which is *Holineſs*. And had not the apoſtles underſtood their Commiſſion as I render it, when they had baptized with Water they would certainly have uſed the Terms that bore the Force of their Commiſſion, viz. “ In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of Holy Ghoſt;” of which there is not one inſtance in all the Scripture.

But that which farther ſhews that *Water* cannot be underſtood to be meant in the apoſtolical Commiſſion, is, that one of the Greateſt of the Apoſtles, he that came behind (and was added to by) none of them, denies it (1 Cor. i. 27.) to be *Any Part* of his *Commiſſion*; “ For,” ſays he, “ Chriſt ſent me not to *baptize*, but to preach the Goſpel:” And thanks God for that Reaſon, in the foregoing verſes, that he had baptized *ſo few*: Which, to be ſure, he ought not to have done, but, on the contrary, to have been ſorry he had baptized No more, had Water-Baptiſm been Part of the apoſtolical commiſſion, Matt. xxviii. 19. Again, this eminent Apoſtle, the Great Grand-father [not to ſay God-father] of Gentile-Chriſtians, delivered to them for Doctrine, Eph. iv. 5. that there was but “ One Lord, One Faith, and One Baptiſm.” And if ſo, That muſt be the Baptiſm of *Fire* and of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which is *Chriſt*'s Baptiſm, and *proper* to the Goſpel-Diſpenſation. Now, could any other make a Man a *True Chriſtian*, or a *Child of God*, then? Nor can any be ſo now without it. That Baptiſm, therefore, without which a man cannot be a *True Jew*, or *Chriſtian*, or of the “ Circumciſion made without Hands, that worſhip God in the Spirit, and hath no Confidence in the Fleſh,” muſt needs be the *One Baptiſm*: But ſuch is the Baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*: Therefore the *Spiritual Baptiſm* is the Apoſtle's *One Baptiſm*, Rom. ii. 28, 29. Phil. iii. 3. Again; the *One* Baptiſm muſt be *Chriſt*'s Baptiſm: But Chriſt's is the Baptiſm of the *Spirit*; therefore *That*, and not *Water*-Baptiſm, muſt be the *One* Baptiſm that is in force, according to the Apoſtle. As *John* was the Fore-runner of *Chriſt*, ſo was *Water*, of the *Holy Ghoſt*: But that which *fore-runs*, in Nature *ceaſes*; and that which *ſucceeds*, of courſe *remains*: Therefore the Baptiſm of the *Spirit*, is the *One Needful* and *Permanent* Baptiſm.

Yet farther; If it be Goſpel, “ That he is not a Jew that is one Outward, nor that Circumciſion that is Outward in the Fleſh; but that he is a Jew that is one *inward*, and that is Circumciſion that is of the Heart, in the *Spirit*, and not in the *Letter*; whoſe Praiſe is not of Men, but of God,” as Rom. ii. 28, 29. then, unanſwerably, ‘ He is not a *Chriſtian* that is one *Outward*, nor is that *Baptiſm* that is of the *Fleſh*: But he is a Chriſtian that is one *inwardly*, and that is Baptiſm that is of the *Heart*, in the *Spirit*; whoſe Praiſe is not of Men, but of God.’ For, indeed, in all Ages, Men cry him down, as a *Slighter* of God's Ordinances; but his Praiſe, however, is of *God*, let Men ſay what they will: And this is the Inward Chriſtian's Comfort, in all undervaluings and reflections he meets with from Outſide Chriſtians. For it is not to be thought that the Apoſtle meant or deſigned to undervalue *one* Obſervation, as that of Circumciſion, becauſe it is Outward, and ſet up *another* Outward Obſervation *inſtead* of it, viz, *Water*-Baptiſm.

Again, “ If in Chriſt Jeſus, neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor Uncircumciſion, but a *New Creature*;” as ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, Gal. vi. 15; Then, by the ſame reaſon, ‘ Neither being baptized with *Water* availeth any thing, nor being *not* baptized with Water, but a New Creature.’

1698. I will repeat the Apoſtle's Diſcourſe at large upon this ſubject, in the ſame chapter, becauſe it is very inſtructing, and ſeems deciſive in this caſe: "As many," ſays he, "as deſire to make a fair Shew in the *Fleſh*, they conſtrain you to be Circumciſed; "only leſt they ſhould ſuffer Perſecution for the Croſs of Chriſt." It ſeems they were *Outſide* People, that laid ſtreſs upon *Outſide* Things, or ſomething elſe inſtead of the Croſs of Chriſt; for they temporized in *this* Matter, to ſhun the Shame and Perſecution that then attended the Chriſtian Croſs: Which ſtood, partly, in *laying down* of Outward Obſervations; and which they that deſire to make a fair Shew in the *Fleſh*, ſtand moſt *for*. But the Apoſtle goes on; "For," ſays he, "neither they themſelves, "who are Circumciſed, *keep* the Law, but deſire to have *you* circumciſed, that they may "glory in your Fleſh." They were not exact in the *other* Parts of the Law, it ſeems, as ſtrict as they ſeemed to be for this Sacramental Practice; which is the caſe of too many now: Yet they preſſed it, that they might glory, and value themſelves, upon gaining others to be conformable to them, whether to excuſe their Compliance with Cuſtom that they might avoid Perſecution, or out of Love to Ceremonial Religion.

"But," ſays that clear-ſighted and plain-dealing Apoſtle, "God forbid that I ſhould "glory, ſave in the Croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the World is crucified "unto Me, and I unto the World." If he rejoiced in *nothing*, but in the Croſs of Chriſt, then in *no other* Elementary Rite, Service or Ordinance, any more than in Circumciſion.

But he proceeds: "For in Chriſt Jeſus, neither Circumciſion *availeth* any thing, "nor Uncircumciſion, but a New Creature." That is to ſay, 'For according to Chriſt 'Jeſus, or in the *Religion* of Chriſt Jeſus, neither Circumciſion nor Uncircumciſion 'availeth, but a *New* Creature, a *Regenerate* Soul; One born *again* by the Spirit of '*God*:' For the Apoſtle, in theſe excellent words, not only ſtrikes at Circumciſion, but *all* Outward and Elementary Obſervations: Neither This, nor That, *Outward Thing* availeth in the *Chriſtian Religion*, or according to *Chriſt. Jeſus*, but a *New Creature*: He does not ſay, '*But Water Baptiſm*,' as ſome would have it, who tell us that it *ſucceeds* Circumciſion, by Divine Inſtitution: By no means! But that which availeth with Chriſt, and in the Religion of Chriſt Jeſus, is a *New* Creature, a *New* Man, one *changed*, *regenerated*, or born *again*, by the *Word* and *Baptiſm* of the *Holy Ghoſt*. "And," ſays the Apoſtle to confirm them in this doctrine of *Inward* Circumciſion, that is of the *Heart*, in the *Spirit* (which is the ſame thing with the *Baptiſm* of the Spirit) "As many as walk according to *this* Rule, *Peace* ſhall be upon them." So that we, the poor deſpiſed *Quakers*, take comfort in this apoſtolical benediction, and can ſay, to God's glory, his *Peace has been upon us*, in our Belief and Confeſſion of this bleſſed doctrine of the *New Creature*. It is what we have aimed at, and has been the great drift of our Teſtimony ſince we were a People; and in order to it, we have directed all to the Gift of God's Grace in themſelves, that by believing in it, and reſigning up their wills and affections, and whole man, to the teaching and conduct of it, they may be leavened and ſanctified by it, throughout, by which the *State* of the *New Creature*, which is *Chriſtianity indeed*, will be experienced; though it was, and is, a Myſtery to the *World*.

As for the Apoſtle Peter's queſtion, Acts x. 48. "Can any Man forbid Water, that "theſe ſhould not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghoſt as well as we?" It imports, with ſubmiſſion, no more than this; That Peter, well knowing the narrowneſs of his countrymens ſpirits, was cautious leſt his latitude ſhould diſtaſte them: For the *Gentiles* being *Unholineſs* to the *Jews*, and even Peter *himſelf*, without a Viſion from God, too narrow-ſpirited for the Convictions and Devotion of that excellent centurion Cornelius, it behoved him to aſk, if any body had any thing to ſay, why *they* might not be baptized as well as the *Jews*, being proſelytes to the Chriſtian Profeſſion? In all which he ſeems more concerned to ſave his *own credit*, than to recommend, or eſtabliſh, that of *Water-Baptiſm*. As if he had ſaid, 'Why ſhould this Cuſtom be 'forbidden to the *Gentiles* more than the Jews?' But this will not warrant the Practice in General, becauſe *Practice* is no *Inſtitution*, and that there appears no *Command* to make it one. So that aſking, Who can *forbid*, what was not *commanded*, ſtrengthens his queſtion, inſtead of weakening it, ſince what was done of *Condeſcenſion*, could not have been forbid upon *Authority*. There needed not ſo much care or ſtrictneſs in the matter. And indeed the Apoſtles *themſelves* ſeem not to have been ſo clear about the aboliſhing of the *Jewiſh Obſervations*, as appears by the Want Peter had of *a Viſion*, his own apprehenſion of the *Straitneſs* of his Brethren, and their calling him to *Account* for what he had done, as may be ſeen in the ſame chapter.

But I confeſs I cannot ſee why the Biſhop ſhould aſſume the power of Unchriſtianing Us, for not practiſing of *that* which he himſelf practiſes ſo *unſcripturally*, and that according to the ſentiments of a conſiderable part of Chriſtendom; having not *One* Text of Scripture, to prove that *Sprinkling of Water in the Face*, was the Water-Baptiſm, or that *Children* were the *Subjects* of Water-Baptiſm, in the *Firſt Times*. And yet this is *all* the Baptiſm the *Biſhop* practiſes, who ſeems ſo ſevere upon *us*. I think our *forbearing* of Water Baptiſm, from a Belief and Senſe of the Coming of the Inviſible Grace, ſignified by that viſible *Sign*, cannot be reputed *ſuch* a Slight to Water Baptiſm, as preſuming to *alter* the Manner and Subſtance of its Firſt Inſtitution: For then it was in the River *Jordan*, now in a *Baſon*; it was then unto *Repentance*, now, to Children *uncapable* of Repentance. But that which perhaps miſled the Doctors of the *Declining Church* firſt into this practice, being at the diſtance of ſome hundreds of years from the apoſtolical times, might be the ſuppoſition that Water Baptiſm came in the place of Circumciſion, and *that* being to *Children*, ſo might Water Baptiſm too. But they forgot (among other things, which, even before that time, were crept into the Church, without Precept, or Evangelical Example) that *Repentance* was not made a Condition to *Circumciſion*, as it *was* to Water Baptiſm. I would beſeech the Biſhop to tread ſoftly in this matter; for if *Water Baptiſm* ſhould indeed prove a *Badge* of *Chriſtianity*, he would be at a loſs for one that would paſs current in Scripture. Thus much for this point.

What I have ſaid upon this head of Water Baptiſm, may ſerve alſo for what is commonly called *The Lord Supper*, which the Biſhop reproves us for omitting to practiſe; urging Luke xxii. 19. "This do in Remembrance of me;" and the Apoſtle's words, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. It is true, indeed, Chriſt ſaid, when he eat it with his Diſciples, "That they ſhould do it in remembrance of him till he came." And this ſeems much more of the nature of a Commiſſion, than that cited by the biſhop for Water Baptiſm: But the *Limitation* Chriſt gives to the *Practice* of it, and a right and proper conſideration of the *Import* of his *Words*, and the *Nature* of the *Thing*, will beſt lead us to underſtand his Mind therein.

Firſt, This was alſo a *Jewiſh Practice*, as well as *Water Baptiſm*, and ſo, in Nature, of no *Goſpel* Inſtitution, but Temporary in its uſe.

Secondly, Chriſt ſeems, by this, to break, or open to them, what was ſo hard for them to bear, to wit, his *Departure* and *Death*, by a Token of Memorial till he ſhould come to them again.

Thirdly, Chriſt takes occaſion from thence, to ſhew forth to his diſciples the *Myſtical Supper* they ſhould eat, and the fellowſhip they ſhould have with him, when he came again.

Now we believe this Coming was *ſpiritual*, ſuitable to that ſaying of his, "I will "drink no more of this Fruit of the Vine, till I drink it New with you in the King-"dom of my Father: And ſome here ſhall not taſte of Death, till they ſee the Son of "Man coming in his Kingdom," Matt. xvi. 28. Again, "He that dwelleth with you, "ſhall be in you," John xiv. "I in them, and they in me," chap. xvii. All which plainly imports a Spiritual Coming. Alſo Rev. iii. 20. "Behold I ſtand at the "Door and knock, if any Man hear my Voice, and open the Door, I will come in to "him, and will *ſup* with him, and he with me," which was ſaid near Forty Years after his Aſcenſion. Now ſince this is acknowledged to be an *Outward Sign* of an *Inward* and *Inviſible Grace*, what can Outward Bread and Wine more properly ſignify and reſemble, than an *Inward Supper?* And if ſo, the words may reaſonably be read thus, 'Eat this Supper of Outward Bread and Wine, till *I* come into and ſup 'with you, and be your Supper, that am the Bread and Wine from *Heaven* which nouriſhes the *Soul* unto Eternal Life.

Fourthly, The Kingdom of God being *Spiritual*, and in the Soul, *ſuch* ſhould be the *Ordinances* of that Kingdom. Now Chriſt tells the Phariſees, Luke xvii. 20. "The Kingdom of God is *within*." And the Apoſtle Paul, Rom. xiv. 17. ſaith "The Kingdom of God is not *Meat* and *Drink*, but Righteouſneſs, and Peace, and "Joy in the Holy Ghoſt:" But the Outward Supper *is* Meat and Drink, and therefore not of the Kingdom of God, which is *not* Meat and Drink, but Righteouſneſs, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt. And this was made uſe of by Chriſt, in the ſtate of Humiliation, before his Death, and the pouring forth of the Holy Ghoſt, to faſten upon his diſciples, that were *weak*, and of *Little Faith*, the Remembrance of him, till they ſhould know him *with* them, and *in* them, by his *ſpiritual* Appearance (as he was "the Lord from Heaven, the Quickening Spirit,") according to his promiſe. For if the Scripture be conſulted, we ſhall not only find that Chriſt *reproves* the Apoſtles for their Infidelity in him, but, after all the Example, Precepts and Miracles they ſaw by him, and that he had ſo very lately left them with ſuch Aſſurances of his Coming to them *again*; yet when Mary, &c. brought them the tidings of his *Reſurrection*, it is ſaid Luke xxiv. 10, 11. "Their Words ſeemed to the Diſciples as *idle tales*, and "they believed them *not*." Which ſufficiently ſhews the *low State* they were in, or that at leaſt they needed a *Sign* or *Token*, as that of the *Supper*, to commemorate him. But this Reaſon, which is yet *True*, does not credit its Continuation; for when the *Spirit* was come, or Chriſt in his Spiritual Appearance, their Eyes were opened, and they ſaw then it was the "Spirit that Quickens, the Fleſh profiteth nothing," John vi. 63.

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Fifthly, Moſt certainly Chriſt meant no leſs, when he preached himſelf "the Bread that came down from Heaven," John vi. 31. to 52. and that they that would have Life Eternal, muſt "eat his Fleſh, and drink his Blood;" That is, they muſt feed upon *Spiritual* food; not the Outward, but *inward* Supper; the Thing ſignified, and Subſtance itſelf. For Chriſt oppoſes *himſelf*, "who is the Bread of God," to the Bread their Fathers eat in the Wilderneſs, who were *dead*, which was of an *elementary* Nature: Therefore it can never be, that *ſuch* Bread as *periſheth*, ſhould be the Bread of the *Evangelical Supper*, when Chriſt, by compariſon, undervalues it to the Bread he had to give them.

Sixthly, Our bleſſed Lord, Mark vii. 18. taught, "That it was not that which went *into* the Man that *defileth* the Man," becauſe it went but into his *Body*, and not into his *Heart:* And if ſo, the argument is undeniable, That it is not that which goeth into the Man, that is, into his Body, and not into his Heart, that *ſanctifieth* the Man: But *material* Bread and Wine goeth only into the *Body*, and not into the *Heart*; therefore they cannot *ſanctify*. The import of Chriſt's words is plainly this, 'Meats and Drinks neither *defile* nor *ſanctify*; they neither benefit nor harm any one upon a *ſpiritual* account:' Conſequently *elementary* Bread and Wine cannot be the *Evangelical Supper*, but a *Figure* of it, which is ended in *Chriſt*, the "Bread of God, that cometh down from Heaven," John vi. 31, 32, 48, 49, 50. that a man may eat of, and not *die*; the Subſtance of all Shadows: For, ſaith the Apoſtle, "The Body is of Chriſt;" and where that is, our Lord tells us, Luke xiii. 37, "the Eagles are gathered together:" Where the Apoſtle's wiſe men, 1 Cor. x. 15. ſeek for the True Supper, which nouriſhes the ſoul unto eternal life.

Seventhly, But the Biſhop will have this Supper four times repeated in the Scripture of the New Teſtament, beſides that of the Apoſtle Paul; which muſt be his miſtake,----- ſince there is no Command to practiſe it beyond that very *Time*, but in Luke xxii. 19. if there itſelf. For though his *Eating* of the Paſſover is there related, as alſo in Mark and Luke, it was but *Once done*; and the Command, "This do in remembrance of me," is only *once related* among the Evangeliſts, as well as it is *Once commanded*. And would we be ſtrict with the Biſhop, we need not allow him that Command to reach farther than the *preſent* time in which it was given; for "*This do*," or, "*Take, Eat*," are equally in the *preſent* tenſe, "for thereby you *ſhew* forth my Death." And the following words, viz. "I will drink no more of *this* Fruit of the Vine, until that Day when I drink it *new* with you in my Father's Kingdom," Matt. xxvi. 29. farther explains it. Thus Mark has it, xiv. 25, "Verily I ſay unto you, I will drink no more of the Fruit of the Vine, until that Day that I drink it *new* in the Kingdom of God." Luke xxii. 18. gives it thus, "I ſay unto you, I will not drink of the Fruit of the Vine till the Kingdom of God *ſhall come*." Now it is plain that Chriſt refers them to the *ſpiritual* Supper, which we prefer and practiſe, and which is the Supper *ſignified* by that of *Outward* Bread and Wine, that was to ſerve *till* the Kingdom of God *came*, and *then* he would communicate with them in a Way *ſuitable* to his Kingdom: Which Kingdom, as before ſaid, is not *Meat* and *Drink*, but "Righteouſneſs, Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt." And as the ſame Apoſtle has it, 1 Cor. iv. 20. "The kingdom of God is not in *Word*, but in *Power*;" of which Power, and its coming from on high upon the Apoſtles, read Acts i. 6, 7, 8.

For when they aſked Chriſt, "Lord, wilt thou at this Time reſtore the Kingdom again to Iſrael," and that he told them, "It was not for them to know the Times or the Seaſons, which the Father had put into his own Power;" he alſo adds, "But ye ſhall receive Power after the Holy Ghoſt is come upon you, and ye ſhall be Witneſſes unto me, both in Jeruſalem and Judea, and in Samaria, and in the uttermoſt Parts of the Earth." This Power was the Kingdom of God, for it "*ſtands* in *Power*," ſays the Apoſtle: But it ſeems he thought fit to wave their Queſtion, as to a direct anſwer, and left it a Secret to be revealed unto them, when the Holy Ghoſt ſhould come, and the Power from on high ſhould fall upon them: And thus he takes his leave of them, and is immediately received by a Cloud out of their Sight.

Before I conclude this paragraph, I would obſerve, Firſt, That it was the *Paſſover*, and *Cuſtom* of the *Jews*, which, properly ſpeaking, we conceive hath no juſt plea to continue as a *Goſpel-Ordinance*, or Inſtitution, ſince it was a Type of him to *come*, and therefore ended, as to Inſtitution, by his *Coming*.

Secondly, That the Evangeliſt John, the beloved Diſciple, that lay in the boſom of Chriſt, does not ſo much as mention it, or Water Baptiſm, as left by Chriſt, to be *continued* by his followers. Concerning the *Spirit*'s Baptiſm, though he uſes not the *Word* Baptiſm, he is very full, John 14th, 16th, and 17th chapters, where he tells them, "That he would ſend them the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, to lead them into all Truth, and that he would dwell with them *for ever*." I ſay, it ſeems very improbable, if not incredible, that what the Biſhop ſtiles the 'Badges of Chriſtianity,' in his 17th paragraph, ſhould be wholly forgotten by ſo great an Apoſtle of Chriſtianity.

Thirdly, And as the beloved diſciple ſays nothing of theſe *Viſible Signs*, which the Biſhop calls the ‘ Badges of Chriſtianity,’ ſo neither are they made an *Article* of any of the Ancient Creeds Extant, which certainly does not make for their Credit or Authority: Since had they been of that importance they are now by ſome eſteemed, we cannot think they would have been forgot by the Compilers of thoſe Creeds.

Fourthly, The Apoſtle Paul, though he repeats the *Tradition* he received of the Lord's Supper, that Night he was betrayed, does not *injoin it*; but as often as the Corinthians *did it*, he tells them, they ſhould do it in *Rememembrance* of Chriſt: Which is as far from *commanding* it, as it would be, if the Biſhop ſhould ſay to his Friend, ‘ *As* often as he comes to *Cork*, he ſhould come and *eat* with him,’ an Obligation upon that perſon to come *often* to Cork. So that though the Apoſtle bids them, that as often as they *did it*, they ſhould do it in remembrance of Chriſt, yet he does not thereby bid them do it *often*, if at all.

Fifthly, And whereas the Biſhop would make it a *freſh* revelation to the apoſtle, when he ſays, “ For I have received of the Lord, that which alſo I delivered unto you,” I muſt diſſent from him. I cannot apprehend that means any more than this, ‘ That what Account he had *received* of Chriſt's Eating the Supper with his Diſciples, the Night before he was betrayed, the ſame alſo he had delivered unto *them*:’ For what Need could there be of an *Immediate Revelation*, for ſo *late* a Fact, ſo well witneſſed by the Diſciples? But if my reader will peruſe that part of the Chapter which relates to the Supper, he will find the ſtreſs lies upon “ *Remembering* of the *Lord*,” which is, indeed, our daily, indiſpenſible duty; and he that lives *without* it, may be ſaid “ to live without *God* in the World;” of which thoſe Corinthians at that time ſeemed ſo inſenſible, and as ſuch are ſeverely reproved by the Apoſtle, being *irreverent*, *greedy*, and *drunken*, hardly fit for the *Sign*, and leſs able to diſcern the *Thing ſignified*.

Sixthly, Nor does the Apoſtle ſeem to recommend this Practice, but rather reprehend the *Abuſe* of it: And if my reader will look back to the foregoing chapter, from the beginning to the 18th verſe, he may find a more *Spiritual* Supper, and *myſtical* Bread and Cup, hinted at by the Apoſtle, as well as Mat. xxvi. 29. Rev. iii. 20. by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf: Which is, indeed, very copiouſly expreſſed by Luke, in the Parable of the Supper, chap. xiv. from the 16th to the 24th verſe, where one that was at meat with Chriſt, ſpeaking of the Bleſſedneſs of eating of Bread in the Kingdom of God, Chriſt takes occaſion to ſhew forth the *Goſpel-Supper* by a Parable, viz. “ A certain Man made a Great Supper, and bid many, but they refuſed, upon divers pretences, and came not: He ſent out a ſecond and third time to invite an inferior ſort of Gueſts, and they came to the Supper,” that is, they received the *Goſpel*, which is the Power of God to Salvation, and the Evidence, as well as Means, of it: Which Chriſt in the 27th verſe farther expreſſes thus, viz. “ And whoſoever doth not bear my Croſs, and follow me, cannot be my Diſciple.” Now “ the Croſs of Chriſt,” the ſame Apoſtle alſo ſays, “ Is the Power of God,” 1 Cor. i. 18. All which refers to an *inward* and *ſpiritual* Work, and Supper, and that they who *receive* Chriſt in Spirit, *Sup* with him in Spirit, being the Partakers of his *Spiritual Supper*, which Chriſt promiſes, and prepares for all thoſe that open, at his Knocks, the Door of their Hearts unto him, Rev. iii.

Seventhly, But beſides what I have ſaid, both from Scripture, and the Nature of the Thing, in proof of Chriſt's Spiritual Supper and defence of our Diſuſe of the Viſible *Sign*, the Biſhop himſelf does the ſame thing, in relation to another ordinance: For our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did as ſolemnly command his diſciples to ‘ Waſh one another's *Feet*,’ as to ‘ Eat the *Supper*. The paſſage is large and edifying, and I muſt recommend to my reader, to peruſe his Bible, John xiii. But that part of it which moſt ſtrictly concerns this point, between the Biſhop and me, I ſhall repeat here, verſes 12, 13, 14, 15. “ So after he had waſhed their Feet, and taken his Garments, and was ſet down again, he ſaid unto them, Know ye what I have done to you? Ye call me Maſter and Lord, and ye ſay well; for ſo I am: If I, then, your Lord and Maſter, have waſhed your Feet, ye alſo ought to waſh one another's Feet: For I have given you an Example that ye ſhould do as I have done to you.” Thus Chriſt commanded his diſciples, not only by his Authority, but Example. Now does the Biſhop, and his Friends, *follow* Chriſt's Example, and *obey* this Precept? He and they know they do not. What muſt I infer from thence, that the Biſhop is *No Chriſtian*? I ſuppoſe he would take it very ill from me, though he has treated me, and my Friends, after that ſort. But I will ſhew him a better example, and ſuppoſe he thinks, that if Chriſtian Miniſters and People walk *humbly* towards God, and one with another, they *fulfil* this Commandment, though they diſuſe the *Sign*, by which the Lord Jeſus expreſſed and recommended Humility to his followers: Now that which excuſes the Biſhop, in reference to this Ordinance of ‘ Waſhing of Feet,’ will alſo excuſe our Diſuſe of the *Supper*, viz. ‘ Our Eating of the Spiritual Bread and Wine of the Kingdom; the Thing *ſignified* by the Outward Supper.’ But it is an error incident to frail Man, to

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Eighthly, But in relation to the Supper, we farther ſay, The Practice is varied; then they *ſat*; now one ſort *ſtands*; another *walks*; a third *kneels*; a fourth *lies down* upon the *Ground*, as in the Eaſt-Countries. The Romans have one opinion, the Greeks another; and the Lutherans and Calviniſts divide, to great bitterneſs, in their ſentiments about it.

Ninthly, Again, In thoſe days they were *Diſciples*, ſuch as followed CHRIST; now *All* are admitted that profeſs *Chriſtianity*, though they do *not* follow him, or forſake any thing for his Name-ſake, or keep any of his holy precepts, Matt. the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters.

Tenthly, Nor is this all we have to ſay, to juſtify our Diſuſe of this Practice: It is too much *looked at*, and *relied upon*, by the People: And, indeed, is become a Kind of *Proteſtant Extreme Unction*: For if the generality of them can but have it adminiſtred juſt before they Die, they are apt to preſume upon it for an Acceptance in the other world. And, indeed, it is very frequent, if not natural, for many men to excuſe their Diſobedience by *Sacrifice*; and where Ceremonies, or Shadowy Services, are continued, People reſt upon the Obſervance of them, and indulge themſelves in the Neglect of the Doctrine of the *Croſs* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I need not look far, nor yet the Biſhop, for a proof of what I ſay; we can hardly miſs, which way ſoever we throw our eyes, the more is the pity: And as this is no ſmall Abuſe of Primitive Practice, ſo no ſmall argument for our Diſuſe of it. For when the *Brazen Serpent* was *over-valued* by the Jews, God, that had commanded it for their benefit, ſtired up Hezekiah to deſtroy it.

Eleventhly, Beſides, theſe things are become Matter of *Gain*, and made a *Sacerdotal Revenue*, not to ſay *Merchandize*; which has alſo helped to ſcandalize people of tender conſciences, who think it a Prophanation of Religion, to ſuffer any part of it to be *exciſed* to the people, that ought to be *free*.

Twelfthly, But paſſing that by at preſent, and ſuppoſing Water-Baptiſm and the Supper were not antiquated, but ſtill in force, Who is there Qualified to adminiſter them? Who has received a Commiſſion, or the Mind of the Holy Ghoſt, and Power from on high, to perform theſe things? For if thoſe that hold they are in force, have no Divine Force or Authority to qualify them to adminiſter them, there will be but a Lifeleſs Imitation, inſtead of an Edifying Reality. Which leads me to what I promiſed long ſince, that I would, at the cloſe of this diſcourſe, ſay ſomething of the ‘True Ground of our Difference and Diſſent.’

I ſay then, that where we are ſuppoſed to differ moſt, we differ *leaſt*; and where we are believed to differ leaſt, we *moſt of all* differ: Which I explain thus. It is generally thought, that we do not hold the Common Doctrines of Chriſtianity, but have introduced new and erroneous ones in lieu thereof: Whereas we plainly and entirely believe the Truths contained in the Creed, that is commonly called *The Apoſtles*; which is very comprehenſive, as well as ancient. But that which hath affected our minds moſt, and engaged us in this Separation, was the great Carnality and Emptineſs, both of Miniſters and People, under their Profeſſion of Religion: They having hardly “the *Form* of Godlineſs,” but, generally ſpeaking, “denying the *Power* thereof;” from whom, the Scripture warns Believers to “*turn away*.”

Next, *Miniſters* being made ſuch, and *Preaching*, and the People *worſhipping*, without the *Spirit*, confining the Operations of it to the *Firſt* or *Apoſtolical* Times, as if theſe did not want them as much, or that Chriſt would be leſs propitious, where his gifts were not leſs needful; I ſay, an Human and Lifeleſs Miniſtry and Worſhip, together with the great Worldlineſs of Profeſſors, have occaſioned our Separation; and the Perſecution that has commonly followed it, hath abundantly confirmed our judgment in that matter. Hence it was we Retired ourſelves to wait upon God together, according to the Gift of his Holy Spirit; and, as the Apoſtle Paul exhorted the Athenians, Acts xvii. ‘We felt after him (with our *Souls*) if by any means we might find ‘him, and hear what God the Lord would ſay unto us, who ſpeaks Peace unto his ‘People, and his Saints; but let them never turn to folly any more.’ We could not, I ſay, tell how to think that ſuch as God had never ſent, but ran of *themſelves*, and were made Miniſters by Human Learning and Authority, not knowing the Work of the Spirit to their *own* Regeneration, could poſſibly profit, or edify the People unto *their*

Regeneration: And yet *that* is the very Work and End of the True Goſpel-Miniſtry; for no man can guide another in the Way he himſelf never trod.

Beſides, we apprehended the *Miniſtry* was very much a *Temporal Preferment*, and therefore few were to be found among them, that did not court the *Better Places*, I mean thoſe that gave the *Greateſt Pay*, and by thoſe methods mounted to *Worldly Wealth* and *Honour*, as the reſt of the world did: Turning *Alms* into Dues, and, by Law, making *Gifts* Rents; and vexing thoſe extremely, that, for Conſcience-ſake, could not uphold them: Which we thought very foreign to a Primitive and Apoſtolical Spirit; and ſhort of a *true* and *thorough* Reformation. This is not ſaid with any Diſreſpect to their *Perſons*, or yet *Calling*, ſimply conſidered; "For he that "deſires the office of a Biſhop, certainly deſires a Good Thing;" but the *Holy Ghoſt*, in thoſe days, had the *making* of them; and the "Good Thing" then was their *Service*, and not *Revenue*, or *Worldly Dignity*. They were then not only *No Lords*, (One being their Lord) but they *lorded it not* over God's *Clergy* or *Heritage*, which was the People in thoſe days, for ſo the Word Κλήρων ſignifies, though it is now aſcribed to the *Miniſtry*. Then, the Ground of Prophecy, or Miniſtry, was the *Revelation* of the *Spirit*, in thoſe Ancient Aſſemblies, as may be read 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, 31, 32. "For *All* might *propheſy*," that is, *preach*, as the Spirit of *God* moved upon *their* Spirit, and gave them Utterance, both for Reproof, Inſtruction, and Conſolation: Now, *Study*, *Collection*, and *Memory*.

In thoſe days they preached their *Own Experience* of the Work of God upon their Hearts; but moſt now preach of the Experiences of Others, recorded in Scriptures, but according to their own and others Human Apprehenſions. To be brief, we ground our Conviction, Converſion, Miniſtry, Prayer and Praiſe, upon the Light and Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as the powerful and effectual Spring of our religious performances, and that alone which prepares the Soul, and enables it to perform thoſe reſpective ſervices and duties in a manner acceptable to God. And that Miniſtry and Worſhip which ſtands *not* in the *Spirit*, and is not performed in the Preparation and Inſpiration thereof, but according to the Compilings, *Traditions*, and *Precepts* of *Men*, we cannot allow to be Primitive and Evangelical, and conſequently cannot join in them. And we are ſatisfied that it is the good pleaſure of God, that all who profeſs the name of his Dear, and only Begotten, and Well-beloved Son, ſhould acquaint themſelves with the Spirit of his Son in their own hearts, in its Reproof, Inſtruction, Conviction and Conſolation, that they may become "*ſpiritually-minded*," ſuch as mind ſpiritual things more than earthly ones; and that daily "ſow to the Spirit;" that is, bring forth the Fruits of the Spirit, and become the Children of God, who are led by the Spirit of God. "Now the Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, Long-ſuffering, Gentle-"neſs, Goodneſs, Faith, Meekneſs, Temperance: Againſt ſuch there is no Law. And "they that are Chriſt's, have crucified the Fleſh, with the Affections and Luſts thereof. "But the Works of the Fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe, Adultery, Fornication, "Uncleanneſs, Laſciviouſneſs, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, Emulations, "Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Hereſies, Envyings, Murder, Drunkenneſs, Revellings, and "ſuch-like: Of which I told you before, as alſo in Time paſt, that they which do "ſuch things, ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God," Rom. viii. 6. 14. Gal. v. 16, to 24. chap. vi. 7, 8. And under theſe marks and directions all people may examine themſelves, and know their Birth, Family, and Inheritance, whether they are the offſpring of God, and True Chriſtians, or Children of the Evil One: Thoſe that are born of the *Spirit*, for whom is reſerved "an Inheritance with the Saints in Light," or the Seed of Evil-doers; for whom is reſerved the "Blackneſs of Darkneſs for ever." And truly it ſeems juſt with God, that thoſe who love Darkneſs *better* than Light in this World, ſhould have their *Fill* of it in the next; from which, God Almighty redeem thee, reader, that thou mayeſt walk in his bleſſed Light, as *He* is in the Light, then thou wilt have "Fellowſhip with the Children of Light, and the Blood of Je-"ſus Chriſt (the *Great Atonement*) ſhall cleanſe thee from all Sin," 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. yea; "from the Filthineſs both of Fleſh and Spirit;" and being ſanctified throughout, in Body and Spirit, thou mayeſt live to ſerve God in the Newneſs of his Holy Spirit, Rom. vii. 6. and come to be made a New Man; that is *another* Man: From a Proud, an Humble Man; from a Paſſionate, a Patient man; from a Rough, a Meek Man; and of a Cruel, Covetous, Unjuſt, Laſcivious, Intemperate, Vain and Ungodly Man, thou mayeſt become a Merciful, Liberal, Juſt, Chaſte, Sober, and Godly man. And where this Change, this New Birth, or New Creature, is not known, Sacrifices avail nothing, Religion is but Formality, and the Peace of God will never be their Recompence of Reward. But they that walk after this bleſſed unerring Rule of the New Covenant, "Peace be on them, and Mercy, and upon the Iſrael of God," Gal. vi. 15, 16. "who are the Circumciſion made without Hands, in putting off the Body "of the Sins of the Fleſh, by the Circumciſion of Chriſt," Col. iii. 11. even that of "the Heart, in the Spirit, whoſe Praiſe is not of Men, but of God," Rom. ii. 29. And who, therefore, "Worſhip God in the Spirit, and have no Confidence in the

“ Fleſh,” Phil. iii. 3. that is, in Fleſhly Ordinances, or the Obſervation of Figures and Signs compounded of Outward Elements, which repreſent Heavenly Things: Wherefore the Apoſtle exhorted and commanded, Col. ii. 16, 17. “ Let no Man judge you in Meat or in Drink, or in reſpect of an Holy-Day, &c. which are Shadows of Things to come, but the Body is of Chriſt;” that is, Chriſt is the *Subſtance* of all outward Repreſentations, and they that have Chriſt, have the *End* of all thoſe Things: Who, Reader, we labour and pray, may be better known, received and obeyed, by the Profeſſors of his holy Name and Religion. That as he is given of God to be our Prieſt, Prophet, and King, we may all know, feel and enjoy him ſuch in ourſelves, and then the Kingdom of God will be come in us, and his Will done in our Earth, as it is in Heaven: Which God grant, I moſt humbly beſeech him.

For the Concluſion of the Biſhop's Paper, it is either *Repetition* or *Reflection*; the one needs no Anſwer, and the other wants a Defence. However, I will not have it ſaid that I either wave or ſuppreſs it, and therefore without any Reflection I will conſider his: Which ſhould have no weight with my Reader, but againſt him.

He ſays in his 12th paragraph, ‘ He pities us, thinking many of us Harmleſs and Well-meaning, but under the Power of Strong Deluſions.’ And in his 13th Paragraph he gives us his Senſe of the Cauſe thereof, viz. ‘ That we make the Light Within, a Rule of Faith and Practice, Co-Ordinate, if not Superior and Antecedent, to the Holy Scripture.’ To prove which to be our ſentiment, he cites theſe words out of our Goſpel-Truths, where ſpeaking of the Holy Spirit, and the Scriptures, we ſay, “ They are the Double and Agreeing Record of True Religion.” Now if the Light and Spirit *agree* with the Scripture, there is no fear of *contradicting* the Scripture, and ſo we can have nothing to anſwer for on our account of that Expreſſion; for what *agrees* with the Scripture, *eſtabliſhes* it, inſtead of ſlighting or ſuperſeding the Authority of it.

And though we uſed no ſuch words as *Co-ordinate*, much leſs *Superior* and *Antecedent*, (which is the Biſhop's Gloſs, to render our moſt true and inoffenſive expreſſion ſuſpected, and make way to faſten his ſuppoſed *Strong Deluſions* upon us) I will be very frank with him in this matter, That we believe the Scripture to be the Declaration of the *Mind* of the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore not *ſuperior* to the Holy Ghoſt, but credited, confirmed, and expounded *by* the Holy Ghoſt; ſo that without the Illumination of it, the Scripture cannot be underſtood by them that read it. The Grammatical and Critical Senſe of the Words, and Alluſions therein, *may* be underſtood; but the *Inſide* and *Spiritual Signification* of them, is a Riddle to thoſe that are not *ſpiritually inſtructed* therein, though they were ever ſuch Grammarians or Linguiſts.

Again, Chriſt ſays, “ He that loves the Light, brings his Deeds to the Light, to ſee if they are wrought in God,” John iii. 21. which was before the New-Teſtament Scripture was in *being*; and this makes it both *Rule* and *Judge* of the Life and Deeds of Men. What ſays the Biſhop to this? Alſo John xiv. 15, and 16th chapters, Chriſt promiſes, “ *The Spirit* to lead them, *his people*, into all Truth,” and this was not the Scripture, but ſomething at leaſt *Co-ordinate*, if not *Superior* and *Antecedent*, to the Scripture, which is more than we ſaid before. Alſo the Apoſtle Paul tells the Romans, chap. viii. “ That as many as are *led* by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God:” Then the Spirit is to *lead* Believers, or they cannot be the Children of God. And that which leads, *rules*; and that which *rules*, is a *Rule* to them that follow it. And the ſame Apoſtle referred the Galatians, chap. vi. 15, 16. to the Rule of the *New-Creature* to walk by, and that muſt be the *Spirit*, which *begets* the New Creature, viz. “ Chriſt formed in them,” of whom he tells them, chap. iv. 19. He “ travailed in Birth again.” And the beloved diſciple expreſly ſays to the Chriſtians in his Firſt Epiſtle, chap. ii. 20. “ That they had an *Unction* from the Holy One, and they knew all things;” that is, All things they had to believe, know, and practiſe. And verſe 27. he adds, “ But the Anointing which ye have received abideth in you, and ye need not that any Man teach you, but as the ſame Anointing teacheth you of all things, and is Truth.” If the Biſhop will break through all theſe Scriptures, to undervalue the Light and Spirit of Chriſt (for no other Light or Spirit do we aſſert, recommend people to, or contend for) that he might render us guilty of ‘ Strong Deluſions,’ I cannot help it, but muſt be truly ſorry for him. But I beſeech him to have a care that he does not, like the Jews of old, undervalue, and indeed blaſpheme againſt, the Holy Light and Spirit of God, by miſ-calling the Fruits and Effects of its Power, ‘ Srong Deluſions, and Transformations of Satan:’ For God will not hold ſuch guiltleſs, in his great and terrible day of judgment.

And, after all, the beſt and firſt Reformers and Martyrs, as well as Fathers, concur in our aſſertion and teſtimony: As Zuinglius, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Eraſmus too: Alſo our own excellent Martyrs, viz. Lambert, Rogers, Philpot, Bradford, Hooper, Woodman, &c. ‘ That the Double and Agreeing Teſtimony of the Spirit of God Within, and the Scriptures of Truth Without, is the Rule and Judge of Faith, Doctrine and Practice;’ yea, ‘ That the Spi-

'rit is given to Believers, to be the *Rule* and *Judge*, by which they are to underſtand the True Senſe and Meaning of the Scriptures.' Now let the reader judge who gives the trueſt honour to the Scripture, the Biſhop, or the People called Quakers? *They*, that ſay, the Scriptures have a *double* Record, that is, the Evidence of the Spirit of Truth in the hearts of believers, as well as their own: Or the *Biſhop*, who, by his way of treating us, and our Principle, will allow us no other Evidence of their Truth, but *themſelves?* For to ſay, The Evidence of the Spirit of God, with that of the Scripture, make a *double* and *agreeing* Teſtimony, is, with him, 'to undervalue the Scripture,' and the Ground, in his apprehenſion, of our 'Strong Deluſions.' It muſt be my turn to pity the Biſhop, and truly I do it with all my heart, to ſee him ſtrain ſo ſound, as well as inoffenſive an Expreſſion, as that which he makes the Reaſon of our Deluſion, that he might have an occaſion to leſſen our Credit with the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, and eſpecially Proteſtants. Can it diſhonour the Scripture, to aſſert the Evidence of the *Principal* and *Author* of the Scripture, to back the *Authority* of the Scripture? Or doth not *he*, rather, leſſen the Authority of Scripture, that will not allow us *another* Evidence of the Truth of Scripture than its *own*, for fear of *Co-ordinacy*, which was not ſo much as once intended to be inſinuated by us, nor do the Words import any ſuch thing; yet it had been no *ſtrong*, nor *any*, Deluſion at all, to give the Holy Ghoſt the *Preference*. But I ſhall keep to the Terms of the Paper, whatever the Biſhop is pleaſed to do; knowing that whoever concludes an Argument in Terms not in the Queſtion, nor plainly deduceable from the Premiſes, is not a a *fair* Dealer in Controverſy: In which the Biſhop, if he pleaſes, may reaſonably enough think himſelf more than once concerned.

Bleſſed be God, we have known the Power and Efficacy of this Holy Light and Spirit of Chriſt in ourſelves; and being in good meaſure Witneſſes thereof, we do not only ſpeak by Report, but by Experience. We had the *Scriptures*, in the days of our Ignorance, and Wordly-Mindedneſs; but diſregarding the Reproofs and Inſtruction of the *Light* of *Jeſus* in our *Hearts*, we never could come to know the *Power* of thoſe Truths the Scripture *declares of*. But when it pleaſed God, in the riches of his Love, to cauſe his bleſſed Light, that had ſhined *in* Darkneſs, and the Darkneſs comprehended it not, to ſhine *out of* Darkneſs, and give us the Knowledge of Himſelf in the *Face* (or through the *Manifeſtation*) of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, we ſaw and bewailed ourſelves, and, by an unfeigned Sorrow and Repentance, returned, as Penitent Prodigals, towards our Father's Houſe, and in this Turn, we were brought to Die daily to that Love and Satisfaction we once had in the Glory, Pleaſures, Honours, Friendſhips and Diverſions of the World, which now became *burdenſome*, more than ever they were pleaſing to us.

Hence it was, and from no ſiniſter ends or ſelf-righteous conceits, that we became an altered and a diſtinguiſhed People, in our Behaviour, Garb and Converſation; more *retired*, *watchful*, *ſilent*, and *plain*, than formerly; equally avoiding *Luxury* and *Avarice*. I ſay, it was the work of God's Spirit upon our Hearts, who, by his Light, gave us to ſee the juſt difference of things, and to diſtinguiſh between that which pleaſed him, and that which pleaſed him not. And this holy Pattern he gave us in the Light of his beloved Son, which we deſign to follow, as did the holy ancients; and is a full anſwer to the Biſhop's unfriendly queries upon our diſtinguiſhing Behaviour, in his 14th and 15th paragraphs, as if it were not out of Fear towards God, or upon a Conſcientious Bottom, but to ſerve a worldly turn? For he aſks us, '*Is* it not your *main Aim*, *End*, and *Study*, by *pretended* Mortifications, to make yourſelves a Party Conſiderable?' Again, 'Are not to this purpoſe your Different Garb, Speech, Looks and Geſtures, and to make yourſelves Remarkable, rather than out of a Senſe of Duty, or Conſcience of Obligation?' Which, as it is the worſt conſtruction that the moſt irreligious and prophane could make upon our behaviour, ſo I beſeech God to forgive the Biſhop, and make him ſenſible how little ſuch treatment of ſtrict and ſober living advances the common cauſe of Religion, and how much it indulges thoſe, that know no reins or check to their exceſſes, in his own church. But to go no farther than the *Biſhop* and his *Clergy*, pray who diſtinguiſh themſelves more by their *Garb* from other People than *they?* Though I cannot ſay as much of their Behaviour. So, indeed, did the *Chemarims*, or *Black-Coats*, of old, and thoſe that wore *Long Robes* in our Saviour's Time; but, as I take it, they went not without his Cenſure, while I think the Biſhop will find none in Scripture againſt our Plainneſs. But the Biſhop's Pontifical Robes, do, in my Opinion, look much more like *Singularity* and a *Sight* than ours; for our Garb is like other Mens, only freed of their Superfluity. In ſhort, I wiſh him a better underſtanding of the true grounds of our ſtricter conduct, and Where and Who they are that make a *Trade* of Religion; that if he has any ſhot left againſt *mercenary* Religioniſts, he may not miſs the mark next time, but may make it his *main Aim*, *End* and *Study*, to expoſe Hirelings and Hypocrites in their proper colours: And ſome are of opinion he need not go far to find too many of them.

It is ſtrange the Biſhop ſhould be ſo inſenſible of the Advantage he gives me by his *Queries*, and what a wide door he opens to a ſevere Retaliation; but I deſire to be modeſt; and to be *ſilent* upon ſuch advantages, is, I think, to be abundantly ſo.

Howbeit, I muſt take notice of one expreſſion, for it may too ſeriouſly affect us not to be obſerved to him. When he aſks, 'If it be not our main End and Study, 'by pretended Mortifications, to make ourſelves a Party Conſiderable?' He adds, 'And ſuch to which, *for Reaſons of State*, Peculiar Privileges muſt be indulged.' If this were not more than Mockery, I ſhould wave my notice; but calling the Meaning of the Government in queſtion about the *Liberty of Conſcience* we enjoy, he muſt forgive me if I beſtow a few remarks upon that expreſſion. It ſeems, then, our Liberty flows not from the Inclination of the Government to Liberty, leſs from Compaſſion, and leaſt of all from Juſtice and a Chriſtian Principle. Which motives carry with them a proſpect of the Continuance of Liberty, if not for Liberty's Sake. But the Biſhop believes no ſuch thing; and if he would not have us of his mind, he did weakly to tell us ſo. Well, then, we are all of us to take his advertiſement, that our Liberty holds but by ſlender threads, and a *Reaſon of State*, and not of Nature, Right, or Chriſtianity; which certainly is not to beſpeak this *Conſiderable Party* to the Advantage of the Government: And for which I think the Biſhop a very moderate Stateſman, and the Government as little beholden to his *Politicks*, as we are to his *Charity*. However, we will have a better opinion of our Superiors Regard to Liberty, and conclude that their Inclination equals their Diſcretion, and that their Judgment, as well as Prudence, is on that ſide, let the Biſhop ſay what he pleaſes. And though he deſerves it not at my hands, I could almoſt perſuade myſelf to think that he does not begrudge it us, and means not ſo looſly as he writes. But be it as it will, That God, that has upheld us by his free Spirit to this day, through many and great afflictions, we firmly believe will ſuffer nothing to attend us, that ſhall not in the concluſion work for his glory and our good, if we continue ſtedfaſt to the End, in the bleſſed way of righteouſneſs, wherein he has ſo often and ſignally owned and preſerved us; notwithſtanding the violence of open enemies, and the treacherous and reſtleſs endeavours of falſe friends.

His ſixteenth paragraph multiplies Reflection, as before obſerved, and repeats what I have already largely anſwered; particularly, that we own the Chriſtian Faith, which he makes us to wave, ſuppreſs, or at leaſt not to confeſs; and have expreſſed it, even in the Paper he has faulted ſo much of Shortneſs, and that more fully, in all points, than in the Creed commonly called the Athanaſian; except that about the Trinity, which ſeems to me *leſs* plain by that *copious way* taken to explain it.

He alſo ſays, 'We reject all Outward, Poſitive Parts of Worſhip,' which we deny: For we own and uſe Prayer, Preaching, and Praiſing, in the Spirit, *without* which they cannot be owned or joined with; for they cannot be ſo performed to edification by a true Chriſtian Worſhipper; ſince God, who *is* a Spirit, will be *worſhipped* in Spirit, and in Truth, which Chriſt's Spirit muſt enable us to perform: And ſuch worſhippers *only*, God the Father ſeeks to worſhip him: Implying, he regards not *other* worſhippers.

'But, eſpecially,' the Biſhop ſays, 'we reject Baptiſm and the Supper.' We ſay, we do not *reject*, but *diſuſe* the Signs, becauſe we felt the *Inviſible Graces* in our *Souls* they were *Signs* and *Shadows* of; and therefore, not in *Diſreſpect* to the *Signs*, but in *Reverence* to the *Divine Subſtance* they ſhew forth, we diſcontinue their *Uſe* among us. They obtained place in the *Infancy* and *Twilight* of the Church; in her more weak and ceremonious time, directing, as I may ſay, that *Interregnum* between the Law and the Goſpel, before the diſpenſation of the Holy Ghoſt had *fully* obtained place and preheminence in the Church. But of this I have been already very particular.

He grows *warm* in his 17th paragraph, and *Epiſcopal*; for he ſays, 'In a word, I 'again *require you*, as you will anſwer all your *Secret Arts* and *Pretenſions* at Chriſt's 'Tribunal, *that you either Embrace and Profeſs the entire Chriſtian Truth*, in the 'Points wherein I have ſhewn you to be defective; and that you receive the Chriſtian '*Seals* or *Badges*, *Baptiſm* and the *Lord's Supper*; or elſe that you *deſiſt* to lay claim 'to the Name of Chriſtians.'

But firſt I muſt return the Biſhop his *Secret Arts* and *Pretenſions*, in all which he is grievouſly miſtaken. For either I do not underſtand his meaning, or I abhor it. Next, be it known to him, we *wave not*, we *ſuppreſs not*, but heartily embrace and profeſs, before the whole world, all points of Chriſtian Doctrine, according to the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, as I have amply ſignified before upon this ſubject: And where the Biſhop takes leave of the Text, he muſt excuſe me if I leave *him*, to keep company with it. We did not entitle our paper "*All Goſpel-Truths*," but "*Goſpel*-"*Truths*," which extended ſo far as we were taxed with error about thoſe truths: And yet he muſt have but a little Charity that will not allow a Believer and Follower of thoſe Truths to be a Chriſtian. Nor, indeed, has the Biſhop given us the Articles of Faith he ſays we *wave* or *ſuppreſs*, or told us his *own*, or that *One Church*'s Faith he would have us receive, as I have complained already. But that the Biſhop ſhould forbid us ſo much as to lay claim to the Name of *Chriſtians*, unleſs we will practiſe what *he* calls the *Seals* or *Badges* of Chriſtianity (which *divers* Churches in *Chriſtendom* think he *miſuſes*) is very uncharitable and dogmatical. But, beſides what I have ſaid at large in our excuſe and defence in that matter, he produces not one Scripture that calls them either *Seals* or *Badges*. But yet there are other things that *are* ſo repreſented by our bleſſed Saviour and his Apoſtles, which he takes no notice of. As Matt. xvi. 24. where, they that will be reputed Chriſt's Diſciples muſt take up his *Croſs* and follow him. Chriſt's *Croſs* is a Chriſtian's *Badge* and *Seal* of Diſcipleſhip. Again, John xiii. 35. He ſaid to his Diſciples, " By this ſhall all men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye *love* one another." Likewiſe Matt. xxv. 34, 35, 36. The diſtinguiſhing Character of the Laſt Day is not Water-Baptiſm and the Outward Supper, but *Love*, *Mercy* and *Compaſſion*; *Bowels* and *Charity*; not being *aſhamed* or *afraid* of Owning and Helping the Lord's Servants in their Afflictions, viz. " I was an Hungry, and ye gave Me Meat: I was Thirſty, and ye gave Me Drink: I was a Stranger, and ye took Me in: Naked, and ye cloathed Me: I was Sick, and ye viſited me: I was in Priſon, and ye came unto Me." *This* is the Chriſtian *Badge* that will be recognized by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt at the Laſt Day: We have his own Word for it. In all which he is ſo far from mentioning either of the other Badges, that Luke xiii. he brings in the *Unhappy*, that are on his Left-hand, uſing this argument to engage him to receive them into bleſſedneſs, viz. " We have *eaten* and *drank* in thy Preſence, and thou haſt taught in our Streets." A plain inſtance they had the Uſe of ſuch ordinances as the Biſhop reputes Badges of Chriſtianity; but it is as plain that ſuch pleas would not do: For, behold, the Lord Jeſus ſays unto them in the parable, " I know you not, depart from me, ye workers of Iniquity!" I recommend the peruſal of the following verſes to my reader, which confirm my ſenſe of the text: For he ſpoke to an *outſide* people, that counted themſelves the people of God, and were obſervers of *Meats* and *Drinks*, and *Divers Waſhings*: And that which was doctrine and caution then, is doctrine and caution now; for Truth holds the ſame to the end.

I might add, *Holineſs*, for a Characteriſtick, " without which no man ſhall ever ſee the Lord;" and that " neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor Uncircumciſion, but a New Creature," Gal. v. 6. Alſo, the Fruits of the Spirit, chap. v. among which there is not one word about *Water-Baptiſm* or the *Outward Supper*, with many more paſſages that are cloſe and cogent.

His eighteenth and laſt paragraph tells us, ' He will not judge us,' and yet his whole Paper is but one continued Judgment of us: ' But, from *God*,' as he ſays, ' and, as *his* Miniſter, he bids us judge ourſelves.' Firſt, We thank God we are before-hand with the Biſhop, having judged ourſelves, and that by the judgment of God upon us, and ſo have right to judge others according to that judgment. Secondly, We have no proof that the Biſhop ſpeaks from God to us: Nor can I tell how he ſhould, that does not acknowledge the Inſpeaking Word of God in the Soul. Thirdly, For his being God's Miniſter, he has not ſhewn us his Commiſſion yet, and I fear it will not be from Heaven, whenever he does. But if my reader will take the pains of peruſing this very paragraph, he will not only ſee a judging ſpirit, but that the Biſhop holds out abuſing us to the laſt, rendering us as bad as bad can be, viz. ' That we ſubvert the Faith once delivered to the Saints, and equal our Conceits to the Divine Oracles, Uſing and Diſuſing what Parts of God's Inſtituted Worſhip we pleaſe;' adding, ' I will not interpoſe your making *Gain* your Godlineſs.' But, as I have already taken ample notice of this charge, ſo I ſhall ſay no more of his irreligious Slant at our Sincerity than this, That I cannot pretend to tell the Biſhop what Tribe of Men, in Chriſtendom, it is that have long made Gain their Godlineſs, and the Pretence of it their Worldly Inheritance; ſince he has been ſo much more ſenſibly inſtructed in this affair than myſelf: But one thing I am ſure of, that if *Gain*, and not Godlineſs, was our motive to be the People we are, we mightily miſtook our *Way* when we *left* the *Biſhop's*: For *Afflictions*, *Spoils*, *Priſons*, *Baniſhments*, yea, and *Death* itſelf, have attended us, ſince God was pleaſed to manifeſt his Truth to us: And if, under all thoſe calamities that have followed us ſince we were a People, for the ſake of our Unfaſhionable Profeſſion, the Biſhop, or any elſe, is ſo unnatural, as to envy us the bleſſing of God upon our honeſt Induſtry, and to render that which is an Effect of God's Goodneſs, the Reaſon and End of our Religion, God forgive them. I could enlarge upon this Topick, but time would fail, and the diſcourſe ſwell beyond bounds, as indeed it hath already, beyond my expectation; for which I ſhould excuſe myſelf to my reader, but that it was not ſimply from the regard I had to the Biſhop's Sheet, ſince that could not have deſerved this notice from me, but might have been anſwered as conciſely as that was written, had I only conſidered his undertaking and treatment, and not my reader's ſatisfaction, in the better

1698. knowledge of our ſo much miſrepreſented Perſuaſion: Eſpecially in a nation, where of late I had occaſion ſo generally to travel, and the Biſhop's Paper hath been, I ſuppoſe, as generally diſperſed. I owe it, therefore, to my Profeſſion, to myſelf, and to the Country, to vindicate the one, and to expreſs my Chriſtian regard and acknowledgement to the other; having received a more than common civility from the inhabitants in general: To whom I wiſh, as to my own ſoul, the ſaving knowledge of the Truth, as it is in Jeſus: That Chriſtians indeed, and at Heart, they may be, to the Glory of God their Creator, and the eternal Salvation of their Souls, through Jeſus Chriſt, the alone Redeemer; to whom with the Father, by the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, thankſgiving and praiſe, world without end.

7 AP 59

THE

THE ADVICE OF WILLIAM PENN TO HIS CHILDREN,

RELATING TO THEIR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS CONDUCT.

CHAP. I.

My Dear Children,

§. 1. NOT knowing how long it may pleaſe God to continue me amongſt you, 1699. I am willing to embrace this opportunity of leaving you my advice and counſel, with reſpect to your chriſtian and civil capacity and duty in this world: And I both beſeech you and charge you, by the relation you have to me, and the affection I have always ſhewn to you, and indeed received from you, that you lay up the ſame in your hearts, as well as your heads, with a wiſe and religious care.

§. 2. I will begin with that which is the Beginning of all true Wiſdom and Happineſs, the Holy Fear of God.

Children, Fear God: That is to ſay, have an holy awe upon your minds to avoid that which is Evil, and a ſtrict care to embrace and do that which is Good. The Meaſure and Standard of which knowledge and duty, is the Light of Chriſt in your conſciences, by which, as in John iii. 20, 21. you may clearly ſee if your Deeds, aye and your Words and Thoughts too, are wrought in God or not; for they are the deeds of the Mind, and for which you muſt be judged: I ſay, with this Divine Light of Chriſt in your conſciences, you may bring your thoughts, words, and works to judgment in yourſelves, and have a right, true, ſound and unerring ſenſe of your duty towards God and Man. And as you come to obey this bleſſed Light in its holy convictions, it will lead you out of the World's dark and degenerate ways and works, and bring you unto Chriſt's way and life, and to be of the number of his true ſelf-denying followers, to take up your Croſs for his ſake, that bore his for yours; and to become the Children of the Light, putting it on, as your holy armour; by which you may

1699. ſee and reſiſt the fiery darts of Satan's Temptations, and overcome him in all his aſſaults.

§. 3. I would a little explain this Principle to you. It is called *Light*, John i. 9. chap. iii. 19, 20, 21, and chap. viii. 12. Eph. v. 8, 13, 14. 1 Theſ. v. 5. 1 Epiſtle of John i. 5, 6, 7. Rev. xxi. 23. becauſe it gives Man a Sight of his Sin. And it is alſo called the quickening *Spirit*; for ſo HE is called; and the Lord from Heaven, as 1 Cor. xv. 45, 57. who is called, and calls himſelf, the Light of the World, John viii. 12. And why is he called the *Spirit?* Becauſe he gives Man ſpiritual life. And John xvi. 8. Chriſt promiſed to ſend his Spirit to convince the world of their ſins: Wherefore that which convinces you and all people of their ſins, is the Spirit of Chriſt: This is highly prized, Rom viii. as you may read in that great and ſweet chapter, for the children of God are led by it. This reveals the things of God, that appertain to man's ſalvation and happineſs, as 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 12. It is the earneſt God gives his people, 2 Cor. v. 5. It is the great end and benefit and bleſſing of the coming of Chriſt, viz. The ſhining forth of this Light, and pouring forth of this Spirit. Yea, Chriſt is not received by them, that reſiſt his Light and Spirit in their hearts; nor can they have the benefit of his birth, life, death, reſurrection, interceſſion, &c. who rebel againſt the Light. “God ſent his Son to bleſs us, in turning us “from the evil of our ways:” Therefore have a care of Evil, for that turns you away from God; and wherein you have done evil, do ſo no more: But be ye turned, my dear children, from that evil, in thought, as well as in word or deed, or that will turn you from God, your Creator, and Chriſt whom he has given you for your Redeemer; who redeems and ſaves his people from their ſins, Tit. ii. 14. not *in* their ſins, read Acts ii. and Heb. viii. and the Chriſtian Diſpenſation will appear to be that of the Spirit, which ſin quencheth, hardens the heart againſt, and bolts the door upon. This holy divine Principle is called Grace too, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, there you will ſee the nature and office of it, and its bleſſed effects upon thoſe that were taught of it in the primitive days. And why Grace? Becauſe it is God's Love, and not our Deſert, his Good-will, his Kindneſs. “He ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten “Son into the World, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have “everlaſting life,” John iii. 16. And it is this Holy Son, that in John i. 14, 16. is declared to be “full of Grace and Truth,” and that “of *his* Grace we receive Grace “for Grace;” that is, we receive of him, the FULNESS, what Meaſure of Grace we need. And the Lord told Paul in his great trials, when ready to ſtagger about the Sufficiency of the Grace he had received to deliver him, “My Grace is ſufficient for “thee.” 2 Cor. xii. 9. O Children, love the Grace, hearken to this Grace; it will teach you, it will ſanctify you, it will lead you to the reſt and kingdom of God; as it taught the ſaints of old, firſt, what to deny, viz. “To deny ungodlineſs and “worldly luſts;” and then what to do, viz. “To live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly “in this preſent world,” Tit. ii. 11, 12. And he that is full of Grace, is full of Light; and he that is full of Light is the quickening Spirit, that gives a Manifeſtation of his Spirit to every one to profit with, 1 Cor. xii. 7. And he that is the quickening Spirit, is the Truth. “I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life,” ſaid he, to his poor followers, John xiv. 6. “And if the Truth make you free,” ſaid he to the Jews, “then are you free indeed,” John viii. 32, 36. And this Truth ſheds abroad itſelf in man, and begets truth in the inward parts, and makes falſe, rebellious, hypocritical man, a true man to God again. Truth in the inward parts is of great price with the Lord. And why called TRUTH? Becauſe it tells man the truth of his ſpiritual ſtate; it ſhews him his ſtate, deals plainly with him, and ſets his ſins in order before him. So that, my dear children, the Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth are not divers Principles, but divers Words, or Denominations, given to One Eternal POWER and Heavenly PRINCIPLE *in* you, though not *of* you, but of *God*, according to the Manifeſtation or Operation thereof in the ſervants of God of old time; Light, to diſcover and give diſcerning: Spirit, to quicken and enliven: Grace, to wit, the Love of God: Truth, becauſe it tells man the truth of his condition, and redeems him from the errors of his ways: So that as Darkneſs, Death, Sin, and Error, are the ſame; Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, are the ſame.

§. 4. This is that which is come by Chriſt, and a Meaſure of this Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, is given to every Man and Woman to ſee their way to go by. This is that which diſtinguiſhes Friends from all other Societies, as they are found walking in the ſame, which leads out of vain honours, compliments, luſts and pleaſures of the world.

O my dear Children, This is the Pearl of Price; part with all for it, but never part with it for all the world. This is the Goſpel Leaven, to leaven you, that is, ſanctify and ſeaſon you in body, ſoul, and ſpirit, to God your Heavenly Father's uſe and ſervice, and your own laſting comfort. Yea, this is the Divine and Incorruptible Seed of the Kingdom; of which all truly regenerate men and women, Chriſtians of Chriſt's making, are born. Receive it into your hearts, give it room there, let it take deep root in you, and you will be fruitful unto God in every good word and work. As you take heed to it, and the holy enlightnings and motions of it, you will have a perfect diſcerning of the ſpirit of this world, in all its appearances, in yourſelves and others; the motions, temptations and workings of it, as to pride, vanity, covetouſneſs, revenge, uncleanneſs, hypocriſy, and every evil way; you will ſee the world in all its ſhapes and features, and you will be able to judge the world by it, and the ſpirit of the world, in all its appearances: You will ſee, as I have done, that there is much to deny, much to ſuffer, and much to do: And you will ſee that there is no power or virtue, but in the Light, Spirit, Grace and Truth of Chriſt, to carry you through the world to God's glory and your everlaſting peace. Yea, you will ſee what Religion is from above, and what is from below; what is of God's working, and of Man's making and forcing; alſo what Miniſtry is of his Spirit and giving, and what of Man's ſtudying, framing, and impoſing. You will, I ſay, diſcern the riſe, nature, tokens and fruits of the true from the falſe miniſtry, and what Worſhip is ſpiritual, and what carnal; and what Honour is of God, and what that Honour is which is from below, of men, yea, fallen men, that the Jews and the World ſo generally love, and which is ſpoken againſt in John v. 44. You will ſee the vain and evil Communication, that "corrupts good Manners;" the ſnares of much Company and Buſineſs, and eſpecially the danger of the Friendſhip of this preſent evil World. And you will alſo ſee, that the Teſtimony the eternal God hath brought our poor Friends unto, as to Religion, Worſhip, Truth-ſpeaking, Miniſtry, Plainneſs, Simplicity, and Moderation, in Apparel, Furniture, Food, Salutation, as you may read in their writings, from the very beginning, is a true and heavenly teſtimony of his mind, will, work and diſpenſation in this laſt age of the world to mankind, being the revival of true Primitive Chriſtianity: Where your moſt tender father prays that you may be kept, and charges you to watch that you may be preſerved in the faith and practice of that bleſſed teſtimony; and count it no ſmall mercy from God, nor honour to you, that you come of parents that counted nothing too dear or near to part with, nor too great to do or ſuffer, that they might approve themſelves to God, and teſtify their love to his moſt precious Truth in the inward parts, in their generation. And I do alſo charge you, my dear Children, to retain in your remembrance thoſe worthy Antients in the Work of Chriſt, which remained alive to your day and memory, and yet remain to your knowledge; more eſpecially that Man of God, and Prince in Iſrael, the firſt born and begotten of *our* day and age of Truth, and the firſt and the great early Inſtrument of God amongſt us, George Fox: And what you have heard, ſeen and obſerved, of thoſe heavenly worthies, their holy wiſdom, zeal, love, labours and ſufferings, and particular tenderneſs to you, treaſure up for your children after you, and tell them what you have heard, ſeen and known, of the ſervants and work of God, and progreſs thereof, as an holy, exemplary, and edifying tradition unto them. And be ſure that you forſake not the aſſembling yourſelves with God's people, as the manner of ſome was, Heb. x. 25. and is at this day, eſpecially among young people, the children of ſome Friends, whom the love of this preſent evil world hath hurt and cooled in their love to God and his truth. But do you keep cloſe to Meetings, both for Worſhip and Buſineſs of the Church, when of an age and capacity proper for it; and that not out of novelty, formality, or to be ſeen of men, but in pure fear, love and conſcience to God your Creator, as the publick, juſt and avowed teſtimony of your duty and homage to him. In which be exemplary, both by timely coming, and a reverent and ſerious deportment during the aſſembly; in which be not weary, or think the time long till it be over, as ſome did of the Sabbaths of old time; but let your eye be to Him you come to wait upon and ſerve, and do what you do as to Him, and He will be your refreſhment and reward; for you ſhall return with the ſeals and pledges of his love, mercy and bleſſings.

§. 5. Above all things, my dear Children, as to your Communion and Fellowſhip with Friends, be careful to keep the Unity of the Faith in the Bond of Peace. Have a care of Reflectors, Detractors, Backbiters, that undervalue and undermine Brethren behind their backs, or ſlight the good and wholeſome Order of Truth, for the preſerving things quiet, ſweet, and honourable in the Church. Have a care of Novelties, and airy changeable People, the conceited, cenſorious and puffed up; who at laſt have always ſhewn themſelves to be clouds without rain, and wells without water, that will rather diſturb and break the peace and fellowſhip of the Church, where they dwell, than not have their wills and ways take place, I charge you, in the fear of the living God, that you carefully beware of all ſuch: Mark them, as the Apoſtle ſays, Rom. xvi. 17. and have no fellowſhip with them; but to adviſe, exhort, intreat, and finally reprove them, Eph. v. 11. For God is, and will be, with his People in this Holy Diſpenſation we are now under, and which is now amongſt us, unto the End of Days: It ſhall grow and increaſe in gifts, graces, power, and luſtre, for it is the Laſt and Unchangeable one: And bleſſed are your eyes, if they ſee it, and your ears if they hear it, and your hearts if they underſtand it; which I pray that you may, to God's glory and your eternal comfort.

1699. §. 6. Having thus expreſſed myſelf to you, my dear Children, as to the Things of God, his Truth and Kingdom, I refer you to his Light, Grace, Spirit and Truth within you, and the Holy Scriptures of Truth without you, which from my youth I loved to read, and were ever bleſſed to me; and which I charge you to read daily; the OLD TESTAMENT, for Hiſtory chiefly; the PSALMS, for Meditation and Devotion; the PROPHETS, for Comfort and Hope, but eſpecially the NEW TESTAMENT, for Doctrine, Faith and Worſhip: For they were given forth by holy men of God in divers ages, as they were moved of the Holy Spirit; and are the declared and revealed Mind and Will of the Holy God to Mankind under divers Diſpenſations, and they are certainly able to make the Man of God perfect, through Faith, unto ſalvation; being ſuch a true and clear Teſtimony to the Salvation that is of God, through Chriſt, the Second Adam, the Light of the World, the quickening Spirit, who is full of Grace and Truth; whoſe *Light, Grace, Spirit*, and *Truth*, bear witneſs to *them*, in every ſenſible ſoul; as *they* frequently, plainly, and ſolemnly, bear teſtimony to the Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, both in *himſelf*, and in and to his *People*, to their Sanctification, Juſtification, Redemption and Conſolation; and in *all* Men, to their Viſitation, Reproof, and Conviction in their Evil Ways. I ſay, having thus expreſſed myſelf in general, I refer you, my dear Children, to the Light and Spirit of Jeſus, that is *within* you, and to the Scriptures of Truth *without* you, and ſuch other teſtimonies to the One ſame Eternal Truth as have been borne in our day; and ſhall now deſcend to particulars, that you may more directly apply what I have ſaid in general, both as to your religious and civil direction in your pilgrimage upon earth.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. I Will begin here, alſo, with the beginning of Time, the Morning: So ſoon as you wake, retire your mind into a pure Silence from all thoughts and ideas of Worldly things, and in that frame wait upon God, to feel his good Preſence to lift up your hearts to him, and commit your whole ſelf into his bleſſed care and protection. Then riſe, if well, immediately: Being dreſt, read a chapter, or more, in the Scriptures, and afterwards diſpoſe yourſelves for the buſineſs of the day; ever remembering that God is preſent, the Overſeer of all your thoughts, words, and actions; and demean yourſelves, my dear Children, accordingly; and do not you dare to do that in his holy all-ſeeing preſence, which you would be aſhamed, a Man, yea a Child, ſhould ſee you do. And as you have intervals from your lawful occaſions, delight to ſtep Home, within *yourſelves*, I mean, and commune with your own hearts, and be ſtill; and, as Nebuchadnezzar ſaid on another occaſion "*One like the Son of God*," you ſhall find and enjoy, '*with* you and *in* you: A Treaſure the World knows not of, but is the 'Aim, End, and Diadem of the Children of God.' This will bear you up againſt all temptations, and carry you ſweetly and evenly through your day's buſineſs, ſupporting you under diſappointments, and moderating your ſatisfaction in ſucceſs and proſperity. The Evening come, read again the Holy Scripture, and have your Times of Retirement, before you cloſe you eyes, as in the Morning; that ſo the Lord may be the Alpha and Omega of every day of your lives. And if God bleſs you with Families, remember good Joſhua's reſolution, Joſh. xxiv. 15. "But as for me and my "houſe, we will ſerve the Lord."

§. 2. Fear God; ſhew it in deſire, refraining, and doing: Keep the inward watch, keep a clear ſoul and a light heart. Mind an inward *Senſe* upon doing any thing: When you read the Scripture, remark the notableſt places, as your ſpirits are moſt touched and affected, in a Common-place book, with that Senſe, or Opening, which you receive; for they come not by Study, or in the Will of Man, no more than the Scripture did; and they may be loſt by careleſsneſs, and overgrowing thoughts and buſineſſes of this life: So in purſuing any other good or profitable Book: Yet rather meditate, than read much. For the Spirit of a man knows the Things of a man; and with that Spirit, by obſervation of the Tempers and Actions of men you ſee in the world, and looking into your own Spirit and meditating thereupon, you will have a deep and ſtrong judgment of men and things. For from what may be, what ſhould be, and what is moſt probable or likely to be, you can hardly miſs in your judgment of human affairs; and you have a *better* Spirit than your own, in reſerve for a time of need, to paſs the final judgment in important matters.

§. 3. In Converſation, mark well what others ſay or do, and hide your own mind, at leaſt till laſt; and then open it as ſparingly as the matter will let you. A juſt Obſervance and Reflection upon Men and Things, gives Wiſdom; thoſe are the great Books of Learning, ſeldom read. The laborious Bee draws honey from every flower. Be always on your watch, but chiefly in Company; then be ſure to have your wits about you, and your armour on: Speak laſt and little, but to the point. Interrupt none, anticipate none, read Prov. x. 8, 13. "Be quick to hear, ſlow to ſpeak," Prov. xvii. 27. It gives Time to underſtand, and ripens an Anſwer. Affect not Words, but Matter; and chiefly to be pertinent and plain: Trueſt eloquence is plaineſt; and brief Speaking (I mean, Brevity and Clearneſs, to make yourſelves eaſily underſtood by every body, and in as few words as the matter will admit of) is the beſt.

§. 4. Prefer the aged, the virtuous and the knowing; and chuſe thoſe that excel for your company and friendſhip; but deſpiſe not others.

§. 5. Return no anſwer to Anger, unleſs with much Meekneſs, which often turns it away: But rarely make Replies, leſs Rejoinders; for that adds fuel to the fire. It is a wrong time to vindicate yourſelves, the true ear being then never open to hear it. Men are not themſelves, and know not well what ſpirits they are of: Silence to Paſſion, Prejudice and Mockery, is the beſt anſwer, and often conquers what reſiſtance inflames.

§. 6. Learn, and teach your Children, fair Writing, and the moſt uſeful Parts of Mathematicks; and ſome Buſineſs when young, whatever elſe they are taught.

§. 7. Caſt up your Income, and live on Half; if you can, one Third; reſerving the reſt for Caſualties, Charities, Portions.

§. 8. Be plain in Clothes, Furniture and Food, but clean; and then the coarſer the better; the reſt is folly, and a ſnare. Therefore next to Sin, avoid Daintineſs and Choiceneſs about your Perſon and Houſes. For if it be not an Evil in itſelf, it is a Temptation to it; and may be accounted a Neſt for Sin to brood in.

§. 9. Avoid Differences: What are not avoidable, refer; and keep Awards ſtrictly, and without grudgings. Read Prov. xviii. 17, 18. xxv. 8. Matt. v. 38 to 41. 1 Cor. i. 10, to 13. It is good counſel.

§. 10. Be ſure draw your affairs into as narrow a Compaſs as you can, and in Method and Proportion, Time, and other requiſites proper for them.

§. 11. Have very few Acquaintance, and fewer Intimates, but of the beſt in their kind.

§. 12. Keep your own Secrets, and do not covet others: But if truſted, never reveal them, unleſs miſchievous to ſomebody; nor then, before warning to the party to deſiſt and repent. Prov. xi. 13. c. ii. 23. c. xxv. 9, 10.

§. 13. Truſt no man with the main Chance, and avoid to be truſted.

§. 14. Make few Reſolutions, but keep them ſtrictly.

§. 15. Prefer Elders and Strangers on all occaſions: Be rather laſt, than firſt, in Conveniency and Reſpect; but firſt, in all Virtues.

§. 16. Have a care of truſting to After-games, for then there is but one throw for all; and precipices are ill places to build upon. Wiſdom gains time, is before-hand, and teaches to chuſe ſeaſonably and pertinently; therefore ever ſtrike while the iron is hot. But if you loſe an Opportunity, it differs, in this, from a Relapſe; leſs Caution, and more Reſolution and Induſtry, muſt recover it.

§. 17. Above all, remember your Creator; remember yourſelves and your families, when you have them, in the youthful time and fore-part of your life; for good methods and habits obtained then, will make you eaſy and happy the reſt of your days. Every eſtate has its ſnare: Youth and Middle-Age, PLEASURE and AMBITION; Old-Age, AVARICE. Remember, I tell you, that man is a Slave where either prevails. Beware of the pernicious Luſts of the Eye, and the Fleſh, and the Pride of Life, 1 John ii. 15, 16, 17. which are not of the Father, but of the World. Get higher and nobler objects for your immortal part, O my dear Children, and be not tied to things without you; for then you can never have the true and free enjoyment of yourſelves to better things; no more than a Slave in *Algiers* has of his Houſe or Family in *London*. Be free, live at home, in yourſelves I mean, where lie greater treaſures hid than in the *Indies*. The Pomp, Honour, and Luxury of the World, are the Cheats, and the unthinking and inconſiderate are taken by them. But the retired Man is upon higher ground, he ſees and is aware of the trick, contemns the folly, and bemoans the deluded. This very conſideration, doubtleſs, produced thoſe two paſſions in the two greateſt Gentiles of their time, Democritus and Heraclitus, the one laughing, the other weeping, for the Madneſs of the World, to ſee ſo excellent and reaſonable a creature as Man, ſo meanly trifling and ſlaviſhly employed.

§. 18. Chuſe *God*'s Trades before *Mens*. Adam was a Gardener, Cain a Plowman, and Abel a Grazier or Shepherd: Theſe began with the World, and have leaſt of Snare, and moſt of Uſe. When Cain became *Murderer*, as a * witty man ſaid, he turned a Builder of *Cities*, and quitted his *Huſbandry*. Mechanicks, as Handicrafts, are alſo commendable; but they are but a ſecond brood, and younger brothers. If *Grace* employ you not, let *Nature* and *uſeful Arts*; but avoid Curioſity there alſo, for it devours much Time to no Profit. I have ſeen a *Cieling* of a Room, that coſt Half as much as the *Houſe*! a folly, and ſin too.

* Cowley in his Works, on Agriculture.

1699. §. 19. Have but few Books, but let them be well choſen, and well read, whether of religious or civil ſubjects. Shun fantaſtick Opinions: Meaſure both Religion and Learning by Practice; reduce all to that, for that brings a real benefit to you, the reſt is a Thief and a Snare. And, indeed, reading many Books is but a taking off the Mind too much from Meditation. Reading Yourſelves and Nature, in the dealings and conduct of Men, is the trueſt human wiſdom. The Spirit of a Man knows the Things of Man; and more true Knowledge comes by Meditation and juſt Reflection, than by Reading; for much Reading is an Oppreſſion of the Mind, and extinguiſhes the natural Candle; which is the reaſon of ſo many ſenſeleſs Scholars in the world.

§. 20. Do not that which you blame in another. Do not that to another, which you would not another ſhould do to you. But above all, do not that in God's ſight, you would not Man ſhould ſee you do.

§. 21. And that you may order all things profitably, divide your Day; ſuch a ſhare of time for your Retirement and Worſhip of God; ſuch a proportion for your Buſineſs; in which remember to ply that firſt which is firſt to be done; ſo much time for yourſelves, be it for Study, Walking, Viſit, &c. In this be firſt, and let your friends know it, and you will cut off many impertinencies and interruptions, and ſave a treaſure of time to yourſelves, which people moſt unaccountably laviſh away. And to be more exact, (for much lies in this) keep a ſhort journal of your time, though a day require but a line; many advantages flow from it.

§. 22. Keep cloſe to the Meetings of God's People, wait diligently at them, to feel the Heavenly Life in your hearts. Look for that, more than Words in Miniſtry, and you will profit moſt. Above all, look to the Lord; but deſpiſe not Inſtruments, Man or Woman, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, Learned or Unlearned.

§. 23. Avoid diſcontented Perſons, unleſs to inform or reprove them. Abhor Detraction, the ſin of fallen Angels, and the worſt of fallen Men.

§. 24. Excuſe faults in others, own them in yourſelves, and forgive them againſt yourſelves, as you would have your Heavenly Father and Judge forgive you. Read Prov. xvii. 9. and Matt. vi. 14, 15. Chriſt returns and dwells upon that paſſage of his Prayer above all the reſt, Forgiveneſs, the hardeſt leſſon to Man, that of all other creatures moſt needs it.

§. 25. Be natural; love one another; and remember, that to be void of natural affection, is a mark of apoſtacy ſet by the Apoſtle, 2 Tim. iii. 3. Let not Time, I charge you, wear out Nature; it may Kindred, according to Cuſtom, but it is an ill one, therefore follow it not. It is a great fault in families at this day: Have a care of it, and ſhun that unnatural careleſſneſs. Live as near as you can, viſit often, correſpond oftener, and communicate with kind hearts to one another, in proportion to what the Lord gives you; and do not be cloſe, nor hoard up from one another, as if you had no right or claim in one another, and did not deſcend of one moſt tender father and mother.

§. 26. What I write is to yours, as well as you, if God gives you Children. And in caſe a Prodigal ſhould ever appear among them, make not his folly an excuſe to be ſtrange or cloſe, and ſo to expoſe ſuch an one to more evil: But ſhew bowels, as * John did to the young man that fell into ill company, whom with Love he reclaimed, after His example that ſends his Sun and Rain upon All.

* Euſeb. Ecc. Hiſt. Lib. 3. cap. xxiii.

§. 27. Love Silence, even in the Mind; for Thoughts are to that, as Words to the Body, troubleſome: Much Speaking, as much Thinking, ſpends; and in many Thoughts, as well as Words, there is ſin. True Silence is the Reſt of the Mind; and is to the Spirit, what Sleep is to the Body, Nouriſhment and Refreſhment. It is a great Virtue; it covers Folly, keeps Secrets, avoids Diſputes, and prevents Sin. See Job xiii. 5. Prov. x. 19. c. xii. 13. c. xiii. 3. c. xviii. 6, 7. c. xvii. 28.

§. 28. The Wiſdom of Nations lies in their Proverbs, which are brief and pithy: Collect and learn them, they are notable Meaſures and Directions for human Life: You have Much in Little; they ſave Time and Speaking; and, upon occaſion, may be the fulleſt and ſafeſt Anſwers.

§. 29. Never meddle with other folks Buſineſs, and leſs with the Public, unleſs called to the one by the parties concerned (in which move cautiouſly and uprightly) and required to the other by the Lord, in a teſtimony for his Name and Truth; remembering that old, but moſt true and excellent Proverb, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*, 'He lives happily, that lives hiddenly or privately,' for he lives quietly. It is a treaſure to them that have it: Study it, get it, keep it; too many miſs it that might have it: The world knows not the value of it. It doubles Man's Life, by giving him twice the Time to himſelf, that a large Acquaintance, or much Buſineſs, will allow him.

§. 30. Have a care of Reſentment, or taking things amiſs; a natural, ready, and moſt dangerous paſſion: But be apter to remit than reſent; it is more chriſtian and wiſe. For as Softneſs often conquers, where rough Oppoſition fortifies, ſo Reſentment, ſeldom knowing any bounds, makes many times greater faults then it finds:

For ſome people have out-reſented their wrong ſo far, that they made themſelves faultier by it; by which they cancel the debt, through a boundleſs paſſion, overthrow their intereſt and advantage, and become debtor to the offender.

§. 31. Rejoice not at the Calamity of any, though they be your Enemies, Prov. xvii. 5. c. xxiv. 17.

§. 32. Envy none; it is God that maketh rich and poor, great and ſmall, high and low. Pſal. xxxvii. 1. Prov. iii. 31. c. xxiii. 17. c. xxiv. 1. 1 Chron. xxii. 11, 12. Pſal. cvii. 40, 41.

§. 33. Be intreatable. Never aggravate. Never revile or give ill names: It is unmannerly, as well as unchriſtian. Remember Matt. v. 22. who it was ſaid, "He "that calls his brother Fool, is in danger of Hell-fire."

§. 34. Be not moroſe, or conceited: One is rude, the other troubleſome and nauſeous.

§. 35. Avoid Queſtions and Strife: It ſhews a buſy and contentious diſpoſition.

§. 36. Add no credit to a Report upon Conjecture, nor report to the Hurt of any. See Exod. xxiii. 1. Pſal. xv. 3.

§. 37. Beware of Jealouſy, except it be godly; for it devours Love and Friendſhip; it breaks Fellowſhip, and deſtroys the Peace of the Mind. It is a groundleſs and Evil Surmiſe.

§. 38. Be not too Credulous: Read Prov. xiv. 15. Caution is a Medium; I recommend it.

§. 39. Speak not of Religion, neither uſe the Name of God, in a familiar manner.

§. 40. Meddle not with Government; never ſpeak of it; let others ſay or do as they pleaſe. But read ſuch Books of Law as relate to the Office of a Juſtice, a Coroner, Sheriff and Conſtable; alſo, "The Doctor and Student;" Some book of Clerkſhip, and a Treatiſe of Wills, to enable you about your own private buſineſs only, or a poor neighbour's. For it is a charge I leave with you and yours, 'Meddle not 'with the Publick, neither Buſineſs nor Money; but underſtand how to avoid it, and 'defend yourſelves, upon occaſion, againſt it.' For much Knowledge brings ſorrow, and much Doings more. Therefore know God, know yourſelves; love home, know your own buſineſs, and mind it, and you have more time and peace than your neighbours.

§. 41. If you incline to marry, then marry your Inclination rather than your Intereſt: I mean, what you Love, rather than what is Rich. But love for Virtue, Temper, Education, and Perſon, before Wealth, or Quality, and be ſure you are beloved again. In all which be not haſty, but ſerious; lay it before the Lord, proceed in his fear, and be you well adviſed. And when married, according to the Way of God's People, uſed amongſt Friends, out of whom only chuſe, ſtrictly keep covenant: Avoid Occaſion of Miſ-underſtanding, allow for Weakneſſes, and Variety of Conſtitution and Diſpoſition, and take care of ſhewing the leaſt Diſguſt or Miſ-underſtanding to others, eſpecially your Children. Never lie down with any Diſpleaſure in your Minds, but avoid Occaſion of Diſpute and Offence; overlook and cover Failings. Seek the Lord for one another; wait upon him together, morning and evening, in his holy fear, which will renew and confirm your love and covenant: Give way to nothing that would in the leaſt violate it: Uſe all means of true endearment, that you may recommend and pleaſe one another; remembering your Relation and Union is the Figure of Chriſt's to his Church: Therefore let the Authority of Love only bear ſway your whole Life.

§. 42. If God give you Children, love them with Wiſdom, correct them with Affection: Never ſtrike in Paſſion, and ſuit the Correction to their Age as well as Fault. Convince them of their error, before you chaſtize them; and try them, if they ſhew Remorſe, before Severity; never uſe that, but in caſe of Obſtinacy or Impenitency. Puniſh them more by their Underſtandings than the Rod, and ſhew them the folly, ſhame and undutifulneſs of their faults rather with a grieved than an angry countenance, and you will ſooner affect their natures, and with a nobler ſenſe, than a ſervile and rude Chaſtiſement can produce. I know the methods of ſome are ſevere Corrections for Faults, and artificial Praiſes when they do well, and ſometimes Rewards: But this Courſe awakens Paſſions worſe than their Faults; for one begets baſe Fear, if not Hatred; the other, Pride and vain Glory; both which ſhould be avoided in a Religious Education of Youth; for they equally vary from it, and deprave nature. There ſhould be the greateſt care imaginable, what Impreſſions are given to Children: That method which earlieſt awakens their Underſtandings to Love, Duty, Sobriety, juſt and honourable things, is to be preferred. Education is the Stamp Parents give their Children; they paſs for that they breed them, or leſs Value perhaps, all their Days. The world is in nothing more wanting and reproveable, both in precept and example; they do with their Children as with their Souls, put them out at Livery for ſo much a Year. They will truſt their Eſtates or Shops with none but themſelves; but for their Souls and Poſterity, they have leſs ſolicitude. But do you breed your Children yourſelves, I mean as to their Morals, and be their Biſhops and Teachers in the Principles of Converſation: As they are inſtructed, ſo they are likely to be qualified, and your Poſterity by their precepts and examples, which they receive from yours. And were mankind herein more cautious, they would better diſcharge their duty to God and poſterity; and their children would owe them more for their Education than for their Inheritances. Be not unequal in your Love to your Children, at leaſt in the Appearances of it: It is both unjuſt and indiſcreet: It leſſens Love to Parents, and provokes Envy amongſt Children. Let them wear the ſame Clothes, eat of the ſame Diſh, have the ſame Allowance as to Time and Expence. Breed them to ſome Employment, and give all Equal but the Eldeſt; and to the Eldeſt a double portion is very well. Teach them alſo Frugality, and they will not want Subſtance for their Poſterity. A little Beginning, with Induſtry and Thrift, will make an Eſtate; but there is great difference between Saving and Sordid. Be not ſcanty, any more than ſuperfluous; but rather make bold with yourſelves, than be ſtrait to others; therefore let your Charity temper your Frugality and theirs.

What I have writ to you, I have writ to your children, and theirs.

§. 43. Servants you will have, but remember, the fewer the better, and thoſe rather aged than young: You muſt make them ſuch, or diſpoſe of them often. Change is not good; therefore chuſe well, and the rather becauſe of your Children; for Children, thinking they can take more Liberty with Servants than with their Parents, often chuſe the Servants Company, and if they are idle, wanton, ill examples, Children are in great danger of being perverted. Let them, therefore, be Friends, and ſuch as are well recommended: Let them know their Buſineſs, as well as their Wages; and as they do the one, pay them honeſtly the other. Though Servants, yet remember they are Brethren in Chriſt, and that you alſo are but Stewards, and muſt account to God. Wherefore, let your Moderation appear unto them, and that will provoke them to Diligence for Love, rather than Fear, which is the trueſt and beſt motive to ſervice. In ſhort, as you find them, ſo keep, uſe and reward them, or diſmiſs them.

§. 44. Diſtruſt is of the nature of jealouſy, and muſt be warily entertained upon good grounds, or it is injurious to others, and inſtead of ſafe, troubleſome to you. If you truſt little, you will have but little cauſe to diſtruſt. Yet I have often been whiſpered in myſelf of Perſons and Things at firſt Sight and Motion, that hardly ever failed to be true; though by neglecting the Senſe, or ſuffering myſelf to be argued or importuned from it, I have more than once failed of my expectation. Have therefore a moſt tender and nice Regard to thoſe firſt ſudden and unpremeditated Senſations.

§. 45. For your Conduct in your Buſineſs, and in the whole Courſe of your Life, though what I have ſaid to you, and recommended you to, might be ſufficient; yet I will be more particular as to thoſe good and gracious Qualifications I pray God Almighty to ſeaſon and accompliſh you with, to his glory, and your temporal and eternal felicity.

CHAP. III.

§. 1. BE HUMBLE. It becomes a Creature, a depending and borrowed Being, that lives not of itſelf, but breathes in another's Air, with another's Breath, and is accountable for every Moment of Time, and can call nothing its own, but is abſolutely a Tenant at Will of the Great Lord of Heaven and Earth. And of this excellent quality you cannot be wanting, if you dwell in the holy fear of the Omnipreſent and All-ſeeing God: For that will ſhew you your Vileneſs, and his Excellency; your Meanneſs, and his Majeſty; and, withal, the Senſe of his Love to ſuch poor Worms, in the teſtimonies he gives of his daily care, mercy and goodneſs; that you cannot but be abaſed, laid low, and humble. I ſay, the Fear and Love of God begets Humility, and Humility fits you for God and Men. You cannot ſtep well amiſs, if this virtue dwell but richly in you; for then God will teach you. “The Humble he teacheth his Ways,” and they are all pleaſant and peaceable to his Children: Yea, “he giveth Grace to the Humble, but reſiſteth the Proud,” Jam. iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5. “He regardeth the Proud afar off.” Pſal. cxxxviii. 6. “They ſhall not come near him, nor will he hear them in the Day of their Diſtreſs,” Read Prov. xi. 2. c. xv. 33. c. xvi. 18, 19. Humility ſeeks not the laſt Word, nor firſt Place; ſhe offends none, but prefers others, and thinks lowly of herſelf; is not rough or ſelf-conceited, high, loud, or domineering: Bleſſed are they that enjoy her. “Learn of me,” ſaid Chriſt, “for I am meek, and lowly in heart.” He waſhed his Diſciples Feet, John xiii. Indeed himſelf was the greateſt

Pattern of it. “ Humility goes before Honour, “ Prov. xviii. 12. There is nothing ſhines more clearly through Chriſtianity than Humility; of this the Holy Author of it is the greateſt Inſtance. He was humble in his Incarnation; for he that thought it no robbery to be equal with God, humbled himſelf to become a Man; and many ways made himſelf of no Reputation. As firſt, In his Birth, or Deſcent, it was not of the Princes of Judah, but a Virgin of low Degree, the eſpouſed of a Carpenter; and ſo ſhe acknowledges, in her heavenly Anthem, or ejaculation, Luke i. 47, 48, 52. ſpeaking of the great honour God had done her: “ And my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my “ Saviour, for he hath regarded the low Eſtate of his Hand-maiden; he has put down “ the mighty from their Seats, and exalted them of low degree.” Secondly, He was humble in his Life: He kept no Court, but in Deſerts and Mountains, and in Solitary Places; neither was he ſerved in State, his Attendants being of the Mechanick Size. By the Miracles he wrought, we may underſtand the Food he eat, viz. Barley-bread and Fiſh; and it is not to be thought there was any Curioſity in dreſſing them. And we have reaſon to believe his Apparel was as moderate as his Table. Thirdly, He was humble in his Sufferings and Death: He took all Affronts patiently, and in our nature triumphed over Revenge: He was deſpiſed, ſpit upon, buffeted, whipped, and finally crucified between Thieves, as the greateſt Malefactor; yet he never reviled them, but anſwered all in Silence and Submiſſion, pitying, loving, and dying for thoſe, by whom he was ignominiouſly put to death. O Mirrour of Humility! Let your Eyes be continually upon it, that you may ſee yourſelves by it. Indeed his whole Life was one continued great Act of Self-denial: And becauſe he needed it not for himſelf, he muſt needs do it for us; “ thereby leaving us an Example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps,” 1 Pet. ii. 21. And as he was, we ſhould be in this world, according to the beloved diſciple, 1 John ii. 6. So what he did for us, was not to excuſe, but excite, our Humility. For as *he* is like *God*, we muſt be like *him*; and that the froward, the contentious, the revengeful, the ſtriker, the dueller, &c. cannot be ſaid to be of that number, is very evident. And the more to illuſtrate this virtue, I would have you conſider the folly and danger of *Pride*, its oppoſite: For this it was that threw the Angels out of Heaven, Man out of Paradiſe, deſtroyed Cities and Nations, was one of the Sins of Sodom, Ezek. xvi. 49. the Deſtruction of Aſſyria and Iſrael, Iſa. iii. 16. and the Reaſon given by God for his great Vengeance upon Moab and Ammon, Zeph. ii. 9, 10. Beſides, Pride is the vaineſt paſſion that can rule in man, becauſe he has nothing of his *own* to be proud of; and to be proud of *another*'s, ſhews want of wit and honeſty too. He did not only not make himſelf, but is born the nakedeſt and moſt helpleſs of almoſt all creatures. Nor can he add to his days or ſtature, or ſo much as make one hair of his head white or black. He is ſo abſolutely in the power of another, that, as I have often ſaid, he is at beſt but a tenant at will of the great Lord of all, holding life, health, ſubſtance, and every thing at his ſovereign diſpoſal; and the more man enjoys, the leſs reaſon he has to be proud, becauſe he is the more indebted, and engaged to thankfulneſs and humility.

Wherefore avoid Pride, as you would avoid the Devil; remembering you muſt die, and conſequently thoſe things muſt die with you, that could be any Temptation to Pride; and that there is a Judgment follows, at which you muſt give an account, both for what you have enjoyed and done.

§. 2. From Humility ſprings MEEKNESS. Of all the rare qualities of wiſdom, learning, valour, &c. with which Moſes was endued, he was denominated by his Meekneſs: This gave the reſt a luſtre they muſt otherwiſe have wanted. The difference is not great between theſe excellent graces; yet the Scripture obſerves ſome. “ God will teach the Humble his Way, and guide the Meek in Judgment.” It ſeems to be Humility perfectly digeſted, and from a Virtue become a Nature. A meek man is one that is not eaſily provoked, yet eaſily grieved; not peeviſh or teſty, but ſoft, gentle, and inoffenſive. O bleſſed will you be, my dear Children, if this grace adorn you! There are divers great and precious promiſes to the Meek in Scripture. “ That God will clothe the meek with Salvation;” and “ bleſſed are they, for they “ ſhall inherit the earth,” Pſal. xxxvii. 11. Mat. v. 5. Chriſt preſſes it in his own example, “ Learn of me, for I am Meek,” &c. Mat. xi. 29. And requires his to become as little Children, in order to ſalvation, Mat. xviii. 3. And a meek and quiet ſpirit is of great price with the Lord, 1 Pet. iii. 4. It is a fruit of the Spirit, Gal. v. 22, 23. exhorted to, Eph. iv. 2. Col. iii. 12. Tit. iii. 2. and many places more to the ſame effect.

§. 3. PATIENCE, is an effect of a meek ſpirit, and flows from it: It is a bearing and ſuffering diſpoſition; not cholerick, or ſoon moved to wrath, or vindictive; but ready to hear, and endure too, rather than be ſwift and haſty in judgment or action. Job is as much famed for this, as was Moſes for the other virtue: Without it there is no running the Chriſtian Race, or obtaining the heavenly Crown; without it there can be no Experience of the Work of God, Rom. v. 3, 4, 5. “ For *Patience* worketh,” ſaith the Apoſtle, “ *Experience;*” nor Hope of an eternal Recompence, for *Experience* worketh that *Hope*. Therefore, ſays James, “ Let Patience have its perfect Work,” James i. 4. It has made the Saints Excellency; “ Here is the Patience of the Saints,” Rev. xiii. 10. It is joined with the Kingdom of Chriſt, Rev. i. 9. read Luke xxi. 19. “ In Patience poſſeſs your Souls.” Rom. xii. 12. ch. xv. 4. 2 Cor. vi. 4. 1 Theſ. v. 14. “ Be patient towards all men,” Tit. ii. 2. Heb. vi. 12. ch. x. 36. Which ſhews the excellency and neceſſity of Patience, as that does the true Dignity of a Man. It is wiſe, and will give you great advantage over thoſe you converſe with, on all accounts. For Paſſion blinds Mens Eyes, and betrays Mens Weakneſs; Patience ſees the advantage, and improves it. Patience enquires, deliberates, and brings to a mature judgment: Through your Civil, as well as Chriſtian Courſe, you cannot act wiſely and ſafely without it; therefore I recommend this bleſſed virtue to you.

§. 4. Shew MERCY, whenever it is in your power; that is, forgive, pity, and help, for ſo it ſignifies. Mercy is one of the Attributes of God, Gen. xix. 19. Exod. xx. 6. Pſal. lxxxvi. 15. Jer. iii. 12. It is exalted in ſcripture above all his Works, and is a noble part of his Image in Man. God hath recommended it, Hoſ. xii. 6. “ Keep Mercy and Judgment, and wait on the Lord.” God hath ſhewn it to Man, and made it his Duty, Mic. vi. 8. “ He hath ſhewed thee, O Man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, and to love Mercy, and to walk humbly,” or to humble thyſelf to walk, “ with thy God:” A ſhort but ample expreſſion of God's Love, and Man's Duty; happy are you if you mind it; in which you ſee Mercy is one of the nobleſt virtues. Chriſt has a bleſſing for them that have it, “ Bleſſed are the Merciful, (Matt. v.) for they ſhall findMercy;” a ſtrong motive indeed. In Luke vi. 35, 36. he commands it. “ Be you merciful, as your Father is merciful.” He bids the Jews, that were ſo over-righteous, but ſo very unmerciful, learn what this meaneth; “ I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice,” Matt. ix. 13. He hit them in the eye. And in his Parable of the Lord and his Servants, he ſhews what will be the End of the unmerciful Steward, Matt. xviii. 34, 35. that having been forgiven much by his Maſter, would not forgive a little to his Fellow-Servant. Mercy is a great Part of God's Law, Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. It is a material Part of God's true Faſt, Iſa. lviii. 6, 7. It is a main Part of God's Covenant, Jer. xxxi. 34. Heb. viii. 12. And the Reaſon and Rule of the laſt Judgment, Matt. xxv. 31. to the End: Pray read it. It is a Part of the undefiled Religion, James i. 27. c. iii. 17. Read Prov. xiv. 21, 22. But the Merciful man's Mercy reaches farther, even to his Beaſt; then ſurely to Man, his Fellow-creature, he ſhall not want it. Wherefore, I charge you, oppreſs nobody, Man nor Beaſt. Take no advantage upon the unhappy; pity the afflicted; make their Caſe your own, and that of *their* Wives and poor innocent Children the Condition of *yours*, and you cannot want Sympathy, Bowels, Forgiveneſs, nor a Diſpoſition to help and ſuccour them to your Ability. Remember it is the way for you to be forgiven, and helped in time of trial. Read the Lord's Prayer, Luke xi. Remember the nature and goodneſs of Joſeph to his Brethren; follow the example of the Good Samaritan, and let Edom's Unkindneſs to Jacob's Stock, Obad. 10--16. and the Heathen's to Iſrael, Zach. i. 21. c. ii. 8, 9. be a Warning to you. Read alſo, Prov. xxv. 21, 22. Rom. xii. 19, 20.

§. 5. CHARITY is a near neighbour to Mercy. It is generally taken to conſiſt in this, ‘ Not to be Cenſorious, and to relieve the Poor.’ For the firſt, Remember you muſt be judged, Mat. vii. 1. And for the laſt, Remember you are but Stewards. “ Judge not, therefore, leſt you be judged.” Be clear yourſelves, before you fling the ſtone. Get the beam out of your own eye; it is humbling doctrine, but ſafe. Judge, therefore, at your own peril: See it be righteous judgment, as you will anſwer it to the great Judge. This part of Charity alſo excludes Whiſpering, Backbiting, Tale-bearing, Evil-ſurmiſing, moſt pernicious follies and evils, of which beware. Read 1 Cor. xiii. For the other part of Charity, relieving the Poor, it is a Debt you owe to God: You have all you have or may enjoy, with the Rent-charge upon it. The ſaying is, ‘ He who gives to the Poor, lends to the Lord:’ But it may be ſaid, not improperly, ‘ The Lord lends to *us* to give to the *Poor*:’ They are, at leaſt, Partners by Providence with you, and have a Right you muſt not defraud them of. You have this privilege, indeed, When, What, and to Whom; and yet, if you heed your Guide, and obſerve the Object, you will have a rule for that too.

I recommend little Children, Widows, infirm and aged Perſons, chiefly to you: Spare ſomething out of your own Belly, rather than let theirs go pinched. Avoid that great ſin of needleſs Expence on your Perſons and on your Houſes, while the Poor are hungry and naked. My bowels have often been moved, to ſee very aged and infirm People, but eſpecially poor helpleſs Children, lie all Night, in bitter Weather, at the Threſholds of Doors, in the open Streets, for want of better Lodging. I have made this reflection, ‘ If *you* were ſo expoſed, how hard would it be to indure?’ The difference between *our* Condition and *theirs*, has drawn from me humble Thanks to God, and great Compaſſion, and ſome ſupply, to thoſe poor Creatures. Once more, be good to the Poor: What do I ſay? Be juſt to *them*, and you will be good to *yourſelves*: Think it your Duty, and do it religiouſly. Let the moving paſſage, Mat. xxv. 35, to the End, live in your minds: “ I was *an hungry*, and *thirſty*, and *naked*, *ſick*, and in “ *priſon*, and you *adminiſtered* unto me,” and the Bleſſing that followed: Alſo what he ſaid to another ſort, “ I was *an hungry*, and *thirſty*, and *naked*, and *ſick*, and in “ *priſon*, and you admiſtered *not* unto me!” for a dreadful ſentence follows to the Hard-hearted World. “ Woe be to them that take the Poor's Pledge,” Ezek. xviii. 12, 13. or eat up the Poor's *Right*. O devour not *their* Part! leſs lay it out in *Vanity*, or lays it up in *Bags*, for it will curſe the *Reſt*. Hear what the Pſalmiſt ſays, Pſal. xli. “ Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the Poor, the Lord will deliver him in Time of “ Trouble: The Lord will preſerve and keep him alive, and he ſhall be bleſſed upon “ the Earth: And thou wilt not deliver him into the Will of his Enemies. The Lord “ will ſtrengthen him upon the Bed of Languiſhing: Thou wilt make all his Bed in “ his Sickneſs.” This is the Reward of being faithful Stewards and Treaſurers for the Poor of the Earth. Have a care of Excuſes; they are, I know, ready at hand: But read Prov. iii. 27, 28. “ With-hold not Good from them, to whom it is due, when “ it is in the Power of thine Hand to do it. Say not unto thy Neighbour, Go, and “ come again, and To-morrow I will give, when thou haſt it by thee.” Alſo bear in mind Chriſt's doctrine, Mat. v. 42. “ Give to him that aſketh thee, and from him “ that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away.” But above all, remember the poor woman, that gave her Mite; which Chriſt preferred above all, becauſe ſhe gave all, but it was to God's Treaſury, Mark xii. 42, 43, 44.

§. 6. LIBERALITY, or *Bounty*, is a noble quality in Man, entertained of few, yet praiſed of all; but the Covetous diſlike it, becauſe it reproaches their Sordidneſs. In this ſhe differs from *Charity*, that ſhe has ſometimes *other* Objects, and exceeds in Proportion. For ſhe will caſt her eye on thoſe that do *not* abſolutely *want*, as well as thoſe that *do*; and always outdoes Neceſſities and Services. She finds out Virtue in a low Degree, and exalts it. She eaſes their Burden that labour hard to live: Many kind and generous ſpells ſuch find at her hand, that do not quite want, whom ſhe thinks worthy. The Decayed are ſure to hear of her: She takes one child, and puts out another, to lighten the loads of over-charged Parents; more, to the Fatherleſs. She ſhews the Value of Services, in her Rewards; and is never Debtor to Kindneſſes, but will be Creditor on all Accounts. Where another gives Six-pence, the Liberal Man gives his Shilling; and returns double the Tokens he receives. But Liberality keeps Temper too; ſhe is not extravagant, any more than ſhe is ſordid; for ſhe hates Niggards Feaſts, as much as Niggards Faſts; and as ſhe is free, and not ſtarched, ſo ſhe is plentiful, but not ſuperfluous and extravagant. You will hear of her in all Hiſtories, eſpecially in Scripture, the Wiſeſt as well as Beſt of Books: Her Excellency and her Reward are there. She is commanded and commended, Deut. xv. 3, 4, 7, 8. and Pſal. xxxvii. 21, 26. “ The Righteous ſheweth Mercy, and giveth; and the good Man is merciful, and ever lendeth. He ſhews Favour, and lendeth, and diſperſeth abroad.” Pſal. cxii. 5. 9. “ There is that ſcattereth, and yet increaſeth; and there is that with-holdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to Poverty: The liberal Soul ſhall be fat,” Prov. xi. 24, 25. “ The bountiful Eye ſhall be bleſſed:” Prov. xxii. 9. The Churl, and Liberal Man, are deſcribed, and a promiſe to the latter, that his Liberality ſhall uphold him, Iſa. xxxii. 78. Chriſt makes it a Part of his Religion, and the Way to be the Children of the Higheſt (read Luke vi. 34, 35.) to lend and not receive again, and this to Enemies, as well as Friends; yea, to the Unthankful, and to the Evil; no Exception made, no Excuſe admitted. The apoſtle Paul, 2 Cor. ix. 5, 10. enjoins it, threatens the Strait-handed, and promiſes the Open-hearted a liberal reward.

Whereſoever, therefore, my dear Children, Liberality is required of you, God enabling of you, ſow not ſparingly nor grudgingly, but with a chearful mind, and you ſhall not go without your Reward; though that ought not to be your Motive. But avoid Oſtentation, for that is uſing Virtue to Vanity, which will run you to Profuſeneſs, and that to Want; which begets Greedineſs, and that Avarice, the contrary extreme; as men may go Weſtward till they come Eaſt, and travel till they and thoſe they left behind them, ſtand Antipodes, up and down.

§. 7. JUSTICE, or *Righteouſneſs*, is another Attribute of God, Deut. xxxii. 4. Pſal. ix. 7, 8, v. 8. Dan. ix. 7. Of large extent in the Life and Duty of Man. Be juſt, therefore, in all things, to all: To God, as your Creator; render to him that which is his, your Hearts; for that acknowledgment he has reſerved to himſelf, by which only you are intitled to the comforts of this and a better life. And if he has your Hearts, you have him for your Treaſure, and with him all things requiſite to your Felicity. Render alſo to Cæſar that which is his, lawful Subjection; not for Fear only,

1699. but Conſcience ſake. To Parents, a filial Love and Obedience. To one another, Natural Affection. To all People, in doing as you would be done by. Hurt no Man's Name or Perſon. Covet no Man's Property in any ſort. Conſider well of David's Tenderneſs to Saul, when he ſought his Life, to excite your Duty; and Ahab's unjuſt Covetouſneſs, and Murder of Naboth, to provoke your abhorrence of Injuſtice. David, though anointed King, took no advantages; "he believed, and therefore did not make "haſte," but left it to God, to conclude Saul's reign, for he would not haſten it. A right Method, and a good End, my dear Children; God has ſhewn it you, and requires it of you.

Remember the Tenth Commandment: It was God gave it, and that will judge you by it. It comprehends Reſtitution, as well as Acquiſition, and eſpecially the poor man's Wages, Lev. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. Jer. xxii. 13. Amos v. 11. Mal. iii. 5. Samuel is a great and good example of Righteouſneſs, 1 Sam. xii. 3. He challenged the whole Houſe of Iſrael, whom he had Oppreſſed or Defrauded? The like did the Apoſtle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. vii. 2. He exhorted the Chriſtians to be careful that they did not defraud, 1 Theſ. iv. 6. for this reaſon, "that God was "the Avenger of the Injured." But as bad as it was, there muſt be no going to Law amongſt Chriſtians, 1 Cor. vi. 7. To your utmoſt power, therefore, owe no one any thing but Love, and that in Prudence, as well as Righteouſneſs: For Juſtice gives you Reputation, and adds a Bleſſing to your Subſtance: It is the beſt Security you can have for it.

I will cloſe this head, with a few ſcriptures to each branch. To your Superiors: "Submit yourſelves to every Ordinance of Man, for the *Lord*'s ſake:" 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Obey thoſe that have Rule over you." Heb. xiii. 17. "Speak not evil of Dig"nities." Jude viii. 2 Pet. ii. 10. "My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and "meddle not with them that are given to change." Prov. xxiv. 21. To your Parents; "Honour your Father and your Mother, that your Days may be long in the Land which "the Lord your God ſhall give you." Exod. xx. 12. "Children, obey your Pa"rents, it is the Firſt Command with *Promiſe*." Epheſ. vi. 1, 2. Great Judgments follow thoſe, that diſobey this Law, and defraud their Parents of their Due. "Whoſo robbeth his Father or his Mother, and ſaith, It is no Tranſgreſſion, the "ſame is the Companion of a Deſtroyer," Prov. xxviii. 24. Or ſuch would *deſtroy* their Parents, if they could. Is is charged by the Prophet Ezekiel upon Jeruſalem, as a Mark of her wicked State: "In thee have thy Princes ſet lightly by Father and "Mother, oppreſſed Strangers, and vexed Fatherleſs and Widows." Ezek. xxii. 6. 7. To thy Neighbour: Hear what God's ſervants taught. "To do Juſtice and Judg"ment, is more acceptable to the Lord, than Sacrifice." Prov. xxi. 3. "Divers "Weights and Meaſures are alike Abomination unto the Lord." Levit. xix. 36. Deut. xxv. 13. to xvi. incluſive. Prov. xi. 1. c. xx. 10, 23. Read Prov. xxii. 16, 22, 23. c. xxiii. 10, 11. Peruſe the 6th of Micah; alſo Zech. viii. 16, 17. And eſpecially the xv. Pſal. as a ſhort, but full, Meaſure of Life, to give Acceptance with God.

I have ſaid but little to you of diſtributing Juſtice, or being juſt in Power or Government; for I ſhould deſire you may never be concerned therein, unleſs it were upon your own Principles; and then the leſs the better, unleſs God require it from you. But if it ever be your Lot, Know no Man after the Fleſh; know neither Rich nor Poor, Great nor Small, nor Kindred, nor Stranger, but the *Cauſe*, according to your Underſtanding and Conſcience, and that upon deliberate Enquiry and Information. Read Exod. xxiii. from 1 to 10. Deut. i. 16, 17. c. xvi. 19, 20. c. xxiv. 17. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. Jer. xxii. 3, 4. Prov. xxiv. 23. Lam. iii. 35, 36. Hoſ. xii. 6. Amos viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Zeph. ii. 3. c. iii. 1, 3. Zech. vii. 9. 10. Jer. v. 4, 5, 6. c. viii. 6, 7. Which ſhew both God's Commands and Complaints, and Man's Duty in Authority; which, as I ſaid before, wave induſtriouſly at all times; for Privacy is freed from the clamour, danger, incumbrance and temptation, that attend Stations in Government: Never meddle with it, but for *God's* ſake.

§. 8. INTEGRITY, is a great and commendable virtue. A Man of Integrity, is a *true* Man, a *bold* Man, and a *ſteady* Man; he is to be truſted and relied upon. No Bribes can corrupt him; no Fear daunt him, his Word is *ſlow* in coming, but *ſure*. He ſhines brighteſt in the Fire, and his Friend hears of him moſt, when he moſt *needs* him. His Courage grows with Danger, and conquers Oppoſition by Conſtancy. As he cannot be flattered or frighted into that he diſlikes, ſo he hates Flattery and Temporizing in others. He runs with Truth, and not with the Times; with Right, and not with Might. His Rule is ſtraight; ſoon *ſeen*, but ſeldom *followed*: It hath done great things. It was *Integrity* preferred Abel's Offering, tranſlated Enoch, ſaved Noah, raiſed Abraham to be God's Friend, and Father of a great Nation, reſcued Lot out of Sodom, bleſſed and increaſed Jacob, kept and exalted Joſeph, upheld and reſtored Job, honoured Samuel before Iſrael, crowned David over all difficulties, and gave Solomon peace and glory, while he kept it: It was this preſerved Mordecai and his People, and ſo ſignally defended Daniel among the Lions, and the Children in the Flames, that it drew from the greateſt King upon Earth, and an *Heathen* too, a moſt Pathetical Confeſſion to the *Power* and *Wiſdom* of the *God* that ſaved them, and which they ſerved. Thus is the Scripture fulfilled, "The Integrity of the Upright ſhall guide them." Prov. xi. 3. O my dear Children! fear, love, and obey this *Great*, *Holy*, and *Unchangeble God*, and you ſhall be happily guided, and preſerved through your Pilgrimage to Eternal Glory.

§. 9. GRATITUDE, or *Thankfulneſs*, is another virtue of great luſtre, and ſo eſteemed with God, and all good Men: It is an owning of Benefits received, to their honour and ſervice that confer them. It is, indeed, a noble ſort of Juſtice, and might, in a ſenſe, be referred as a Branch to that Head; with this difference though, 'That 'ſince Benefits exceed Juſtice, the tye is greater to be grateful, than to be juſt;' and conſequently there is ſomething baſer, and more reproachful, in *Ingratitude* than *Injuſtice*. So that though you are not obliged, by legal bonds or judgments, to Reſtitution with due Intereſt, your Virtue, Honour, and Humanity, are naturally Pledges for your Thankfulneſs: And by how much the leſs you are under external tyes, eſteem your inward tyes ſo much the ſtronger. Thoſe that can break them, would know no bounds: For make it a rule to you, the Ungrateful would be Unjuſt too, but for fear of the Law. Always own, therefore, the benefits you receive; and then, to chuſe, when they may moſt honour or ſerve thoſe that conferred them. Some have lived to need the favours they have done; and ſhould they be put to aſk, where they ought to be invited? No matter if they have nothing to ſhew for it; they ſhew enough, when they ſhew Themſelves, to thoſe they have obliged: And ſuch ſee enough to induce their gratitude, when they ſee their Benefactors in adverſity; the leſs Law, the more Grace and the ſtronger Tye. It is an Evangelical Virtue, and works as Faith does, only by *Love*: In this it exactly reſembles a Chriſtian State; we are not under the Law, but under Grace, and it is by Grace, and not by Merit, that we are ſaved. But are our obligations the leſs to God, that he heaps his favours ſo undeſervedly upon us? Surely no. It is the like here; that which we receive is not owed, or compelled, but freely given; ſo no Tye, but Choice, a *voluntary* Goodneſs without Bargain or Condition: But has this therefore no Security? Yes, certainly, the greateſt; a Judgment writ and acknowledged in the Mind: He is his to the *Altar*, with a *good Conſcience*: But how long? As long as he lives. The characters of Gratitude, like thoſe of Friendſhip, are only defaced by death, elſe indelible. "A Friend loveth at "all Times," ſays Solomon, Prov. xvii. 17. c. xxvii. 10. "And thine own Friend, "and thy Father's Friend, forſake not." It is *Injuſtice*, which makes Gratitude a *Precept*. There are three ſorts of men that can hardly be grateful: The Fearful Man, for in danger he loſes his Heart, with which he ſhould help his Friend: The Proud Man, for he takes that virtue for a Reproach: He that unwillingly remembers he owes any thing to God, will not readily remember he is beholden to Man. Hiſtory lays it to the charge of ſome of this ſort of great Men, that, uneaſy to ſee the Authors of their Greatneſs, have not been quiet, till they have accompliſhed the Ruin of thoſe that raiſed them. Laſtly, the Covetous Man, is as ill at it, as the other two; his Gold has ſpoiled his Memory, and will not let him dare be grateful, though perhaps he owes the beſt part, at leaſt the beginning of it, to another's favour. As there is nothing more unworthy in a man, ſo nothing in man ſo frequently reproached in Scripture. How often does God put the Jews in mind of their forgetfulneſs and unthankfulneſs for the mercies and favours they received from him, read Deut. xxxii. 15. "Jeſurun waxed fat, and kicked againſt God, grew unmindful, *forgot* and *for-* "*ſook* his Rock, that had done mighty things for him." Thus Moſes, Deut. xxxi. 16, 17. Alſo Judg. x, 11, 12, 13. and 1 Sam. viii. 8. David likewiſe, in his lxxviii, cv, cvi. Pſalms, gives an hiſtory of God's Love to Iſrael, and their Ingratitude. So Iſa. xvii. 1 to 11. Likewiſe Jer. ii. 31, 32. c. v. 7, to 20. c. xv. 6. c. xvi. 10, 11, 12, 20, 21. c. xviii. 15. Hoſ. viii. 9. It is a mark of apoſtacy from Chriſtianity, by the Apoſtle, 2 Tim. iii. 2.

§. 10. DILIGENCE, is another virtue, uſeful and laudable among men: It is a diſcrete and underſtanding Application of one's ſelf to Buſineſs; and avoids the extremes of Idleneſs and Drudgery. It gives great advantages to men: It loſes no time, it conquers difficulties, recovers diſappointments, gives diſpatch, ſupplies want of parts; and is that to them, which a Pond is to a Spring; though it has no Water of itſelf, it will keep what it gets, and is never dry. Though that has the Heels, this has the Wind; and often wins the Prize. Nor does it only concern Handycrafts and bodily affairs; the Mind is alſo engaged, and grows foul, ruſty, and diſtempered without it. It belongs to you, throughout your whole Man: Be no more ſauntering in your Minds than in your Bodies. And if you would have the full benefit of this virtue, do not baulk it by a confuſed mind. Shun Diverſions; think only of the preſent Buſineſs, till that be done. Be buſy to purpoſe; for a buſy Man, and a Man of Buſineſs, are two different things. Lay your matters right, and Diligence ſucceeds them; elſe pains are loſt. How laborious are ſome to no purpoſe? Conſider your End well, ſuit your Means to it, and then diligently employ them, and you arrive where you would be, with God's bleſſing. Solomon praiſes Diligence very highly. Firſt, It is the Way to Wealth: “ The diligent hand makes rich,” Prov. x. 4. “ The ſoul of “ the diligent ſhall be made fat,” ch. xiii. 4. There is a Promiſe to it, and one of another ſort to the Sluggard, ch. xxiii. 21. Secondly, It prefers Men, ver. 29. “ Seeſt “ thou a man diligent in his buſineſs, he ſhall ſtand before Kings.” Thirdly, It preſerves an Eſtate: “ Be thou diligent to know the State of thy Flocks, and look “ well to thy Herd; for Riches are not for ever,” ch. xxvii. 23, 24. There is no living upon the Principal; you muſt be diligent to preſerve what you have, whether it be Acquiſition or Inheritance; elſe it will conſume. In ſhort, the wiſe man adviſes, “ Whatſoever thy hand finds to do, do it with thy might.” Eccl. ix. 10. As it mends a temporal ſtate, no ſpiritual one can be got or kept without it. Moſes earneſtly preſſes it upon the Iſraelites, Deut. iv. 9. and 6. 7. The Apoſtle Paul commends it in the Corinthians, and Titus to them for that reaſon, 2 Cor. viii. 7, 22. So he does Timothy to the Philippians on the ſame account, and urges them to work out their ſalvation, Phil. ii. 12, 20, 21. Peter alſo exhorts the churches to that purpoſe: “ Whefore the rather, brethren,” ſays he, “ give Diligence to make your “ Calling and Election ſure: for if you do theſe things you ſhall never fail,” 2 Pet. i. 10. and in ch. iii. 13, 14. “ Wherefore beloved, ſeeing that you look for ſuch “ things,” (the End of the World, and laſt Judgment) “ be diligent, that you may “ be found of him in peace, without ſpot, and blameleſs.” Thus Diligence is an approved virtue: But remember, that it is a reaſonable purſuit or execution of honeſt purpoſes, and not an overcharging or oppreſſive proſecution, to Mind or Body, of moſt lawful enterprizes. Abuſe it not, therefore, to Ambition or Avarice. Let Neceſſity, Charity, and Conveniency govern it, and it will be well employed, and you may expect proſperous returns.

§. 11. FRUGALITY is a virtue too, and not of little uſe in life; the better way to be rich, for it has leſs toil and temptation. It is proverbial, “ A Penny ſaved is a “ Penny got:” It has a ſignificant moral; for this way of getting is more in your own power and leſs ſubject to hazard, as well as ſnares, free of envy, void of ſuits, and is before-hand with calamities. For many get, that cannot keep; and for want of Frugality, ſpend what they get, and ſo come to want what they have ſpent. But have a care of the Extreme: Want not with Abundance, for that is Avarice, even to Sordidneſs: It is fit you conſider Children, Age, and Caſualties; but never pretend thoſe things, to palliate and gratify Covetouſneſs. As I would have you liberal, but not prodigal; and diligent, but not drudging; ſo I would have you frugal, but not ſordid. If you can, lay up one Half of your Income for thoſe Uſes; in which let Charity have at leaſt the ſecond conſideration; but not Judas's, for that was in the wrong place.

§. 12. TEMPERANCE I moſt earneſtly recommend to you, throughout the whole courſe of your life: It is numbered amongſt “ the Fruits of the Spirit.” Gal. xxii. 23, and is a great and requiſite virtue. Properly and ſtrictly ſpeaking, it refers to Diet; but in general may be conſidered as having relation to all the Affections and Practices of Men. I will therefore begin with it in regard to Food, the ſenſe in which it is cuſtomarily taken. Eat to Live, and not Live to Eat, for that is below a Beaſt. Avoid Curioſities and Provocations; let your chiefeſt ſauce be a good Stomach, which Temperance will help to get you. You cannot be too plain in your Diet, ſo you are clean; nor too ſparing, ſo you have enough for Nature. For that which keeps the Body low, makes the Spirit clear; as Silence makes it ſtrong. It conduces to good Digeſtion, that to good Reſt, and that to a firm Conſtitution. Much leſs *feaſt* any, except the Poor; as Chriſt taught, Luke xiv. 12, 13. For Entertainments are rarely without Sin: But receive Strangers readily. As in Diet, ſo in Apparel, obſerve, I charge you, an exemplary Plainneſs. Chuſe your Clothes for their Uſefulneſs, not the Faſhion; and for Covering, and not Finery, or to pleaſe a vain Mind, in yourſelves or others: They are *fallen* ſouls, that think Clothes can give Beauty to Man. “ The Life is more than Raiment.” Matt. vi. 25. Man cannot mend God's Work, who can give neither Life nor Parts. They ſhew little Eſteem for the Wiſdom and Power of their Creator, that under-rate his Workmanſhip (I was going to ſay his Image) to a Taylor's Invention: Groſs Folly and Profanity! But do you, my dear Children, call to mind who they were of old, that Jeſus ſaid, took ſo much Care about what they ſhould eat, drink and put on. Were they not Gentiles, Heathens, a People without God in the World? Read Matt. vi. and when you have done that, peruſe thoſe excellent paſſages of the Apoſtles Paul and Peter, 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10, and 1 Pet. iii. 3, 5. where, if you find the exhortation to Women only, conclude it was Effeminate, and a Shame then for Men to uſe ſuch arts and coſt upon their

Perſons. Follow you the example of thoſe primitive Chriſtians, and not voluptuous Gentiles, that perverted the very Order of Things: For they ſet Luſt above Nature, and the Means above the End, and preferred Vanity to Conveniency: A wanton Exceſs, that has no Senſe of God's Mercies, and therefore cannot make a right Uſe of them, and leſs yield the Returns they deſerve. In ſhort, theſe Intemperances are great Enemies to Health and to Poſterity; for they diſeaſe the Body, rob Children, and diſappoint Charity, and are of evil example; very catching, as well as pernicious evils. Nor do they end there: They are ſucceeded by other vices, which made the Apoſtle put them together in his Epiſtle to the Galatians, chap. v. 20, 21. The evil fruits of this part of Intemperance, are ſo many and great, that, upon a ſerious reflection, I believe there is not a country, town, or family, almoſt, that does not labour under the miſchief it. I recommend to your peruſal the Firſt Part of “No Croſs, no Crown,” and of the “Addreſs to Proteſtants,” in which I am more particular in my cenſure of it: As are the authorities I bring in favour of Moderation. But the virtue of Temperance does not only regard Eating, Drinking, and Apparel; but Furniture, Attendance, Expence, Gain, Parſimony, Buſineſs, Diverſion, Company, Speech, Sleeping, Watchings, and every Paſſion of the Mind, Love, Anger, Pleaſure, Joy, Sorrow, Reſentment, are all concerned in it: Therefore bound your Deſires, teach your Wills Subjection, take Chriſt for your Example, as well as Guide. It was he that led and taught a Life of Faith in Providence, and told his diſciples the danger of the Cares and Pleaſures of this World; they choaked the Seed of the Kingdom, ſtifled and extinguiſhed Virtue in the Soul, and rendered Man barren of good Fruit. His Sermon upon the Mount is one continued Divine Authority in favour of an Univerſal Temperance. The Apoſtle, well aware of the neceſſity of this virtue, gave the Corinthians a ſeaſonable caution. “Know ye not,” ſays he, “that they which run in a race, run All, but One receiveth the prize? So run that ye may obtain. And every man that ſtriveth for Maſtery, (or ſeeketh *Victory*) is temperate in all things:” (He acts diſcreetly, and with a right judgment). “Now, *they* do it to obtain a Corruptible Crown, but *we* an Incorruptible. I therefore ſo run, as not uncertainly; ſo fight I, not as one that beateth the Air: But I keep under my Body, and bring it into ſubjection; leſt that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myſelf ſhould become a Caſtaway,” 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27. In another chapter he preſſes the Temperance almoſt to Indifferency: “But this I ſay, Brethren, the Time is ſhort: “It remaineth then, that both they that have Wives, be as though they had none; and thoſe that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that uſe this world, as not abuſing it.” And all this is not without Reaſon: He gives a very good one for it. “For,” ſaith he, “the Faſhion of the World paſſeth away: But I would have you without Carefulneſs,” 1 Cor. vii. 29.---32. It was for this cauſe he preſſed it ſo hard upon Titus to warn the Elders of that Time to be ſober, grave, temperate, Tit. ii. 2. not eager, violent, obſtinate, tenacious, or inordinate in any ſort. He makes it an indiſpenſible duty in Paſtors of Churches, that they be “not Self-willed, ſoon Angry, given to Wine or Filthy Lucre, but Lovers of Hoſpitality, of Good Men, Sober, Juſt, Holy, Temperate,” Tit. i. 7, 8. And why ſo? Becauſe againſt theſe excellent virtues “there is no Law,” Gal. v. 23.

I will ſhut up this head (being touched upon in divers places of this advice) with this one moſt comprehenſive paſſage of the Apoſtle, Philip. iv. 5. “Let your Moderation be known unto all Men, for the Lord is at Hand.” As if he had ſaid, ‘Take Heed! Look to your Ways! Have a care what ye do! For the Lord is near you, even at the Door; he ſees you, he marks your Steps, tells your Wanderings, and he will judge you.’ Let this excellent, this home and cloſe ſentence live in your Minds: Let it ever dwell upon your Spirits, my beloved Children, and influence all your Actions, aye, your Affections and Thoughts. It is a noble Meaſure, ſufficient to regulate the whole; they that have it, are eaſy as well as ſafe. No extreme prevails; the World is kept at Arm's-end; and ſuch have power over their own ſpirits, which gives them the trueſt enjoyment of themſelves and what they have: A dominion greater than that of Empires. O may this virtue be yours! You have Grace from God for that end, and it is ſufficient: Employ it, and you cannot miſs of Temperance, nor therein of the trueſt Happineſs in all your Conduct.

§. 13. I have choſen to ſpeak in the Language of the Scripture; which is that of the Holy Ghoſt, the Spirit of Truth and Wiſdom, that wanted no art or direction of Man to ſpeak by, and expreſs itſelf fitly to Man's Underſtanding. But yet that bleſſed PRINCIPLE, the ETERNAL WORD, I begun with to you, and which is that Light, Spirit, Grace and Truth, I have exhorted you to in all its holy Appearances or Manifeſtations in yourſelves, by which all Things were at firſt made, and Man enlightened to Salvation, is

Pythagoras's Great Light and Salt of Ages:
Anaxagoras's Divine Mind:

Socrates's Good Spirit.
Timæus's Unbegotten Principle, and Author of all Light:
Hieron's God in Man:
Plato's Eternal, Ineffable, and Perfect Principle of Truth:
Zeno's Maker and Father of All: And
Plotin's Root of the Soul:

Who as they thus ſtiled the ETERNAL WORD, ſo for the Appearance of it in Man, they wanted not very ſignificant Words:

"A Domeſtick God, or God Within," ſay *Hieron*, *Pythagoras*, *Epictetus*, and *Seneca*.
"Genius, Angel, or Guide," ſay *Socrates* and *Timæus*.
"The Light and Spirit of God," ſays *Plato*:
"The Divine Principle in Man," ſays *Plotin*:
"The Divine Power and Reaſon, The Infallible, Immortal Law in the Minds of "Men," ſays *Philo*: And
"The Law and Living Rule of the Mind, the Interior Guide of the Soul, and "Everlaſting Foundation of Virtue," ſays *Plutarch*.

Of which you may read more in the Firſt Part of "The Chriſtian Quaker," and in the "Confutation of Atheiſm, by Dr. Cudworth."

Theſe are ſome of thoſe virtuous Gentiles commended by the Apoſtle, Rom. ii. 13, 14, 15. who though they had not the Law given to them, as the Jews had, with thoſe inſtrumental helps and advantages, yet doing by Nature the Things contained in the Law, they became a Law unto themſelves.

WILLIAM PENN.

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F I N I S.